THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH MEDIAEVAL CONTINUATION

THE LETTERS OF PETER DAMIAN 1-30

Translated by
Owen Blum, O.F.M.

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL CONTINUATION

VOLUME 1

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL CONTINUATION

EDITORIAL BOARD

Thomas P. Halton
The Catholic University of America
Editorial Director

M. Josephine Brennan, I.H.M.
Marywood College

Elizabeth Clark
Duke University

Hermigild Dressler, O.F.M.
Quincy College

Robert B. Eno, S.S.
The Catholic University of America

Kathleen McVey
Princeton Theological Seminary

Daniel J. Sheerin
University of Notre Dame

Robert D. Sider
Dickinson College

Michael Slusser
Duquesne University

David J. McGonagle
Director
The Catholic University of America Press

FORMER EDITORIAL DIRECTORS

Ludwig Schopp, Roy J. Deferrari, Bernard M. Peebles,
Hermigild Dressler, O.F.M.

Warren J. A. Soule
Staff Editor

PETER DAMIAN

LETTERS
1–30

Translated by

OWEN J. BLUM, O.F.M.
Quincy College
Quincy, Illinois

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
Washington, D.C.

BX
4700
.P77
A4
1989
v.1

Copyright © 1989
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS, INC.
All rights reserved

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Peter Damian, Saint, 1007?–1072.
[Correspondence. English]
Letters / translated by Owen J. Blum.
p. cm.—(The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation ; v. 1)
Translation of the Latin letters of Peter Damian.
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
Contents: [1] 1–30.
ISBN 0–8132–0702–9
1. Peter Damian, Saint, 1007?–1072—Correspondence.
2. Christian saints—Italy—Correspondence.
I. Blum, Owen J., 1912– . II. Title. III. Series.
BX4700.P77A4 1989 270.3—dc19 88-25802

CONTENTS

Preface vii
Abbreviations ix
Select Bibliography xi
Concordance xix

Introduction 3
Life and Writings / 3
Preservation and Contents of Letters / 12
Manuscripts and Editions / 20
Précis of Selected Letters / 27

Letter 1 37
Letter 2 84
Letter 3 87
Letter 4 90
Letter 5 93
Letter 6 95
Letter 7 97
Letter 8 100
Letter 9 109
Letter 10 113
Letter 11 124
Letter 12 127
Letter 13 130
Letter 14 134
Letter 15 140

Letter 16 143
Letter 17 145
Letter 18 159
Letter 19 171
Letter 20 194
Letter 21 197
Letter 22 208
Letter 23 216
Letter 24 227
Letter 25 236
Letter 26 244
Letter 27 247
Letter 28 255
Letter 29 290
Letter 30 294

Indices
Index of Proper Names 299
Index of Sacred Scripture 307

PREFACE

The English version of the Latin letters of Peter Damian, here presented, is the product of many years of effort. The incentive to attempt this massive task flowed from the formative years of graduate study at The Catholic University of America when Professor Aloysius K. Ziegler suggested that I look into the writings of the self-styled *Petrus peccator monachus*. Some years later, again with the encouragement of my former mentor of blessed memory, I decided to work toward an English translation of the entire corpus of Damian's letters and papers. Realizing that the currently available Latin text of C. Gaetani, reprinted in Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* 144–145, would serve as a sorry base for my purposes, I welcomed the invitation of Professor Doktor Kurt Reindel of the University of Regensburg to collaborate in producing a new Latin edition. After six years of intermittent residence in Regensburg (1969–1982), devoted to editing and partially translating the Latin letters, the first volume in Latin (Letters 1–40) appeared in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica,* ed. Kurt Reindel (München, 1983) as *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani,* Teil 1.

Among the many persons and agencies whose assistance made this work possible, Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois deserves my primary gratitude. During my service on its faculty of history, 1943–1978, the Brenner Library and its staff, particularly the head librarian, Victor Kingery, O.F.M., furnished its own resources and provided for my needs by countless interlibrary loans. My colleagues on the faculty, especially Professor Hermigild Dressler, O.F.M., were always ready to lend their help in many an encounter with the medieval eccentricities of Damian's Latin style and with the frequent *hapax legomena* to which he was addicted. My thanks are here recorded for financial assistance supplied for a sabbatical year from Quincy College (1970–1971), by grants from

the National Endowment for the Humanities, and especially by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in the Federal Republic of Germany for their assistance during the years. 1978–1982. In this last beneficence the efforts of Professor Kurt Reindel and Professor Horst Fuhrmann were decisive. To the latter the translator is also grateful for his encouragement and for placing at his disposal the edited text and its critical apparatus.

Professor Reindel, whose fundamental studies provided the groundwork for evaluating and dating the manuscripts, was a constant source of inspiration in pushing on the translation. He always requested the first copy of the English version to "assist him," he claimed, "in understanding difficult passages." This fictitious plea, while understood for the generous compliment it implied, stimulated me to complete the translation long before the first Latin volume appeared. Consequently, many of the later letters of Damian were put into English in Regensburg shortly after the new Latin text was established.

The translator here also acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Reindel for the use of his commentary footnotes in the Latin edition. While the identification of Scripture references and of classical and patristic sources was often collaborative, citation of recent literature depends to a large extent on the personal effort of the editor. My use of this material was done with the permission and encouragement of Professor Reindel.

My sincere thanks are also here tendered to Professor Daniel Sheerin of the Department of Modern and Classical Languages at the University of Notre Dame. His careful scrutiny of the text helped me to avoid countless pitfalls in my English rendering of Damian's Latin. Lastly, I wish to thank the editorial board and staff of the Catholic University of America Press for inaugurating the Mediaeval Continuation of the Fathers of the Church, thus making it possible to "canonize" Peter Damian among the distinguished Christian writers of the past.

Quincy College, October 1987 Owen J. Blum, O.F.M.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA SS *Acta Sanctorum.* 70 vols. Paris, 1863–1940.

Abh B *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

AUF *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*

Beuron *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel,* ed. Archabbey of Beuron, 1949–.

BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*

Biblia sacra *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem iussu Pii Papae XI . . . edita,* 1926–.

CC *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina.* Brepols, 1954–.

CCCM *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.* Brepols, 1971–.

CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.* Vienna.

DA *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*

DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.* Ed. Fernand Cabrol. 15 vols. Paris, 1907–1953.

DHGE *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques.* Ed. Alfred Card. Baudrillart. Paris, 1912–.

DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.* 15 vols. Paris, 1903–1950.

DuCange *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis.* Ed. Charles de Fresne DuCange. 10 vols. Paris, 1883–1887.

FOTC The Fathers of the Church. New York and Washington, D.C., 1947–.

Gaetani *S. Petri Damiani . . . Opera omnia.* 4 vols. 1606–1640. Later editions will be cited by year of publication.

HJb *Historisches Jahrbuch.*

HV *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*

HZ *Historische Zeitschrift*

Itala *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung.* Ed. A. Jülicher. 4 vols. 1963–1976.

ItPont *Italia Pontificia*

JE Jaffé-Ewald
JK Jaffé-Kaltenbrunner
JL Jaffé-Löwenfeld
} Regesta Pontificum Romanorum

LThK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*

Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.* Ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi. 53 vols.

MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Auct.ant.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Conc.	Concilia
Const.	Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum
D—DD	Diploma—Diplomata
Epp.	Epistolae (in Quarto)
Ldl	Libelli de lite
LL	Leges (in folio)
Necr.	Necrologia Germaniae
Poetae	Poetae Latini medii aevi
SS	Scriptores (in folio)
SS rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
SS rer. Merov.	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. 1923–1942.
Muratori	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Ed. Muratori. 2d ed. 1900ff.
NA	Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1844–1855.
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Ed. Pauly-Wissowa
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
Sabatier	*Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*. Ed. P. Sabatier. 3 vols. 1743.
SBA	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris, 1942–.
StMGBO	*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altschristlichen Literatur. Berlin, 1882–.
Vulg	*Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Ed. Robert Weber. 2 vols. 2d ed., 1975.
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources

Altercatio aecclesiae contra synagogam et synagoge contra aecclesiam, ed. Blumenkranz, "Altercatio aecclesiae contra synagogam. Texte inédit du Xᵉ siècle," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 10 (1954), 5–159 (here 53–123).

Ambrose. *Exameron,* ed. C. Schenkl. CSEL 32, 1 (1887), 1–261.

Anastasius papa II. *Epistolae et decreta,* ed. A. Thiel. Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae 1 (1867–1868), 614–639.

Augustine. *De civitate Dei,* ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CC 47 and 48 (1955).

———. *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* ed. E. Kekkers and J. Fraipont, CC 39 (1956).

———. *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV,* ed. R. Willems, CC 36 (1954).

———. *Tractatus adversus Iudaeos,* PL 42, 51–64.

Auxilius. *De ordinationibus a Formoso papa factis,* (PL 129, 1059–1074).

Benedicti Regula, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (1977). 2d ed.

Burchard of Worms. *Decretorum libri XX* (PL 140, 537–1058).

Canones apostolorum, ed. C. H. Turner. In *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima. Canonum et conciliorum Graecorum interpretationes latinae* (1899), 1–32.

Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana (PL 67, 39–346).

Constitutiones apostolorum, ed. F. X. Funk. In *Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum* 1 (1905).

Cyprian. *Ad Quirinum testimoniorum libri tres,* ed. R. Weber, CC 3 (1972), 1–179.

Euagrius. *Altercatio legis inter Simonem Iudeum et Theophilum Christianum,* ed. E. Bratke, CSEL 45, 1 (1904).

Gregory I. *XL Homiliarum in Evangelia libri duo* (PL 76, 1075–1312).

———. *Registrum epistolarum,* ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, 2 vols., MGH Epp. 1 and 2 (1891, 1899).

Herman of Reichenau. *Chronicon,* ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 5 (1844), 67–133.

Humbert of Silva Candida. Ed. E. G. Robison, *Humberti Cardinalis libri tres adversus simoniacos,* Ph.D. diss. Princeton (1971).

Innocent I. *Epistolae et decreta* (PL 20, 463–638).

Isidore of Seville. *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Iudaeos ad Florentinam sororem suam* (PL 83, 499–538).

———. *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX,* ed. W. M. Lindsay. In *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (1911).

———. *Liber de variis quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos seu ceteros infideles vel plerosque haereticos iudaizantes ex utroque testamento collectus,* ed. A. C. Vega and A. E. Anspach. In *Scriptores ecclesiastici hispano-latini veteris et medii aevi,* vols. 6–8 (1940).

Jerome. *Commentariorum in Abacuc prophetam libri duo,* ed. M. Adriaen, CC 76A (1970), 579–654.
———. *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri duodeviginti,* ed. M. Adriaen, CC 73 (1963), 1–799.
———. *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri quatuordecim,* ed. F. Glorie, CC 75 (1964).
———. *Epistulae,* ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 (1910).
———. *In Hieremiam prophetam libri sex,* ed. S. Reiter, CC 74 (1960).
———. *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum,* ed. P. Lagarde, CC 72 (1959), 57–161. (Cited as Jerome, *Nom. hebr.*)
John the Deacon. *Sancti Gregorii Magni vita* (PL 75, 59–242).
John of Lodi. *Vita B. Petri Damiani* (PL 144, 113–146).
Justinian. *Institutiones,* ed. P. Krueger. In *Corpus iuris civilis* 1 (1911). 12th ed.
Leo I. *Epistolae* (PL 54, 551–1218).
Liber pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne. *Le liber pontificalis,* 3 vols. (1886–1957).
Nicholas II. *Concilium Lateranense posterius,* ed. L. Weiland, MGH Const. 1 (1893), 549ff.
Ordines Romani, ed. M. Andrieu. *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* 2 (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents 23, 1960).
Papias. *Vocabularium latinum* (1491; reprint 1966).
Pascasius Radbertus. *De corpore et sanguine Domini,* ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (1969).
Peter Damian. *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani,* ed. K. Reindel, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 4 (1983).
———. *Sancti Petri Damiani sermones,* ed. G. Lucchesi, CCCM 57 (1983).
———. *Vita Beati Romualdi,* ed. G. Tabacco, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94 (1957).
Poenitentiale Egberti, ed. F. W. Wasserschleben, Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche (1851), 231–247.
Pontificale Romano-Germanicum, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze. Le pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle, 2 vols. (*Studi e testi* 226–227, 1963).
Pseudo-Alcuin. *De divinis officiis liber* (PL 101, 1173–1286).
Pseudo-Augustine. *De altercatione ecclesiae et synagogae dialogus,* ed. G. Sequi and J. N. Hillgarth, La "altercatio" y la basilica paleocristiana de Son Bou de Menorca, *Boletin de la sociedad arqueologica Luliana* 31 (1954), 1–60.
Pseudo-Isidore, ed. P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilramni* (1863). (That the edition of Hinschius does not fully reproduce Pseudo-Isidore is pointed out by Fuhrmann, *Fälschungen,* 153ff. and 168ff.).
Quodvultdeus. *Contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arrianos,* ed. R. Braun, CC 60 (1976), 225–258.
Regino of Prüm. *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis,* ed. F. G. A. Wasserschleben (1840).
Rufinus. *Historia ecclesiastica,* ed. Th. Mommsen. In Eusebius, *Werke,* vol. 2, ed. E. Schwartz, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 9 (1903–1909).
Tertullian. *Adversus Iudaeos,* ed. E. Kroymann, CC 2 (1954), 1337–1396.
———. *Adversus Marcionem,* ed. E. Kroymann, CC 1 (1954), 437–726.

Literature

Amadesius, Josephus Aloysius. *In antistitum Ravennatum chronotaxim ab antiquissimae ejus ecclesiae exordiis ad haec usque tempora perductam disquisitiones perpetuae dissertationibus ad historiam et nonnullos veteris ecclesiae ritus pertinentibus illustratae* 2 (1783).

Balboni, Dante. "San Pier Damiano, maestro e discepolo in Pomposa," *Benedictina* 22 (1975).

———. *L'abate Constantino Gaetani (1568–1650) editore delle opere di S. Pier Damiani (1606–1640).* In *Ascetica cristiana e ascetica giansenista e quietista nelle regioni d'influenza avellanita.* Atti del I Convegno del Centro di studi avellaniti, 1977 (1978), 111–125.

Bartoccetti, Luigi. "Serie dei vescovi delle diocesi marchigiane," *Studia Picena* 12 (1936), 105–123; 13 (1938), 61–73; 14 (1939), 129–147; 15 (1940), 97–124; 16 (1941), 57–74.

Benson, Robert L. *The Bishop-elect. A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office.* 1968.

Berschin, Walter. *Bonizo von Sutri. Leben und Werk.* In *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des MA* 2 (1972).

Blum, Owen J. *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life* (The Catholic University of America. Studies in Mediaeval History N.S. 10. 1947).

Borino, Giovanni Battista. "L'elezione e la deposizione di Gregorio VI," *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 39 (1916), 141–252 and 295–410.

Bultot, Robert. *Pierre Damien.* In *Christianisme et valeurs humaines. A. La doctrine du mépris du monde, en occident, de S. Ambroise à Innocent III,* 4, 1 (1963).

Burchi, Pietro. *Cronotassi dei vescovi di Cesena.* (Bibliotheca ecclesiarum Italiae 1, 1965), 135–266.

Cantin, André. *Pierre Damien. Lettre sur la toute-puissance divine.* SC 191 (1972).

———. "Les sciences séculières et la foi. Les dieux voies de la science au jugement de S. Pierre Damien (1007–1072)," *Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 5 (1975).

Capitani, Ovidio. *San Pier Damiani e l'istituto eremitico.* In *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII.* Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali 4 (1965), 122–163. (Cited as Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico*).

———. *Immunità vescovili ed ecclesiologia in età "pregregoriana" e "gregoriana." L'avvio alla "restaurazione."* (Biblioteca degli Studi medievali, 3, 1966).

———. *Episcopato ed ecclesiologia nell'età gregoriana.* In *Le instituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI–XII: Papato, cardinalato ed episcopato.* (Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali 7, 1974), 316–373.

Conrat, Max. *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts im frühen MA* 1, (1891).

Davidsohn, Robert. *Geschichte von Florenz* 1 (1896).

Della Santa, Mansueto. *Ricerche sull'idea monastica di San Pier Damiano.* Studi e testi Camaldolesi 11 (1961).

Dressler, Fridolin. *Petrus Damiani. Leben und Werk.* (Studia Anselmiana 34, 1954).

Falce, Antonio. *Bonifacio di Canossa, padre di Matilda,* 2 vols. 1926–1927.

Firminger, W. K. "St. Peter Damian and Auxilius," *Journal of Theological Studies* 26 (1925), 78–81.

Fliche, Augustin. *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents 6, 9, and 16. 1924–1937).

Fois, Mario. "I compiti e le prerogative dei cardinali vescovi secondo Pier Damiani nel quadro della sua ecclesiologia primaziale," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 10 (1972), 25–105.

———. "La sede apostolica e la riforma della chiesa secondo Pier Damiani," *Civiltà Cattolica* 123, 4 (1972), 320–336.

Fornasari, Giuseppe. "Prospettive del pensiero politico di S. Pier Damiani," *Miscellanea. Raccolta di saggi storici e linguistici a cura della facoltà di magistere dell'università di Trieste* 1 (1979), 463–516.

———. "Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII: dall'ecclesiologia monastica all'ecclesiologia politica," *Fonte Avellana nel suo millenario. 1. Le origini. Atti del V convegno del centro di studi avellaniti* (1982), 151–244.

Fournier, Paul. "Un groupe de recueils canoniques italiens des Xe et XIe siècles," *Mémoires de l'institut national de France. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 40 (1916), 95–213.

Fuhrmann, Horst. *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudo-isidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* (Schriften der MGH 24, 1972–1974).

Gaudenzi, Augusto. "Lo svolgimento parallelo del diritto longobardo e del diritto romano a Ravenna," *Memorie della regia accademia delle scienze dell'istituto di Bologna, Classe di scienze morali, sezione giuridica* I, 1 (1906–1907), 37–164.

Giabanni, Anselmo. "Lo spirito della regola di S. Benedetto e la vita monastico-eremitica secondo S. Pier Damiano," *Benedictina* 1 (1974), 135–156.

Gibelli, Alberto. *Monografia dell'antico monastero di S. Croce di Fonte Avellana* (1896).

Gilchrist, John. "*Simoniaca haeresis* and the Problem of Orders from Leo IX to Gratian," *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan (Monumenta iuris canonici C 1, 1965), 209–235.

Giorgetti Vichi, Anna Maria and Sergio Mottironi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della biblioteca Vallicelliana* 1 (Indici e cataloghi N.S. 7, 1961).

Granata, Aldo. "Contributo alla conoscenza del lessico in S. Pier Damiani: *Dispensatio*," *Istituto Lombardo. Rendiconti. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche* 108 (1974), 715–755.

Grillantini, Carlo. *Storia di Osimo. Vetus Auximon* 1 (1957).

Hauck, Albert. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* 3 (4th ed. 1920).

Hefele, Carl Joseph and Henri Leclercq. *Histoire des conciles*, 11 vols. (1907–1952).

Herrmann, Klaus-Jürgen. *Das Tuskulanerpapsttum (1012–1046)*. (Päpste und Papsttum 4, 1973).

Hoesch, Henning. *Die kanonischen Quellen im Werk Humberts von Moyenmoutier. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der vorgregorianischen Reform.* (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 10, 1970).

Hoffmann, Hartmut. "Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik," *Spiegel der Geschichte. Festgabe für Max Braubach zum 10. April 1964*, ed. K. Repgen and S. Skalweit (1964), 141–170.

Kolping, Adolf. *Petrus Damiani. Das Büchlein vom Dominus vobiscum* (1949).

Krause, Hans-Georg. *Das Papstwahldekret von 1059 und seine Rolle im Investiturstreit* (Studi Gregoriani 7, 1960).

La Bigne, Marguerin de. *Appendix bibliothecae sanctorum patrum* (1579).
———. *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum* 3 (2d ed. 1589).
Ladner, Gerhart. *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit. Abendmahlstreit, Kirchenreform, Cluni und Heinrich III.* (Veröffentlichungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung 2, 1936).
Laqua, Hans Peter. *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformer Petrus Damiani (1042–1052).* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 30, 1976).
Lassus, L.-Albert. "Solitude et communion dans l'église d'après saint Pierre Damien," *Revue Thomiste* 76 (1976), 22–33.
Leclercq, Jean. *Saint Pierre Damien, ermite et homme d'église* (Uomini e dottrine 8, 1960).
Leonardi, Corrado. "Di s. Vincenzo vescovo e martire di Bevagna e della chiesa di s. Vincenzo del Furlo," *Bollettino della deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* (1970), 5–29.
Lindemans, S. "Auxilius et le manuscrit Vallicellan Tome XVIII," RHE 57 (1962), 470–484.
Little, Lester K. *The Personal Development of Peter Damian,* (Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer, ed. W. C. Jordan, B. McNab and T. F. Ruiz [1976]), 317–341, 523–528.
Lokrantz, Margareta, *L'opera poetica di S. Pier Damiani* (Studia Latina Stockholmensia 12, 1964).
Lucchesi, Giovanni, "L'*Antilogus contra Judaeos* di S. Pier Damiano e Pomposa," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 89f.
———. *Clavis S. Petri Damiani (1970);* rev. reprint from *Studi su S. Pier Damiano in onore del Cardinale Amleto Giovanni Cicognani* (Biblioteca Cardinale Gaetano Cicognani 5, 1961), 249–407.
———. *Per una vita di San Pier Damiani. Componenti cronologiche e topografiche,* in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972) 1 (1972), 13–179 (No. 1–153) and 2 (1972), 13–160 (No. 154–231).
———. *I viaggi di S. Pier Damiani,* in: S. Pier Damiani. Atti del Convegno di studi nel IX centenario della morte. Faenza, 1972 (1973), 71–91.
———. *Giovanni da Lodi, il discepolo,* in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972) 4 (1978), 7–66.
———. "Sull'antica tradizione manoscritta di S. Pier Damiani," *Benedictina* 24 (1977), 209–223.
Maassen, Friedrich. *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlände* 1 (1870).
Mabillon, Johannes. *Annales ordinis sancti Benedicti occidentalium monachorum patriarchae* 4 (1707).
Mähl, Sybille. *Quadriga virtutum. Die Kardinaltugenden in der Geistesgeschichte der Karolingerzeit* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 9, 1969).
Massa, Eugenio. *I manoscritti originali del beato Paolo Giustiniani custoditi nell'eremo di Frascati* (1967).
———. *Paolo Giustiniani e gli antichi manoscritti avellanesi di San Pier Damiani,* in: Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XV e XVI. Atti del IV Convegno del Centro di studi avellaniti (1980), 77–160.
Meier-Welcker, Hans. "Die Simonie im frühen Mittelalter," ZKG 64 (1952–1953), 61–93.
Mercati, Giovanni. "Parmensia II. La lettera di sottomissione d'un arciprete di Parma a Pasquale II.—L'autore delle Collectanea ex opusculis Petri

Damiani," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 23 (1902), 6ff.; reprinted in: *Opere minori* 2 (Studi e testi 77, 1937), 353–356.

Miccoli, Giovanni. "Il problema delle ordinazioni simoniache e le sinodi Lateranensi del 1060 e 1061," *Studi Gregoriani* 5 (1956), 33–81.

———. *Due note sulla tradizione manoscritta di Pier Damiani* (Note e discussioni erudite 8, 1959).

———. "Théologie de la vie monastique chez Saint Pierre Damien (1007–1072)," in: Théologie de la vie monastique (*Théologie* 49, 1961), 459–483.

———. *Chiesa Gregoriana. Ricerche sulla riforma del secolo XI* (Storici antichi e moderni N.S. 17, 1966).

Michel, Anton. *Papstwahl und Königsrecht oder das Papstwahl-Konkordat von 1059* (1936).

———. "Die antisimonistischen Reordinationen und eine neue Humbert-Schrift," *Römische Quartalschrift* 46 (1938; published 1941), 19–56.

———. *Die Sentenzen des Kardinals Humbert, das erste Rechtsbuch der päpstlichen Reform* (Schriften der MGH 7, 1943).

Mittarelli, Johannes-Benedictus and Anselmus Costadoni. *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti,* 9 vols. (1755–1773).

Neukirch, Franz. *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani* (1875).

Palazzini, Pietro. "Note di diritto romano in S. Pier Damiano," *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 13–14 (1947–1948), 235–268.

———. "Il diritto strumento di riforma ecclesiastica in S. Pier Damiani," *Ephemerides iuris canonici* 11 (1955), 361–408 and 12 (1956), 9–58.

———. (Ed.) *Dizionario dei concili,* 6 vols. (1963–1967).

———. *San Pier Damiani al centro della riforma della chiesa Marchigiana nel secolo XI,* in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972) 2 (1972), 161–232. (Cited as Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana*).

———. "S. Pier Damiani eremita e priore a Fonte Avellana," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 69–110.

———. *Influssi damianei ed umbertini nell'azione e legislazione dei papi pregregoriani contro la simonia da papa Clemente II a Nicolò II,* in: Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XI e XII. Atti del II Convegno del Centro di studi avellaniti (1978), 7–41.

Payer, Pierre J. *Book of Gomorrah. An Eleventh-Century Treatise against Clerical Homosexual Practices.* Waterloo, Ontario, 1982.

Pelster, Franz. "Die römische Synode von 1060 und die von Simonisten gespendeten Weihen," *Gregorianum* 23 (1942), 66–90.

Petrocchi, Massimo. *Note su Fonte Avellana,* in: Aspetti dell'Umbria dall'inizio del secolo VIII alla fine del secolo XI. Atti del III Convegno di Studi Umbri. Gubbio (1966), 243–254.

Picasso, Giorgio. *La tradizione libraria di Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XI e XII.* Atti del II Convegno del Centro di studi avellaniti (1978), 345–366.

Pierucci, Celestino and Alberto Polverari. *Carte di Fonte Avellana* 1 (Thesaurus ecclesiarum Italiae 9, 1, 1972).

Pierucci, Celestino. *La vita eremitica secondo S. Pier Damiano,* in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972) 4 (1978), 67–122.

———. "La struttura edilizia di Fonte Avellana al tempo di San Pier Damiano," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 131–139.

———. *Inventari dell'antica biblioteca di Fonte Avellana,* in: Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XIII e XIV. Atti del III Convegno del Centro di studi avellaniti (1979), 141–234.

Prete, Serafino. "San Pier Damiani le chiese marchigiane la riforma nel secolo XI," *Studia Picena* 19 (1949), 119–128.

Reindel, Kurt. "Studien zur überlieferung der Werke des Petrus Damiani I–III," DA 15 (1959), 23–102; 16 (1960), 73–154; 18 (1962), 317–417.

———. *Die Handschriften der Werke des Petrus Damiani,* in: S. Pier Damiani. Atti del Convegno di studi nel IX centenario della morte. Faenza, 1972 (1973), 93–113.

———. "Petrus Damiani und seine Korrespondenten," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 203–219.

———. "Neue Literatur zu Petrus Damiani," DA (1976), 405–443.

Repetti, Emanuele. *Appendice al Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana* (1846).

Robison, Elaine Golden, ed. *Humberti Cardinalis libri tres adversus simoniacos.* Ph.D. diss. Princeton (1971).

Roschini, Gabriele M. *La mariologia di s. Pier Damiano,* in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972) 1 (1972), 195–237.

Ruysschaert, José. *Constantino Gaetano, O.S.B., chasseur de manuscrits,* in: Mélanges Eugène Tisserant 7 (Studi e testi 237, 1964), 261–326.

Ryan, J. Joseph. *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources. A Preliminary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian Reform* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. Studies and Texts 2, 1956).

Saltet, Louis. *Les réordinations: étude sur la sacrement de l'ordre* (1907).

Samaritani, Antonio. "Gebeardo di Eichstätt, arcivescovo di Ravenna (1027–1044) e la riforma imperiale della chiesa in Romagna," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 109–140.

———. "Sui destinatari degli opuscoli 2–3, 29, 42/2, 48 di S. Pier Damiano," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 141–147.

Sarti, Mauro. *De episcopis Eugubinis* (1755).

Schmidt, Tilmann. *Alexander II (1061–1073) und die römische Reformgruppe seiner Zeit.* (Päpste und Papsttum 11, 1977).

Schwartz, Gerhard. *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichs—Italiens unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern mit den Listen der Bischöfe 951–1122* (1913).

Schwarzmaier, Hansmartin. *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhundert.* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 41, 1972).

Seekel, Friedrich. *Geistige Grundlagen Petrus Damianis untersucht am liber Gratissimus,* Ph.D. diss. (Berlin, 1933).

Sohm, Rudolph. *Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht und das Dekret Gratians,* in: Festschrift der Leipziger Juristenfakultät für Dr. Adolf Wach zum 16. November 1915 (1918), 1–674.

Spinelli, Giovanni. "La data dell'ordinazione sacerdotale di S. Pier Damiani," *Benedictina* 19 (1972), 595–605.

Steindorff, Ernst. *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III.,* 2 vols. (Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte, 1874–1881).

Tabacco, Giovanni, ed. *Petri Damiani vita Beati Romualdi* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94, 1957).

Theiner, Augustin. *Disquisitiones criticae in praecipuas canonum et decretalium collectiones* (1836).

Ughelli, Ferdinando. *Italia sacra* 2 (2d ed. 1717).

Vernarecci, Augusto. *Fossombrone dai tempi antichissimi ai nosti* 1 (1907).

Vitaletti, Guido. "Un inventario di codici del secolo XIII e le vicende della biblioteca, dell'archivio e del tesoro di Fonte Avellana," *La Bibliofilia. Rivista*

di storia del libro e delle arti grafiche, di bibliografia ed erudizione 20 (1918–1919), 249–264 and 297–315; 21 (1919–1920), 42–76, 117–156, 291–338; 22 (1920–1921), 30–41.

———. *La biblioteca di Fonte Avellana* (1925).

Wilmart, André. "Une lettre de S. Pierre Damien à l'impératrice Agnès," *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932), 125–146.

Woody, Kennerly Merritt. *Damiani and the Radicals,* Ph.D. diss., Columbia University (1966).

———. "Sagena piscatoris: Petrus Damiani and the Papal Election Decree of 1059," *Viator* 1 (1970), 33–54.

CONCORDANCE

Since the new edition of Damian's letters in Kurt Reindel, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani,* MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit (München, 1983) has assigned new numbers in chronological order, the old system of numbering for *epistolae* and *opuscula* is now outmoded. To correlate the new with the old, the following concordance is herewith provided. There is no longer a distinction between "letters" and "works," and *Letters* 171–180 are placed at the end of the series because they are undatable.

MGH (Chronological) Numeration in Earlier Editions

Reindel	*Migne Number*	*Reindel*	*Migne Number*
1	opsuc. 2 and 3	23	epist. 8, 9 = opusc. 58
2	epist. 7, 15	24	epist. 6, 14 = opusc. 29
3	epist. 3, 2	25	epist. 8, 7 = opusc. 42/2
4	epist. 3, 3	26	epist. 1, 3
5	epist. 4, 2	27	epist. 6, 24 = opusc. 48
6	epist. 6, 6	28	opusc. 11
7	epist. 3, 5	29	epist. 6, 15
8	epist. 5, 12	30	epist. 4, 4
9	epist. 6, 28	31	opusc. 7
10	epist. 6, 23	32	epist. 4, 13
11	epist. 2, 19	33	epist. 1, 4
12	epist. 4, 6	34	epist. 4, 10
13	epist. 1, 1	35	epist. 5, 6
14	epist. 4, 7	36	epist. 5, 17 = opusc. 8/2
15	epist. 8, 4	37	epist. 6, 7
16	epist. 1, 2	38	opusc. 16
17	opusc. 10	39	epist. 5, 9 = opusc. 27
18	opusc. 14	40	opusc. 6
19	opusc. 8/1	41	Ad Heinricum
20	epist. 7, 2	42	Ad Odalricum
21	epist. 8, 8	43	epist. 7, 1
22	epist. 4, 5	44	epist. 6, 30 = opusc. 51

Reindel	*Migne Number*
45	epist. 5, 8
46	epist. 1, 5
47	epist. 4, 14 = opusc. 26
48	epist. 2, 1
49	epist. 2, 5
50	opusc. 15
51	epist. 7, 14
52	epist. 2, 4
53	Ad Iohannem
54	epist. 6, 18 = opusc. 46
55	epist. 6, 19
56	epist. 6, 27
57	epist. 1, 10 = opusc. 20
58	epist. 3, 4
59	epist. 3, 9 = opusc. 25
60	epist. 1, 7
61	epist. 1, 6 = opusc. 17
62	epist. 4, 11
63	epist. 2, 9
64	epist. 7, 9
65	opusc. 5
66	epist. 7, 19 = opusc. 50
67	epist. 7, 11 = opusc. 57/1
68	epist. 7, 12 = opusc. 57/2
69	epist. 2, 3 = opusc. 22
70	epist. 5, 16 = opusc. 42/1
71	epist. 7, 4
72	epist. 1, 9 = opusc. 19
73	epist. 4, 1
74	epist. 4, 12
75	epist. 2, 8
76	epist. 6, 31 = opusc. 53
77	epist. 5, 5
78	epist. 6, 11 = opusc. 44
79	epist. 1, 8
80	epist. 4, 17 = opusc. 40
81	opusc. 1
82	epist. 2, 12
83	epist. 8, 5
84	epist. 5, 7
85	epist. 8, 3
86	epist. 2, 18 = opusc. 52
87	epist. 4, 9
88	epist. 1, 20
89	epist. 1, 21 and opusc. 4
90	epist. 2, 13
91	epist. 3, 1 = opusc. 38
92	epist. 6, 16 = opusc. 59
93	epist. 8, 13
94	epist. 8, 14
95	epist. 2, 11
96	epist. 1, 15
97	epist. 2, 2 = opusc. 31
98	epist. 1, 18 = opusc. 24
99	epist. 3, 6
100	epist. 6, 5
101	epist. 3, 7
102	epist. 2, 15 = opusc. 34/1
103	epist. 6, 2
104	epist. 7, 5 = opusc. 56
105	epist. 6, 8 = opusc. 21
106	epist. 2, 14 = opusc. 33
107	epist. 1, 16
108	epist. 1, 17 = opusc. 23
109	epist. 1, 19 = Vita Rodulphi et Dominici
110	opusc. 9
111	epist. 3, 8 = opusc. 39
112	epist. 4, 3 = opusc. 18/2
113	epist. 6, 4
114	epist. 7, 16 = opusc. 18/3
115	epist. 4, 16
116	epist. 6, 10
117	epist. 6, 17 = opusc. 45
118	epist. 6, 35 = opusc. 55
119	epist. 2, 17 = opusc. 36
120	epist. 7, 3
121	epist. 5, 1
122	epist. 1, 11
123	epist. 6, 21 = opusc. 47
124	epist. 7, 6
125	epist. 6, 3
126	epist. 2, 20 = opusc. 37/1
127	epist. 2, 21 = opusc. 37/2
128	Ad Ambrosium et Liupardum
129	epist. 5, 14 and 5, 15

Reindel	*Migne Number*
130	epist. 7, 7
131	epist. 6, 13
132	epist. 6, 26 = opusc. 49
133	epist. 6, 34
134	epist. 6, 36
135	Ad Cinthium
136	epist. 8, 12
137	epist. 6, 33 = opusc. 54
138	epist. 5, 2
139	Ad Tebaldum
140	epist. 1, 13
141	epist. 5, 13
142	epist. 6, 32
143	epist. 7, 18
144	epist. 7, 8
145	epist. 8, 1
146	epist. 8, 11 = opusc. 30
147	epist. 5, 10
148	epist. 7, 13
149	Ad Agnetem
150	epist. 6, 20
151	epist. 7, 17
152	epist. 6, 12
153	opusc. 13
154	epist. 7, 10
155	epist. 8, 2
156	epist. 2, 6
157	epist. 4, 8
158	epist. 6, 22
159	epist. 2, 16 = opusc. 35
160	epist. 2, 7 = opusc. 32
161	epist. 6, 1 = opusc. 43
162	epist. 2, 10 = opusc. 18/1 and epist. 5, 4
163	epist. 5, 3
164	epist. 1, 12
165	opusc. 12
166	epist. 6, 29
167	epist. 1, 14
168	epist. 3, 10 = opusc. 34/2
169	epist. 6, 25
170	epist. 8, 10
171	epist. 8, 15
172	epist. 5, 11 = opusc. 41
173	Ad Bucconem
174	epist. 4, 15
175	Ad Honestum
176	epist. 6, 9
177	epist. 5, 18
178	Ad abbatem A.
179	epist. 8, 6
180	Ad episcopum W.

Numeration of Earlier Editions in MGH

Migne Number	*Reindel*
epist. 1, 1	13
epist. 1, 2	16
epist. 1, 3	26
epist. 1, 4	33
epist. 1, 5	46
epist. 1, 6 = opusc. 17	61
epist. 1, 7	60
epist. 1, 8	79
epist. 1, 9 = opusc. 19	72
epist. 1, 10 = opusc. 20	57
epist. 1, 11	122
epist. 1, 12	164
epist. 1, 13	140
epist. 1, 14	167
epist. 1, 15	96
epist. 1, 16	107
epist. 1, 17 = opusc. 23	108
epist. 1, 18 = opusc. 24	98
epist. 1 19 = Vita Rodulphi et Dominici	109
epist. 1, 20	88
epist. 1, 21	89
epist. 2, 1	48
epist. 2, 2 = opusc. 31	97
epist. 2, 3 = opusc. 22	69
epist. 2, 4	52
epist. 2, 5	49
epist. 2, 6	156

Migne Number	*Reindel*
epist. 2, 7 = opusc. 32	160
epist. 2, 8	75
epist. 2, 9	63
epist. 2, 10 = opusc. 18/1	162
epist. 2, 11	95
epist. 2, 12	82
epist. 2, 13	90
epist. 2, 14 = opusc. 33	106
epist. 2, 15 = opusc. 34/1	102
epist. 2, 16 = opusc. 35	159
epist. 2, 17 = opusc. 36	119
epist. 2, 18 = opusc. 52	86
epist. 2, 19	11
epist. 2, 20 = opusc. 37/1	126
epist. 2, 21 = opusc. 37/2	127
epist. 3, 1 = opusc. 38	91
epist. 3, 2	3
epist. 3, 3	4
epist. 3, 4	58
epist. 3, 5	7
epist. 3, 6	99
epist. 3, 7	101
epist. 3, 8 = opusc. 39	111
epist. 3, 9 = opusc. 25	59
epist. 3, 10 = opusc. 34/2	168
epist. 4, 1	73
epist. 4, 2	5
epist. 4, 3 = opusc. 18/2	112
epist. 4, 4	30
epist. 4, 5	22
epist. 4, 6	12
epist. 4, 7	14
epist. 4, 8	157
epist. 4, 9	87
epist. 4, 10	34
epist. 4, 11	62
epist. 4, 12	74
epist. 4, 13	32
epist. 4, 14 = opusc. 26	47
epist. 4, 15	174
epist. 4, 16	115
epist. 4, 17 = opusc. 40	80
epist. 5, 1	121
epist. 5, 2	138

Migne Number	*Reindel*
epist. 5, 3	163
epist. 5, 4 = part of opusc. 18/1	162
epist. 5, 5	77
epist. 5, 6	35
epist. 5, 7	84
epist. 5, 8	45
epist. 5, 9 = opusc. 27	39
epist. 5, 10	147
epist. 5, 11 = opusc. 41	172
epist. 5, 12	8
epist. 5, 13	141
epist. 5, 14	129
epist. 5, 15	129
epist. 5, 16 = opusc. 42/1	70
epist. 5, 17 = opusc. 8/2	36
epist. 5, 18	177
epist. 5, 19 = opusc. 28	spuria
epist. 6, 1 = opusc. 43	161
epist. 6, 2	103
epist. 6, 3	125
epist. 6, 4	113
epist. 6, 5	100
epist. 6, 6	6
epist. 6, 7	37
epist. 6, 8 = opusc. 21	105
epist. 6, 9	176
epist. 6, 10	116
epist. 6, 11 = opusc. 44	78
epist. 6, 12	152
epist. 6, 13	131
epist. 6, 14 = opusc. 29	24
epist. 6, 15	29
epist. 6, 16 = opusc. 59	92
epist. 6, 17 = opusc. 45	117
epist. 6, 18 = opusc. 46	54
epist. 6, 19	55
epist. 6, 20	150
epist. 6, 21 = opusc. 47	123
epist. 6, 22	158
epist. 6, 23	10
epist. 6, 24 = opusc. 48	27
epist. 6, 25	169
epist. 6, 26 = opusc. 49	132

Migne Number	*Reindel*	*Migne Number*	*Reindel*
epist. 6, 27	56	opusc. 1	81
epist. 6, 28	9	opusc. 2	1
epist. 6, 29	166	opusc. 3	1
epist. 6, 30 = opusc. 51	44	opusc. 4	89
epist. 6, 31 = opusc. 53	76	opusc. 5	65
epist. 6, 32	142	opusc. 6	40
epist. 6, 33 = opusc. 54	137	opusc. 7	31
epist. 6, 34	133	epist. 8/1	19
epist. 6, 35 = opusc. 55	118	opusc. 8/2 = epist. 5, 17	36
epist. 6, 36	134	opusc. 9	110
epist. 7, 1	43	opusc. 10	17
epist. 7, 2	20	opusc. 11	28
epist. 7, 3	120	opusc. 12	165
epist. 7, 4	71	opusc. 13	153
epist. 7, 5 = opusc. 56	104	opusc. 14	18
epist. 7, 6	124	opusc. 15	50
epist. 7, 7	130	opusc. 16	38
epist. 7, 8	144	opusc. 17 = epist. 1, 6	61
epist. 7, 9	64	opusc. 18/1 = epist. 2, 10	162
epist. 7, 10	154	opusc. 18/2 = epist. 4, 3	112
epist. 7, 11 = opusc. 57/1	67	opusc. 18/3 = epist. 7, 16	114
epist. 7, 12 = opusc. 57/2	68	opusc. 19 = epist. 1, 9	72
epist. 7, 13	148	opusc. 20 = epist. 1, 10	57
epist. 7, 14	51	opusc. 21 = epist. 6, 8	105
epist. 7, 15	2	opusc. 22 = epist. 2, 3	69
epist. 7, 16 = opusc. 18/3	114	opusc. 23 = epist. 1, 17	108
epist. 7, 17	151	opusc. 24 = epist. 1, 18	98
epist. 7, 18	143	opusc. 25 = epist. 3, 9	59
epist. 7, 19 = opusc. 50	66	opusc. 26 = epist. 4, 14	47
epist. 8, 1	145	opusc. 27 = epist. 5, 9	39
epist. 8, 2	155	opusc. 28 = epist. 5, 19	spurium
epist. 8, 3	85	opusc. 29 = epist. 6, 14	24
epist. 8, 4	15	opusc. 30 = epist. 8, 11	146
epist. 8, 5	83	opusc. 31 = epist. 2, 2	97
epist. 8, 6	179	opusc. 32 = epist. 2, 7	160
epist. 8, 7 = opusc. 42/2	25	opusc. 33 = epist. 2, 14	106
epist. 8, 8	21	opusc. 34/1 = epist. 2, 15	102
epist. 8, 9 = opusc. 58	23	opusc. 34/2 = epist. 3, 10	168
epist. 8, 10	170	opusc. 35 = epist. 2, 16	159
epist. 8, 11 = opusc. 30	146	opusc. 36 = epist. 2, 17	119
epist. 8, 12	136	opusc. 37/1 = epist. 2, 20	126
epist. 8, 13	93	opusc. 37/2 = epist. 2, 21	127
epist. 8, 14	94	opusc. 38 = epist. 3, 1	91
epist. 8, 15	171	opusc. 39 = epist. 3, 8	111

Migne Number	*Reindel*	*Migne Number*	*Reindel*
opusc. 40 = epist. 4, 17	80	opusc. 50 = epist. 7, 19	66
opusc. 41 = epist. 5, 1	172	opusc. 51 = epist. 6, 30	44
opusc. 42/1 = epist. 5, 16	70	opusc. 52 = epist. 2, 18	86
opusc. 42/2 = epist. 8, 7	25	opusc. 53 = epist. 6, 31	76
opusc. 43 = epist. 6, 1	161	opusc. 54 = epist. 6, 33	137
opusc. 44 = epist. 6, 11	78	opusc. 55 = epist. 6, 35	118
opusc. 45 = epist. 6, 17	117	opusc. 56 = epist. 7, 5	104
opusc. 46 = epist. 6, 18	54	opusc. 57/1 = epist. 7, 11	67
opusc. 47 = epist. 6, 21	123	opusc. 57/2 = epist. 7, 12	68
opusc. 48 = epist. 6, 24	27	opusc. 58 = epist. 8, 9	23
opusc. 49 = epist. 6, 26	132	opusc. 59 = epist. 6, 16	92

Letters That Are Not Found in Migne

To abbot A.	178	To Henry	41
To Agnes	149	To Honestus	175
To Ambrose and Liupardus	128	To John	53
		To Odalricus	42
To Bucco	173	To Tebaldus	139
To Cinthius	135	To bishop W.	180

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Y A STROKE OF PROVIDENCE and the chance of artful human preservation, the massive letter collection of Peter Damian[1] has become a part of mankind's literary legacy. For the past twenty years the task of providing a new, critical Latin edition of these letters from the rich vein of manuscript sources has occupied the time and talents of historians at the University of Regensburg. With the partial publication of this new text,[2] it is now appropriate to present these letters in an English translation that will invite a wider reading audience.

I. *Life and Writings*

(2) The man whose spiritual and theological thought has come down to us clothed in engaging rhetoric was virtually neglected for the 50 years prior to the beginning of World War II, but since that time has increasingly gained the attention of scholars in Europe, the United States and Canada. He was born at Ravenna in 1007, the youngest of at least six children whose names appear in Damian's correspondence.[3]

1. We must still depend on the biographies of Fridolin Dressler, *Petrus Damiani. Leben und Werk* (Studia Anselmiana 34, 1954) and Jean Leclercq, *Saint Pierre Damien, ermite et homme d'église* (Uomini e Dottrine 8, 1960). But the late Giovanni Lucchesi, *Per una vita di San Pier Damiani. Componenti cronologiche e topographice* (San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte, 1072–1972) 1 (1972), 13–179 and 2 (1972), 13–160, has provided chronologically precise data from Damian's own writings that will prove invaluable for a new biography.

2. Kurt Reindel, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani,* Teil 1: Nr. 1–40. Monumenta Germaniae historica: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, Band IV (München, 1983).

3. In Letter 94 he addressed his two sisters, Rodelinda and Sufficia, both widowed in 1062. Somewhat later, about 1065, he wrote to his brother, Damianus (Letter 138), who had been an archpriest in Ravenna but at length

Recognizing the youngster's talent, his older brother, Damianus, made it possible for him to study in Faenza and Parma, where he received his elementary education and a thorough training in the liberal arts.[4] Damian further tells of his years in Parma[5] as he was writing a year after the great fire that destroyed the city in 1055.[6] He recalls that twenty-five years before the fire he had known a cleric and his mistress, who had lived together in a house next to his, and who perished in that catastrophe.[7] Thus, it is possible to date his years of study in Parma about the year 1030. He mentions two of his teachers, the priest Mainfredus, who in early 1045 was living in Ravenna, and a certain Ivo, otherwise unknown.[8]

(3) Following his school days, Damian began his career as a teacher of rhetoric in Ravenna.[9] From the evidence of his

---

became a monk. And in Letter 106 he refers to another brother, a layman named Marinus. At least one other brother is spoken of by Damian's biographer, John of Lodi (PL 144, 115B), who (perhaps overdramatically) tells of this brother's negative reaction when their mother was again pregnant with her last child. During Peter's childhood this same brother apparently abused the young lad by burdening him with tasks far beyond the capacity of his years. But eventually he was taken in hand by his older brother, Damianus. This account of Peter's difficult youth is somewhat modified by his own words in a letter to the Empress Agnes, the widow of Emperor Henry III. Writing in 1067 (Letter 149), he tells of a visit to his elder sister, Rodelinda, on her death bed, recalling that she had been a second mother to him.

4. Of his earliest formal education, Damian says: "When I was a young man attending grammar school in Faenza. . ." (Letter 44), cf. Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 7. In Letter 119 he refers to his training in the liberal arts: "On another occasion, when I was living in the city of Parma and there toiling with my classical studies (*liberalium artium studiis insudarem*)"; cf. A. Cantin, *Pierre Damien. Lettre sur la toute-puissance divine.* SC 191 (1972), 466; F. Botti, *San Pier Damiani e Parma* (1959), 30ff.; Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 8; U. Gualazzini, *Attualità di Pier Damiani* (Università di Parma, 1974).

5. Cf. Letter 70, where he says: "I clearly recall going to school and studying the liberal arts when I lived in Parma."

6. "Chronicon Parmense," ed. G. Bonazzi, *Muratori* 9, 9 (1902), 3; "Annales Parmenses," ed. Ph. Jaffé, MGH SS 18 (1863), 662.

7. "A certain cleric named Teuzolinus had a mistress living with him in the house next to mine. After they had lived together in such wanton pleasure for almost twenty-five years, they were found in the house, dying together in the flames." Peter Damian, Letter 70.

8. Damian sends greetings to Mainfredus at the end of Letter 81, but nothing further is known of him. He speaks of Ivo in Letter 117. Attempts to identify him with Ivo of Chartres have not been successful.

9. Cf. John of Lodi, *Vita,* c. 2 (PL 144, 117BC).

vita by his confrere, John of Lodi, and from his own writings, it is impossible to be precise about the length of his teaching career. In a letter to the Empress Agnes, written in 1067, he states: "It is now exactly three decades, with the addition of about two years, since I exchanged my academic garb for a monastic habit."[10] This would place his entrance into the religious life at Fonte Avellana in 1035 when he was twenty-eight years old. A somewhat different interpretation of this text has him laying aside his clerical attire, abandoning an ecclesiastical benefice, and, if Dante is to be believed, leaving the canonry of S. Maria in Porto, where his life was so relaxed that for the greater part of his life he referred to himself as the monk, Peter the Sinner.[11]

(4) However this might be, the date for his ordination to the priesthood, that involved him personally in the controversy over simony, and led to his major work, the *Liber gratissimus,*[12] is also uncertain. If, as he himself declared, a candidate could not be ordained a priest before he was thirty,[13] Damian was already at Fonte Avellana before becoming a priest, and the ordaining prelate would have been the bishop of Gubbio. But again, according to his own evidence, he received ordination from an archbishop, who, in the circumstances, could only have been Gebhard of Ravenna.[14] Thus, his entry upon the religious life took place after 1036, by which time he was already a priest.

(5) His biographer, John of Lodi, relates that Damian's

10. Cf. Peter Damian, Letter 149. For the dating of this letter, see A. Wilmart, "Une lettre de S. Pierre Damien à l'impératrice Agnès," *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932), 140; Lucchesi, *Clavis,* 148.

11. Cf. Dante Alighieri, *Divina Comedia,* ed. G. Einaudi. (La commedia secondo l'antica vulgata, *Paradiso* 21, 121–123), 364. For a partial list of the literature on this passage, see K. Reindel, "Neue Literatur zu Petrus Damiani," DA 32 (1976), 437ff.; M. Mazzotti, "Questioni Portuensi," *Studi Romagnoli* 2 (1951), 307–322; Lucchesi, *Vita* nos. 11, 23f.

12. Peter Damian, Letter 40 (MGH 384–509). This work was composed in defense of those, possibly also himself, who were validly ordained gratis by a minister of orders who was a simonist.

13. Peter Damian, Letter 40 (MGH 399, 1. 8).

14. Peter Damian, Letter 40 (MGH 476, 1. 16f.). See also G. Spinelli, "La data dell'ordinazione sacerdotale di S. Pier Damiani," *Benedictina* 19 (1972), 593–605.

choice of Fonte Avellana was occasioned by a chance meeting with two hermits from that monastery.[15] He was attracted by their account of the penitential life practiced there, an eremitical variation of the *Rule* of St. Benedict introduced by St. Romuald.[16] Damian would ever after maintain that the solitary life he accepted and fostered was not a deviation from the *Rule,* but the purest form of monachism for which the cenobitic regimen was merely a preparation.[17] His progress at Fonte Avellana was surprisingly swift. After spending a year as a novice,[18] he traveled extensively throughout various parts of Italy,[19] and since he was already known in his native Ravenna, he was invited by abbot Guido of Pomposa[20] to lecture to his monks on Holy Scripture in 1040 and 1041. At this time also he very likely composed his first extensive work, his *Tract against the Jews* (Letter 1).[21] After Ravenna, and before returning to Fonte Avellana, he visited the monastery of St. Vincent at Petra Pertusa, directing the reform of that house in the Romualdine tradition. Here, also, he began the Life of St. Romuald[22] about the year 1042.

15. Cf. John of Lodi, c. 4 (PL 144, 119f.). For recent literature on the history of Fonte Avellana, see G. Tabacco, "Romualdo di Ravenna e gli inizi dell'eremitismo camaldolese," *L'eremitismo in occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cruore), *Miscellanea del centro di studi mediovali* 4 (1965), 73–121; see also C. Pierucci, "La più antica storia di Fonte Avellana," *Benedictina* 20 (1973), 121–139.

16. Cf. A. Giabbani, "Lo spirito della Regola di S. Benedetto e la vita monastico-eremitica secondo S. Pier Damiano." *Benedictina* 1 (1947), 135–156; M. Della Santa, *Ricerche sull'idea monastica di San Pier Damiano* (Studi e testi camaldolesi 11, 1961).

17. See Peter Damian, Letter 152, written after 1067, and addressed possibly to John of Fécamp (cf. G. Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 153 and no. 83). It is a defense of the eremitical life as the objective of the Benedictine vocation, taught and advised by Benedict himself.

18. See John of Lodi, *Vita* c. 4 (PL 144, 120f.).

19. Cf. Peter Damian, Letter 8 (MGH 119, 1. 27). This active pastoral work may have provided the occasion for acquainting him with the moral condition of the secular clergy that prompted him to write Letter 31 (*The Book of Gomorrah*).

20. See P. Laghi, "S. Guido, abbate di Pomposa," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 7–107; J. E. Gugumus, "Der hl. Abt Guido von Pomposa (970–1046)," *Archiv für mittelrheinische KG* 23 (1971), 9–17; D. Balboni, "San Pier Damiano, maestro e discepolo in Pomposa," *Benedictina* 22 (1975), 73–89.

21. Cf. Letter 1, n. 2.

22. See John of Lodi, *Vita* c. 6 (PL 144, 123f.); Peter Damian, *Vita beati*

(6) In 1043 Damian was elected prior of Fonte Avellana by the community of some twenty hermits, who were undoubtedly impressed by his reform activities and by his rhetorical education that had now begun to bear fruit in literary production. During his time in office, at least until he was created cardinal,[23] he was able to improve the physical structure of the hermitage, undertook a building program there, and relieved the choir hermits from manual labor by introducing lay brothers into the community.[24] He began collecting a library, either through purchase or by establishing a *scriptorium,*[25] and codified the hermits' way of life by drawing up a body of constitutions that defined their rigorous observances.[26] He erected or reformed a series of hermitages and cenobitic houses, dependent on Fonte Avellana, and arranged them into a congregation of the Holy Cross that lasted until its suppression in 1569.[27]

(7) The concept of reform in Damian's life and work is something that transcends his personality. It was a feeling of

---

Romualdi, ed. G. Tabacco, in: Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94 (1957). In the prologue to this biography, Damian states that "three lustra (five year periods)" had passed since Romuald's death. Since this occurred in 1027, we can date his stay at S. Vincent's for 1042.

23. For the length of Damian's tenure of office as prior, see G. Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 18, 19, and 113; K. Reindel, *Neue Literatur* 411.

24. On the physical plant of Fonte Avellana and Damian's building program, see. C. Pierucci, "San Pier Damiano e i beni temporali," in: *San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972)* 2 (1972), 291–305; on the lay brothers, see Peter Damian, Letter 18 (MGH 170, 1. 17ff.).

25. See C. Pierucci, "Inventari dell'antica biblioteca di Fonte Avellana," in: *Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XIII e XIV.* Atti del III Convegno del Centro di studi Avellantini (1979), 142ff.

26. Damian's *Rule* for his eremitical institute is found in his Letter 18, written between 1045 and 1050. Here, too, he appends a list of improvements in the physical plant of Fonte Avellana, and notes the enlargement of the holdings of its library. His Letter 50, addressed to Stephen, one of his fellow hermits in 1057, may well be considered as the exposition of his *Rule,* detailing the laws and customs of the congregation of the Holy Cross. See also G. Cacciamani, "Le fondazioni eremitiche e cenobitiche di S. Pier Damiano. Inizi della Congregazione di S. Croce di Fonte Avellana," *Ravennatensia* 5 (1976), 5–33.

27. Cf. E. Boaga, "la soppressione della congregazione Avellanita e la sua unione con Camaldoli (1569)," *Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XV e XVI.* (Atti del IV Convegno del centro di studi avellaniti, 1980), 161–172.

unworthiness, strengthened by his association with Abbot Guido of Pomposa, that prompted him early in his career to regret his sinfulness and become involved in the reform movement centering about Ravenna.[28] He then focused his attention on the various houses of his congregation and on the bishops and dioceses of the Marches.[29] This local initiative did not suffice to occupy his energy, and consequently in the interest of reform he made contact with the Holy See, possibly as early as 1043, while Benedict IX was still pope, or certainly by 1045 when he wrote to Pope Gregory VI, whose election he welcomed.[30] During the time of Gebhard, archbishop of Ravenna (+ 1044), who had started his reforming career in Eichstätt, and was named to his Italian see by the Emperor Conrad II in 1027, Damian began his relationship with Henry III.[31] In 1046 he lavishly praised the Emperor for his intervention in Rome,[32] and took part in the Synod of Sutri (1046) and in the Roman synods held by Clement II and Leo IX. Long before his direct participation in the work of the Roman Curia, Peter took his stand on the major objectives of the reform movement, especially the problems of a married clergy[33] and simony.[34] But the general thrust of his writings centered on the spiritual life of the individual, clerical or lay, a *renovatio* that took its inspiration from Sacred Scripture

28. See H. P. Laqua, *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformer Petrus Damiani (1042–1052).* (Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 30, 1976), 38–53.

29. "He (the Emperor Henry III) requested that I inform you, both of what was happening in the churches of our region, and of what I deemed imperative for you to do." Peter Damian, Letter 26, addressed to Pope Clement II in April 1047. Cf. also P. Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana.*

30. Cf. his Letters 4, 11, and 13. 31. Cf. Letter 20.

32. Cf. Letter 40, n. 9. For Damian's *laudatio* of Henry III, see Letter 40 (MGH 501–503).

33. On the question of celibacy, cf. J. de Chasteigner, "Le célibat sacerdotal dans les écrits de S. Pierre Damien," *Doctor Communis* 24 (1971), 169–183 and 261–276.

34. On simony, cf. P. Palazzini, "Influssi damianei ed umbertini nell' azione e legislazione dei papi pregregoriani contra la simonia da papa Clemente II a Nicolò II," *Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XI e XII.* (Atti del II Convegno del centro di studi avellantini, 1978), 7–41. As early as 1043 in Letter 3 to Archbishop Gebhard of Ravenna, Damian reveals his awareness of the vice of simony.

and the sacramental theology of Augustine. At the same time, his moral theology was haphazard, lacking a systematic base, because the majority of his letters and sermons were constructed with exempla and the legends of the saints, presented as models of imitation.

(8) At the instigation of Hildebrand, Damian was created Cardinal Bishop of Ostia by Stephen IX, with the express purpose of engaging him more intimately in the work of the Roman Curia. This event is usually dated during the winter of 1057, shortly after Stephen became pope; but while it remains clear that Damian was elevated by Stephen,[35] the date is uncertain because his Christmas sermon (61), associated with this event, is problematic.[36] Peter frequently expressed his displeasure at being thrust into the thick of things, regretting the loss of his "beloved solitude," and even wrote lengthy letters arguing for his release.[37] But he nevertheless used his new position to exhort his fellow-cardinal bishops to spiritual renewal, thus contributing to their self-consciousness as eventual electors of the pope.[38] When Stephen IX died in Florence on 29 March 1058, Peter was in Rome and witnessed the violent intrusion and installation of the antipope Benedict X,[39] but was not present for the election of Gerard of Florence as Pope Nicholas II.[40] During the short tenure of this pope Damian was active in curial affairs, and assisted in formulating the Papal Election Decree of 1059 that strengthened the role of the cardinal bishops in selecting a new pope.[41]

35. Cf. G. M. Cacciamani, "La nomina di S. Pier Damiano a vescovo e a cardinale di Ostia," *San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972)* 1 (1972), 181–193. See also Damian's Letter 72, where he speaks of Pope Stephen IX as his persecutor for having forced him into office.

36. See Reindel, *Neue Literatur* 414.

37. His efforts at abdication are found in his Letters 57, 72, and 75, on which see G. Lucchesi, *Vita*, nos. 122 and 147.

38. Peter Damian, Letters 48 and 97.

39. On Benedict X, see O. Capitani, "Benedetto X," *Dizionario biographico degli italiani* 8 (1966), 366–370.

40. Cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 120.

41. On this problem, see Reindel, *Neue Literatur* 428, n. 127; F. Kempf, "Pier Damiani und das Papstwahldekret von 1059," *Archivum Historiae Pon-*

(9) In the same year he was sent on mission to Milan,[42] still in the throes of a violent rising of the Patarins.[43] In solving the local problems that flowed from a simonist and married clergy, he was able with great diplomatic skill to calm the tempers of all concerned, and at the same time to confirm the primacy of the Roman See over the Church of St. Ambrose.[44] In his report of this legation to Hildebrand, he spoke of that cardinal's request to prepare a canonical collection of privileges that belonged to the authority of the Apostolic See. At first he considered this request trivial and cavalierly cast it aside, but then had second thoughts and promised to study the matter.[45] Yet, there is no evidence in his writings that he ever took up the project.

(10) The new pope, elected in 1061, was his friend and companion on the mission to Milan, Anselm of Baggio,[46] who took the name Alexander II. Damian probably participated in this election, and with reckless abandon savagely attacked the antipope Cadalus, bishop of Parma (Honorius II), to whom he addressed two letters.[47] The second of these con-

---

tificiae (1964), 73–89; G. Lucchesi, *Vita* nos. 134–136; O Capitani, "Problematica della Disceptatio Synodalis," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 141–174; K. Woody, "Sagena piscatoris: Petrus Damiani and the Papal Election Decree of 1059," *Viator* 1 (1970), 33–54; on which, see G. Fornasari, *Prospettive* (see Bibliography), 476f., n. 35.

42. Cf. P. Palazzini, "La missione di San Pier Damiani e il privilegium S. R. Ecclesiae," *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le Marche* 8, 7 (1971–1973: appearing in 1974), 171–195. For the dating of this mission to Milan, see F. Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 130f. and G. Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 147.

43. See C. Somigli, "San Pier Damiano e la Pataria," *San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972)* 3 (1972), 193–206.

44. Cf. P. Palazzini, "Il primato romano in S. Pier Damiani," *Studi Cattolici* 17 (1973), 424–430.

45. See Peter Damian, Letter 65: ". . .You frequently asked me, . . . that as I read through the decrees and deeds of the Roman pontiffs, I should from here and there thoughtfully excerpt whatever specifically was seen to pertain to the authority of the Apostolic See, and put it all together in some small volume as a new collection." Cf. K. Reindel, *Neue Literatur,* 422f.

46. Cf. Tilmann Schmidt, *Alexander II (1061–1073) und die Römische Reformgruppe seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1977); C. Violante, "Anselmo da Baggio," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 3 (1961), 399–407.

47. Peter Damian, Letters 88 and 89. It is quite likely that these were "open letters," never actually sent to Cadalus. On Cadalus, see F. Baix, "Cadalus," DHGE 11 (1949), 53–99. Letter 89 now contains the *Disceptatio synodalis*, which formerly appeared alone in Gaetani as *Opusc.* 4 (PL 145, 67–87).

tains the *Disceptatio synodalis,* the fictitious debate between the counsel for the German King and the attorney for the Roman Church. In this situation he defended the election of Alexander and condemned the intervention of Honorius, who claimed support from the royal court. About the same time he corresponded with Archbishop Anno of Cologne to provide for a general council that would end the schism,[48] for which he was severely rebuked by Hildebrand and the pope.[49] Despite his reprimand, Damian continued to have contact with the German court, as is evidenced by his letter to the Empress Agnes,[50] whom he met in Rome, probably in 1063, heard her general confession, and praised her for her resolve to enter the convent.[51] Acting as papal legate in 1069, he attended a Diet in Frankfurt where he prevented King Henry IV from repudiating his wife, Bertha.[52]

(11) Also in the service of the Roman Curia, he traveled to Cluny in 1063 to grant papal patronage to that abbey in its dispute with the bishop of Mâcon.[53] In 1066-1067 he visited Florence in a futile attempt to arbitrate the differences between the bishop of Florence and the monks of Vallombrosa.[54] On his last mission he was in Ravenna to free the city

48. Peter Damian, Letter 99. On which see G. Jenal, *Erzbishof Anno II von Köln (1056–1075) und sein politisches Wirken* (Monographien zur Geschichte des MA 8 [1974–1975], 192).

49. In Letter 107, Damian defended himself against this attack. On which, cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 182.

50. On the dating of her visit to Rome, see A. Wilmart, *Une lettre* 135; G. B. Borino, "Cencio del prefetto Stefano, l'attentatore di Gregorio VII," *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952), 373–440, esp. 396; Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 179.

51. M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Kaiserin Agnes* (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des MA und der Renaissance 52 [1933], 84ff.).

52. On the planned divorce of Henry IV, see Lampert von Hersfeld, *Annales zu 1069,* ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. (1894), 109f.; *Annales Altahenses maiores zu 1069,* ed. E. V. Oefele, MGH SS rer. Germ. (1891), 78.

53. *De Gallica Petri Damiani profectione et eius ultramontano itinere,* ed. G. Schwartz and A. Hofmeister, MGH SS 30 (1896–1934), 1034–1046; cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* nos. 171–176. Damian also wrote a life of Abbot Odilo of Cluny (Petri Damiani, *Vita s. Odilonis,* PL 144, 925–944); cf. BHL 6282 and Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 180, p. 53. On the synod of Chalon-sur-Saône, cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire* 4, 1231f.; P. Palazzini, *Dizionario dei concili* 1, 278f.

54. See Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 204.

and its archbishop Henry from excommunication, incurred because of their support for the anti-pope Cadalus.[55] On his return journey, he died in the monastery of S. Maria *foris portam* at Faenza on 22 February 1072, and there found his first resting place. Today he lies buried in the cathedral of Faenza.[56]

II. *The Preservation and Contents of Damian's Letters*

(12) During the years spent on the Latin edition of Damian's writings, exclusive of his sermons and poems, it became evident to the editors that all of them, both short and long, could be classified as letters. At the present time 180 letters have survived, a wonder of preservation when compared with other letter registers of the period. Of his contemporary, Pope Alexander II, for example, no register exists.[57] Damian was a compulsive letter writer, and saw in these compositions a legacy that he could bestow on his community and on later generations.

(13) Before discussing their composition, one might first take note of their general content. Damian suited the subject matter of his letter, short or long, to the person he was addressing. But at the same time, his own theological or ascetical interests, his philosophical and legal concerns are revealed. Practical topics, such as a married man's attitude toward his mother living with him, and her relationship to her daughter-in-law, find their way into his letters.[58] Yet one can only wonder, as he takes note of the variety of his personal interests and of the self-imposed limits of the genre he had chosen, at the absence of Damian's reference to outstanding contemporary events of which he must certainly have been aware.

(14) Despite his visits to Monte Cassino and his epistolary contact with the Abbot Desiderius, Alberic the Deacon, and

55. See G. Lucchesi, *I viaggi di S. Pier Damiani* (Faenza, 1973), 78f.
56. A. Savioli, "La chiesa di S. Maria foris portam a Faenza e la tomba di S. Pier Damiani," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 111–130.
57. Cf. T. Schmidt, *Alexander II*, vii.
58. See Letter 85.

Alfanus, later archbishop of Salerno, and with the whole community, he fails to mention the Norman presence in central and southern Italy. His contacts with Pope Leo IX, whom he chided for taking up arms[59]—and that against Robert Guiscard in 1053—fail to prompt a comment on this foreign influence on the area. His letters are silent on the diplomatic relations between the Holy See, the imperial court of Henry III, and the attempt to enlist assistance from the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine IX, in fighting the Normans, and the mission of Cardinal Humbert to Constantinople in 1054 to further this alliance. Even more striking is Damian's failure to mention the severe altercation between Humbert and Patriarch Michael Cerularius, leading to the so-called Eastern Schism, especially since Damian wrote to Constantine III Leichudes, the patriarch of Constantinople (1059–1063) in 1062 on the very subject of the *Filioque*.[60]

(15) Farther afield, but still within the area of his competence as a member of the papal curia, he is silent about the Norman conquest of England, even though a papal banner was sent to William as a token of Alexander II's interest in extending the papal reform that would replace the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy with Norman personnel. Many marvelous tales are told throughout his letters, and in Letter 104 to the Empress Agnes, written in 1064, he refers to two lunar eclipses, one in 1056, and the other in April 1062. But he is strangely silent about the appearance of a comet in 1066, later known as Halley's Comet, depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. Another blind spot for him was the Christian cause in Spain, where the *Reconquista* began during the last decade of Damian's life. Despite the fact that the Christian sphere of influence was squeezed into the northern part of Spain, it is

59. See Letter 87: "Now if someone should object to my arguments by stating that Pope Leo often became involved in acts of war, even though he was holy, I will tell you what I think. Peter did not obtain the apostolic primacy because he denied the Lord, nor was David found worthy of the gift of prophecy because he violated another man's marriage rights."

60. See Letter 91.

noteworthy that among the 233 surviving manuscripts of his letters that have been gathered for the new edition, not a single one indicates a Spanish provenance.[61]

(16) It is also noteworthy with reference again to Byzantium, that Damian was aware of only seven general councils that had been assembled from the First Council of Nicaea to 1059. In Letter 65, his report to Hildebrand concerning his legation to Milan, written in December 1059, he reproduces the oath of Arialdus, the deacon of the chapel of the archbishop of Milan, that professes the faith "which the seven holy councils established on the authority of the Gospels and the apostles."[62] As a member of the college of cardinals, and as an authority on the canonical tradition of the Church, Damian could not have been unaware of an eighth ecumenical council, the Fourth Council of Constantinople (869–870),[63] which condemned and excommunicated the Patriarch Photius. Damian's silence about this council lends credence to the position that in the mid-eleventh century the Roman Church was not aware of the ecumenicity of this council and, consequently, of the divisive fact of Photius' condemnation.[64] In another letter (*Opus.* 28 in PL 145, 515C) Damian spoke of eight general councils; this no longer presents any difficulty since this letter is today considered spurious.[65] Consequently, he may also have been unacquainted with the only source for the eighth council, the *Interpretationes Synodi VII generalis et Synodi VIII generalis* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius.

(17) The preservation of Damian's letter collection was not accidental. Writing was for him both an extension of his efforts at contemplation and a substitute for manual labor, at which he had no experience. It was also a means of avoiding tedium and acedia. His life at Fonte Avellana centered about

61. This may have resulted from the instability of the Church in northern Spain, or from the incomplete cataloging of existing Spanish MS collections.

62. See Letter 65.

63. For a brief summary of the status of this council, see V. Laurent, "Constantinople IV, Council of," NCE 4 (1967), 241–242.

64. Cf. F. Dvornick, *The Photian Schism* (1948), 377.

65. Cf. J. J. Ryan, *Canonical Sources* 54, 70–71, 164; Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 159; *Clavis* (1961), 313–314.

his cell, where he was surrounded by a respectable library for his day. From these he could cite the Scriptures and the patristic literature of early Christian times from which his reform ideas drew their inspiration. This was the atmosphere he created for himself and his secretary where he dictated his letters. The traditional practices of letter writing in the Middle Ages here came into play,[66] explaining why none of his compositions has survived in his own handwriting.[67] All are copies or edited texts for the preparation of which he carefully chose the personnel. And yet, despite his great concern for the preservation of his work, no one manuscript source contains all his letters.

(18) The technique of composition was as follows. As prior, he chose a young monk to work with him as scribe or notary. The names of several of these are known to us, among them Ariprandus, Silvester, perhaps for a while his own nephew Damianus, and John of Lodi, who later wrote his biography. The scribe used a *penna,* perhaps a quill or a stylus, and wrote down Damian's dictation[68] on wax tablets. From these another writer called an *antiquarius,* transcribed the letter on to small sheets of parchment, called *schedulae.* None of these, unfortunately, have survived, so it is impossible to discover the stylistic format of Damian's dictation. Did the *schedulae,* for example, already display his use of rimed prose and the var-

66. Cf. H. Hoffmann, "Zur mittelalterlichen Brief technik," *Spiegel der Geschichte* (1964); G. Constable, *Letters and Letter-collections* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 17, 1976); Franz-Josef Schmale, "Brief, Briefliteratur, Briefsammlungen. A. IV Lateinisches MA," *Lexikon des MA 2 (1982), 652–659.*

67. In Letter 19 Damian says: "... claims also that no common bond exists between the fingers with which I now write and the fingers of my left hand." Besides being a testimony to his right-handedness, this is his only reference to his personal penmanship. But not even this letter survived in the original holograph. His handwriting is known only from a series of his signatures; cf. K. Reindel, *Handschriften* 94f., n. 2.

68. Damian's use of the verb *dictare* may have the meaning of "writing," but for him it means specifically "to dictate." Cf. Letter 121, where he tells that while he was sick in bed, he dictated to a brother scribe. See also A. Ernout, "Dictare, 'dicter,' allem. 'dichten'," *Revue des études latines* 29 (1951), 155–161. For the procedures whereby his dictation went from wax tablets to finished copy, see K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 54–55.

ious forms of *cursus* which he favored? Did he automatically compose in these forms, or did he "process" his sentences only after he had his dictation before him, as it were, in "page proof "? That he was now in a position to improve or correct his composition is obvious. Once he was satisfied that all was as he wanted it, the *schedulae* were given to another scribe who then produced one copy that would be sent to the addressee, and another that was preserved at Fonte Avellana. This second copy, as shall be explained, is most important for the history of the text and its transmission.

(19) Not a single letter of Damian's has been found at the site or in the archive of the addressee, not even one of the twenty-one letters sent to popes. If a "house copy" had not been preserved, it is most likely that Damian's letters would be unknown. From a study of Damian's correspondents,[69] one may conclude that the subject matter of his letters was not always tailored to the person addressed. In many cases we have evidence that the letter was sealed,[70] but never dated, and that possibly an address (including the recipient's name) was written on the outer sheet of the letter. In some cases, as indicated in the body of the letter, sensitive information or advice was given the recipient by the bearer of the letter.[71]

(20) But we may also conclude that many of his compositions were "open letters," meant to circulate among monasteries or hermitages where they were copied and then sent forward. It is also quite likely that many of his letters were not sent to the recipient or circulated, but were merely kept in a letter file or letter book for preservation, bearing a fictitious name and address. At any event, the shorter letters, which he called *epistola, littera, brevis, breviculus, dictamen, scrip-*

69. See K. Reindel, "Petrus Damiani und seine Korrespondenten," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 203–220.

70. On this matter, Damian says at the conclusion of Letter 122: "Since at the moment I do not have my seal, I am asking my nephew, Damianus, to affix the seal in my stead." On this citation, see K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 59, n. 172. On the general practice of using letter seals, cf. C. Erdmann, "Untersuchungen zu den Briefen Heinrichs IV," AUF 16 (1939), 184–253.

71. On Damian's frequent references to the bearer of his letters, see K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 60.

tiuncula, scriptio, pagina, membranula, schedula, chartula, and *pittacium;*[72] and the longer compositions which he referred to as *liber, libellus, opus,* or *opusculum* were indisputably all letters. All of them together seemed to satisfy a plan he had devised to record for posterity his position on spiritual and temporal problems of his time, his views on Church and State, on eschatology and other fundamental branches of theology, and practical observations on ecclesiastical politics and monastic administration—fashioning, as it were, a loosely structured *Summa* in epistolary form.[73]

(21) It is interesting to note that from time to time Damian was aware that he had exceeded the norms of epistolary brevity, for which he begged pardon of the addressee.[74] Also, contrary to the rules of letter writing, he occasionally inserted titles "to relieve the double tedium of my unpolished and verbose style."[75] Or, as he stated to another correspondent: "Obviously, while I was busy promoting the edification of my brother, I exceeded the length that a letter should have, and so, contrary to epistolary practice, I inserted fitting titles to each of the various sections so that I might not promote disgust in the reader by my excessively long remarks."[76] Following Damian's precedent, the first editor, Constantine Gaetani, and perhaps even the appointed "censors and editors," the abbots Gebizo and Tebaldus, and even his own disciple, John of Lodi, inserted titles or headings into his longer letters.[77] These three censors were commissioned somewhat after 1064, and seem to have replaced two previously appointed censors, Bishop Theodisius of Sinigaglia and Bishop Rodulfus of Gubbio, to whom Damian had entrusted the correction and editing of his works about 1059.[78]

72. Cf. K. Reindel, *Korrespondenten* 211; for the longer letters, see K. Reindel, *Korrespondenten* 210.

73. K. Reindel, *Korrespondenten* 217–219.

74. For two such cases, see Letter 57 and Letter 102.

75. Letter 66. 76. Letter 44.

77. Cf. Letter 116, in which this commission took place. Their appointment was probably made necessary by the death of Rodulfus of Gubbio in 1064; cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 153. It would seem that by 1064 Bishop Theodisius was also dead.

78. Cf. Letter 62.

(22) Conforming to the usage of the times, Damian did not date his letters.[79] But through the efforts of Franz Neukirch in 1875 and Giovanni Lucchesi in 1972,[80] with occasional refinement of the procedure by those engaged in the new Latin edition of 1983ff., most of Damian's letters are now approximately dated. Consequently, it has been possible to provide a new arrangement of all but ten of his works, based on this dating, and to abandon the artificial grouping of letters designed by Gaetani, according to the dignity of the recipient. As his letters are now arranged, one can follow the growth and maturing of the author's thought and become more aware of his life as a historical continuum.

(23) As noted above, Damian kept a copy of his writings at Fonte Avellana, but the order in which they were preserved was not chronological. The cataloging or indexing he employed allowed him ready access to earlier letters, to which he could refer in his later writings. Thus, in his *vita* of Rodulfus of Gubbio and of Dominicus Loricatus (Letter 109), he was able to quote from earlier letters, for example, Letter 44 to the urban hermit Teuzo, to the Countess Blanche (Letter 66), and to John, the prior of a hermitage near Mt. Suavicinum (Letter 53). He could repeat whole chapters of previous letters in his later works, and in Letter 107 to Pope Alexander II and to Hildebrand, written during Lent 1064, he included a copy of his Letter 99 to Archbishop Anno of Cologne, written in the summer of 1063, which had provoked the pope and the archdeacon. In Letter 72, composed between January and March 1060, he cites from Letter 57, sent to the same Pope Nicholas II in the winter of 1058. On another occasion he could send the same letter to different addressees. Thus, he dispatched an almost identical account of events prior to the Last Judgment and the coming of Antichrist to his sister (Let-

79. An exception to this usage is found in a letter (*Reg.* 1, 47) of Gregory VII to Mathilda of Tuscany; cf. J. Autenrieth, DA 13 (1957), 534–538.

80. See F. Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani* (Göttingen, 1875); G. Lucchesi, *Per una vita di San Pier Damiani. Componenti cronologiche e topografiche*, in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972), 1 (1972) 13–179; 2 (1972), 13–160.

ter 93), and also to the monk Adam (Letter 92). As attested in three MSS, he sent the same Letter 49 on the spiritual significance of the Sabbath, to cardinals Hildebrand and Stephen, and to Archbishop Alfanus and Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino,[81] while Letter 160 was addressed to both Hildebrand and Alberic the deacon of Monte Cassino.[82]

(24) The work of John of Lodi, who joined Damian's community about 1059,[83] and who was entrusted with correcting and editing his letter collection, is most important for understanding the preservation of Damian's letters. The commission to the first pair of bishop-editors had been the following: "I beg your excellencies with all my being that in your good judgment, if you have the time, while I am still alive or after I am dead, you carefully read through whatever you can find of my writings. And if anything is there contained that is contrary to the Catholic faith, or that is opposed to the authority of Sacred Scripture, delete it, if you see fit, or by correcting my opinion, bring it into line with sound doctrine."[84] In 1064 he instructed John and his companions in similar fashion: "Therefore now, my dear friends, I enjoin you in your holy prudence as a task under obedience, and more than that, as a servant and disciple I humbly beg you to restore this letter to the accuracy acquired through my correction, and after carefully reading through the other works that I dictated, you should quickly cut out or recast in more exact wording whatever you find that fails to make sense."[85] Thus, John of Lodi was assigned the task of first assembling all of Damian's writings in Fonte Avellana, and then of editing or correcting them.

(25) Besides being a close friend and companion of Peter Damian, entrusted with the preservation of his writings, John also wrote the biography of his prior, which, despite its pan-

81. For the above examples and their history in the MSS, cf. K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 60–61.

82. See O. J. Blum, *Studi Gregoriani* 5 (1956), 294f.

83. Cf. G. Lucchesi, *Giovanni da Lodi "Il discepolo,"* in: San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972), 4 (1978), 7–66; A. Caretta, "Giovanni da Lodi," *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 6 (1965), 822ff.

84. Letter 62.

85. Letter 116.

egyrical style, gives depth and focus to his career.[86] Perhaps even more important are his so-called *Collectanea,* or, as they are entitled in MS *Vat. lat.* 4930 (V5), *Liber testimoniorum,* "A book of texts from the Old and New Testaments, which a certain disciple of his carefully excerpted from the works of blessed Peter Damian."[87] This work gathered together selections, sometimes rather lengthy, from Damian's writings which illustrated his explication of biblical texts. The *Collectanea* are important, because they contain excerpts from letters that were not, or are no longer contained in the great MS collections that have been preserved, and also because they fully identify the recipients who are elsewhere referred to only by a symbol. Cardinal G. Mercati in his day (1902) had identified this "disciple" as John of Lodi,[88] and E. Massa proved that John had himself actually written the *Liber testimoniorum* in MS V5.[89]

III. *Manuscripts and Editions*

(26) The so-called *Collectanea* provide independent evidence for the authenticity of Peter Damian's letters, and on further investigation show an obvious relationship to the best MS of Damian's works, *Cod. Vat. lat.* 3797 (V1). The task of discussing and explaining in detail the MS base of Damian's letters lies outside the purpose of an introduction to the English translation of these works. The manuscripts, their provenance, and transmission are most admirably described by Professor Kurt Reindel in the Latin edition,[90] and at greater length in his *Studien zur Überlieferung der Werke des Petrus Damiani.*[91] Here, perhaps, it will suffice to say that four great co-

86. Cf. *Vita beati Petri Damiani* (PL 144, 113–146).

87. For a listing of the 294 excerpts, see G. Lucchesi, *Clavis s. Petri Damiani* (Faenza, 1970), 11–26. The only edition is in PL 145, 991–1010, 1010–1184, and 891–910.

88. G. Mercati, "L'autore delle collectanea ex opusculis Petri Damiani," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 23 (1902), 6ff.

89. Cf. E. Massa, *Manoscritti* 369; idem, *Giustiniani* 111ff.

90. K. Reindel, *Briefe* 1, 17–39.

91. Cf. K. Reindel, DA 15 (1959), 23–102; 16 (1960), 73–154; and 18 (1962), 317–417.

dices of the eleventh century provide the foundation for the present text: *Cod. Vat. lat.* 3797 (V1), *Cod. Urbinus lat.* 503 (U1), *Cod. Cassinensis* 358 (C1), and *Cod. Cassinensis* 359 (C2). Each of these is an independent edition of manuscripts that had been collected at Fonte Avellana, the arrangement of which seems to have been either topical or chronological. V1 and U1 today are incomplete, having suffered losses of whole signatures of folios. C1 and C2, like the other two MSS, depend on original material at Fonte Avellana, but were written in Beneventan script on the initiative of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, Damian's close friend, who died as Pope Victor III in 1087. These two MSS contain various letters, with only Letter 49 duplicated in each MS, and neither MS was the model for further copying.[92]

(27) V1, by far the largest of the eleventh-century MSS, was generally used by the editor to establish the definitive reading of the text.[93] Yet in almost all cases, other contemporary or later MSS were also noted, with their variant readings appearing in the critical apparatus. None of the eleventh-century codices contains all the letters of Damian's corpus; in fact, some of them, such as Letters 92 and 93 on the Last Judgment, are found only in later manuscripts. In the fourteenth century MS V1 was recopied in *Cod.* D 206 (A), now in the Archivio di S. Pietro of the Vatican, only after V1 had suffered severe losses of folios. MS A was the model for *Cod. Ottob. lat.* 321 (O1), copied at the end of the sixteenth century.[94] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries MS U1 was the exemplar for three other MSS, *Cod. Urbin. lat.* 94 (U2), *Cod. Urbin. lat.* 95 (U3), and *Cod. Tusc. Q VI* in Frascati (Q). Two smaller codices, *Cod. Chigi A. V.* 145 (Ch 1) from the end of the twelfth century, and *Cod. Chigi A. VII* 218 (Ch 2) of the eleventh century, both now in the Vatican Library, derive directly from MS sources at Fonte Avellana. In some instances they present letters appearing also in other eleventh-century MSS, especially in U1, but Ch 1 contains two letters, Letter

92. Cf. K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 86.
93. For a full description of this MS, see K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 68–79.
94. Cf. K. Reindel, *Studien* 2, 74–81.

128 to Ambrose and Liupard, and Letter 149, to the Empress Agnes, that are otherwise unknown.[95]

(28) It should also be noted that a large group of some eleven MSS depend on an independent archetype of the eleventh century now lost, but originally deriving from sources at Fonte Avellana. The oldest of these, *Cod. lat.* 2470 (P1), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is from the first half of the fourteenth century, and was written in Italy. P1, despite its later provenance, is important for establishing the critical text, because it contains many letters now missing in MS V1 and even in its copy, MS A. But when the readings of V1 and P1 are collated, it becomes clear that while P1 is in the same MS tradition as V1, it is not a copy of the latter.[96]

(29) Similarly, four other groups of MSS from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries show variation from the great eleventh-century collections, but at the same time reflect some dependence on the original MS sources at Fonte Avellana. These MSS are especially numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and seem to be the product of widespread reform movements, reaching from the monastery of Melk in Austria and the university of Vienna to monasteries in Bavaria, that found inspiration from the writings of Peter Damian.[97] Another group, also independent of the four major eleventh-century codices, but showing relationship to Fonte Avellana sources, has its provenance in the area of northern France and Belgium, with characteristics that indicate their origin in a Cistercian milieu as well as that of the university of Paris.[98] Withal, there can be no doubt from the MS evidence that Damian's writings commanded an audience from the eleventh century down to the age of printing. One need only examine the MS tradition of Letter 28 to see how fre-

95. Cf. A. Wilmart, "Une lettre," *Revue bénédictine* 44 (1932), 140–146.

96. The tradition of MS P1 is related in K. Reindel, *Studien* 2, 83–90. G. Tobacco, *Vita beati Romualdi,* viii f. would have P1 copied directly from V1, but a comparison of the two texts will not allow this conjecture.

97. See K. Reindel, *Briefe* 1, 24.

98. See K. Reindel, *Studien* 2, 125ff. and 3, 348ff.

quently some of his works were re-copied, and how widely they were circulated.[99]

(30) It should also be pointed out, that from the manuscript evidence that has survived, it is impossible to assemble a "family tree" that will contribute to the establishment of a definitive text. No one MS of the eleventh century contains all the letters. Some letters are found in two or more of the eleventh-century "editions" of the original collection at Fonte Avellana, and each edition in turn presents its own readings, showing that the original material had been subjected to emendation and correction after it had been assembled. Damian himself engaged in constant editing of his letters. Nor is it possible to find in the oldest MSS a consistent chronological order of letters, which might allow a modern editor to claim that one tradition of the text is older or more authentic than the others. One is likewise always harassed and intrigued by the once existing or phantom eleventh-century prototypes of the five groups of MSS whose origins seem unclear, but which, like the four existing eleventh-century codices, depended on the original materials which also failed to survive. This will explain why the editors show variant readings taken from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century MSS that derive from these phantom prototypes, which at the same time reveal the history of the text.

(31) While manuscript copies of Damian's letters occasionally continued to appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, e.g., *Msc. Patr. 117* (Ba) of the Staatl. Bibliothek in Bamberg, dated 1501, individual letters, *opuscula,* and *vitae* were printed in incunabula during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[100] In 1514 the first edition of the *Vita Romualdi* appeared,[101] while from 1551–1560 a large collection of Damian's letters, sermons, and lives of the saints were published by Luigi Lippomano.[102] In 1579 another large selection

99. For the Latin edition of this letter, see K. Reindel, *Briefe* 1, 248–278.
100. See. F. Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 227ff.
101. Cf. G. Tabacco, *Vita beati Romualdi,* xxxiii.
102. Cf. K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 25ff.

of Damian's works was printed by Canon Marguerin de La Bigne (1546–1589),[103] a professor at the Sorbonne, in his *Appendix bibliothecae sanctorum patrum,* which in 1589 was edited as volume 3 of the *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum.* Another attempt at editing Damian's works was undertaken by Caesar Baronius (1538–1607)[104] in the 11th volume of his *Annales ecclesiastici* (1605). Baronius was able to employ a greater selection of Damian MSS for his work, since he was in contact with Constantine Gaetani, who at the time was engaged in editing the *opera omnia* of Peter Damian, an effort that, for its time, was outstanding.

(32) Gaetani's[105] work was an attempt at collecting and editing all the writings of Damian from all existing MSS. Born in Syracusa, Sicily in 1568, he entered the Benedictine order in the monastery of S. Nicolò in Catania in 1586. Through the intervention of Cardinal Baronius he was called to Rome by Pope Clement VIII and was entrusted with the editing of Damian's writings. As a member of the Congregation of Monte Cassino, and with the Vatican MSS at his disposal, Gaetani was able to command a greater range of the MS tradition of Damian's works than any of his predecessors, and seems to have used the four major eleventh-century codices which were spoken of above. But at times his editing reveals strange lapses from the readings found in these dominant MSS. Occasionally, for example, he chose to be guided by MS A, the fourteenth-century copy of MS V1, even though the latter was obviously older, and, because of the vastness of the undertaking, depended on the work of assistants who were less competent to judge the quality of the MSS, and to decipher the handwriting and the abbreviations there contained. Nevertheless, in 1606[106] the first volume of Gaetani's edition appeared, containing all the biographical material on Dami-

103. Cf. A. Wilmart, *Une lettre* 125, n. 1; K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 31f.

104. See. A. Pincherle, "Cesare Baronio," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 6 (1964), 470–478; H. Jedin, *Kardinal Caesar Baronius,* in: Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 38 (1978).

105. Cf. J. Ruysschaert, *Constantino Gaetani,* in: Studi e testi 237 (1964), 261–326; K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 40ff.

106. Cf. K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 41ff.

an's life that he could unearth, and then his letters, arranged in eight books according to the dignity of their recipients: popes, cardinals, patriarchs and archbishops, bishops and archdeacons, priests and clerics, abbots and monks, secular princes, and simple laymen. The second volume, appearing in 1608, contained Damian's sermons and lives of the saints. In 1615 volume 3 was published, containing *Opuscula* 1–16. These, too, are letters, and differ only in size from the letters found in volume 1. In 1640 the fourth and last volume was published, containing prayers and poems, and the *Collectanea in vetus testamentum* of John of Lodi.

(33) Gaetani's edition was frequently reprinted, and as early as 1623 the first such reprint, issuing from Lyons, revealed many changes. The most important of these was the alteration of 43 of Damian's letters into *opuscula,* added to the 16 *opuscula* edited in Gaetani's volume 3. *Opusculum* 60 was then produced, entitled the *Expositio mystica historiarum libri Geneseos,* taken from thirty segments of Damian's writings explaining excerpts from Genesis, found in the *Collectanea in vetus testamentum.* The first significant addition to the Gaetani corpus was the publication of Angelo Mai (1782–1854), prefect of the Vatican Library. In 1832 he printed the account of one of Damian's companions, describing his trip into Gaul to the monastery of Cluny,[107] and the *Testimonia novi testamenti,* found in the Vatican MS, *Cod. lat.* 4930 (V5), for which Gaetani had searched in vain.[108] All of Damian's writings, printed before the middle of the nineteenth century, were then reprinted by Migne, *Patrologia latina* 144 and 145, and since then several other letters have been discovered, and find their place in the Latin and English editions.[109]

(34) Translations of Damian's letters into English have been minimal. In 1959 Patricia McNulty published her *St. Peter Damian. Selected Writings on the Spiritual Life Translated with an*

107. *De Gallica profectione domni Petri Damiani et eius ultramontano itinere* (PL 145, 865–880; MGH Scriptores 30, 1034–1046).

108. See K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 48.

109. For a summary of these later discoveries, cf. K. Reindel, *Studien* 1, 49f.

Introduction.[110] The one significant piece there contained was Letter 28, formerly *Opusc.* 11. The other selections are marred by the translator's inclusion of several spurious sermons, falsely attributed to Peter Damian. A partial translation of Letter 119, entitled *On Divine Omnipotence,* appeared in J. F. Wippel and A. Wolter, *Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1969), prepared by the present translator. In 1982 Pierre J. Payer translated the *Book of Gomorrah,*[111] now Letter 31, formerly known as *Opusc.* 7 in Migne, PL 145. Payer's work has a valuable introduction (pp. 3–23), but unfortunately the Migne text there translated is a bowdlerized version of the original, from which significant sections were deleted, seemingly because the first editor, Gaetani, thought them too sexually explicit.

(35) Viewing Damian's correspondence as a whole, one is impressed by its volume, the high quality of its Latin rhetorical style, and the sustained moral and ascetical motivation. From what we know of the preservation of his writings at the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, there can be little doubt that Damian was determined to bequeath to succeeding centuries his legacy of theological and historical commentary. His observations of the contemporary scene were limited in space and time to those of a solitary who never quite abandoned either his interest in ecclesiastical reform, or his zest and talent for letter writing, of which he was strongly aware. In one of his letters to the archdeacon Hildebrand, for example, he wrote: "Certainly, there is no one alive to whom I would rather write, if only you would condescend to read it. But since there is little chance of that, notice how careful and polished is my style, how flowery my eloquence, how glittering and elegant is my diction."[112]

(36) Whether at home in his hermitage, surrounded by his library, or in Rome, or on the road, he found letter writing

110. New York: Harper and Row, 1960.

111. P. J. Payer, *Peter Damian: Book of Gomorrah.* An Eleventh-Century Treatise against Clerical Homosexual Practices (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1982).

112. Letter 75.

an agreeable occupation. But besides giving him the satisfaction of vicarious personal contact, it also prevented him from idleness and boredom. Occasionally his letters were brief, but generally they were several pages long, at times reaching the length of a small book. Frequently, he excused himself for breaching the limits of epistolary brevity, but then inserted chapter headings to break the tedium of a long dissertation.[113]

IV. *Précis of Selected Letters*

(37) It will, perhaps, be helpful to select from Damian's 180 letters a group that is most characteristic of his interests and style. In chronological order they range from 1048 to 1069, and reveal the optimistic mood of a man in his maturity, and at length the rather pessimistic outlook of one approaching the end of his career. The first of these is Letter 28, which he entitled *Dominus vobiscum* ("The Lord be with you"), one of the more original pieces of theological writing of the Middle Ages. Confronted by the question of using plural formulae when praying or celebrating Mass alone, he suggests that in view of the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ and the communion of saints, one is never truly alone. His Letter 31, the *Book of Gomorrah,* as he calls it, is perhaps the most celebrated treatise on homosexuality, "unique in the medieval Christian literature of the West.[114] The suggestion that Damian's knowledge of the "facts" of homosexual practice might point to such experiences in his own youth,[115] is quite speculative. The only suggestion of his own sexual orientation is provided by Damian in Letter 143, addressed to the young Countess Guilla. There, after commenting that it is undoubtedly better to be ignorant of a matter over which conflict might arise, than to be always struggling to forget it, he continues: "It is safer for me to converse in writing with young

113. On Damian's use of subheadings, see Letter 66, last sentence.
114. P. J. Payer, *Book of Gomorrah* 5.
115. Cf. L. K. Little, "The Personal Development of Peter Damian," *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer* (1976), 333f, 526f.

women in whose presence I am apprehensive. Certainly I, who am already an old man, can licitly and securely look upon the face of an old woman, lined with wrinkles, whose features are moist with rheum from her watering eyes; but like boys from a fire, I guard my eyes at the sight of more beautiful and attractive faces. My heart is indeed unhappy, for a hundred readings of the Gospel mysteries do not suffice to retain them, whereas the recollection of beauty, seen but once, never leaves my memory."

(38) His most celebrated work, Letter 40, which Damian entitled *Liber gratissimus,* because it was composed for those who had been ordained gratis by simonists, defended the opinion that simoniacal ordinations, while being illicit, are nevertheless valid, and like baptism cannot be repeated. His position on this question was based on earlier canonical sources,[116] and on patristic literature. The letter was addressed to Henry, the archbishop of Ravenna, to whom Damian sent his work for censorship in the summer of 1052. But the last two paragraphs of this exceedingly long letter make it clear that it was finally sent to Pope Nicholas II, because the archbishop had proven rather incompetent in the matter, or, at least, had shown no interest by responding. The edition of L. von Heinemann[117] proposed the idea that the *Liber gratissimus* had appeared in three distinct redactions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But the MS base of Heinemann was too small to support such a theory, and when the *Liber gratissimus* is studied in the light of all surviving MSS, many of which were unknown to him, it is clear that the entire text as we know it today belonged to the original format. The only change was the addition of the last two paragraphs in 1061, with which the entire composition was submitted to the judgment of the Holy See.

(39) Of quite a different texture, Letter 66, written in the summer of 1059, was sent to the former countess Blanche, formerly thought to be the sister of Uguccio, the marquis of

116. Cf. Ryan, *Sources* 36–52, nos. 47–93.
117. MGH Ldl 1 (1891), 15–75.

Monte S. Maria, now a nun in Milan. Damian was proud of this piece of mystical theology, and referred to it in Letters 92 and 93,[118] and in Letter 109, thus confirming the authenticity of all four pieces. This letter is noteworthy in several regards: it provides advice for a young noble widow, whose adolescent son is still alive, approving of her entry into the religious life; and secondly, it contains a prose counterpart to his poetic tetralogy on death, judgment, heaven, and hell,[119] providing motivation for her abandonment of transitory earthly glory.

(40) Somewhat after 1060 he composed Letter 81 in answer to a request of a confrere for an introductory discussion of theology. This primer of Catholic belief, a fine example of clear exposition, stresses the importance of the virtue of faith, and then concentrates on the doctrine of the Trinity, on Christology, on Pneumatology, with passing reference to Mariology. Damian pays special attention to the procession of the Holy Spirit, basing his teaching on both Greek and Latin Fathers, but in no way hints at a contemporary schism between the Greek and Latin churches over this issue. This piece is a splendid demonstration of prescholastic theology that, in the manner of patristic writers, avoids the stereotypical formality of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century dialectical presentation.

(41) A year later, in Letter 86 to Desiderius, the abbot of Monte Cassino, he composed one of his most unusual works.

118. Letter 92, a longer version of Letter 93, describes the events that will occur on the fifteen days preceding the Last Judgment. It is a curious piece that escaped inclusion in all the major MSS of the eleventh century.

119. See M. Lokrantz, *L'opera poetica di S. Pier Damiani* (Studia Latina Stockholmensia 12, 1964), 80–83, 85–89. It is of further interest that Damian's eschatology does not include a lengthy discussion of purgatory, even though in this letter he is one of the earliest medieval writers to use the term *purgatorium* as a substantive (*ut non modo viri, sed et nobiles mulieres hoc purgatorii genus inhianter arriperent.*) On which, see K. Rahner, "Fegfeuer," LThK 4 (1960), 51; Hildebert of Lavardin, *In dedicatione ecclesiae sermo quartus* (PL 171, 741C); J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1981), trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984); G. R. Edwards, "Purgatory: 'Birth' or Evolution?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), 634–646, where it is stated that "the term *purgatorium* was not used substantively before about 1170."

While deploring the wretched condition of the contemporary world, he congratulates the monks on their good fortune in living in a monastic ark, prepared by the Lord for them to survive the current flood. It also compares their monastery to a Cassiodorian vivarium, filled with fish and fowl and animals of all kinds. These he proceeds to interpret mystically, adapting their natures to human vices and virtues. His chief sources, the *Physiologus,* and *Bestiarius,* and the *Hexameron* of Ambrose, are very much in evidence.[120]

(42) In 1062 or 1063 appeared his Letter 89, written to Cadalus, bishop of Parma, the antipope Honorius II. His savage rhetoric is totally unrestrained; he will publish this piece as an open letter to the world, imploring all to use every means to forestall this intruder into the Holy See. The letter is noteworthy for its use of historical precedent in comparing and contrasting the actions and intentions of Cadalus, to whose greed Damian attributes most of his ambition. Attached to this letter, as evidenced in the best MSS of his writings, we now find the legal debate, the *Disceptatio synodalis,* formerly known as *Opusc.* 11.[121] It is a *procès-verbal* between the fictitious counsel for the king and the attorney for the Roman Church, written to influence the coming synod of Augsburg, where the schism between Pope Alexander II and antipope Honorius II would hopefully be resolved. This work allows Damian to explore in depth the significance of the Papal Election Decree of 1059, and to explain his own position on the relationship between Church and State.

(43) Damian's Letter 119, known also as "On Divine Omnipotence," was written to Abbot Desiderius and the monks of Monte Cassino in early 1065. It is perhaps his most ambitious rhetorical and dialectical production.[122] While his at-

120. For bibliography and precise references to these sources, see Letter 86. Cf. also Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* I.29.3.

121. Cf. *supra,* n. 47.

122. Cf. A. Cantin, *Pierre Damien: Lettre sur la toute-puissance divine.* (SC 119 [Paris, 1972].) Here Cantin provides a lengthy introduction to his French translation of this letter. For a partial English translation by the present author, see J. F. Wippel and A. B. Wolter, *Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1969),

tempt at a philosophical solution to the problem of divine omnipotence may be considered naive and, in the light of later logical and theological developments, the work of an amateur, his chief concern is pastoral and theological. His purpose in discussing the absolutely unlimited power of God, defying the principle of contradiction, is to safeguard the divine revelation of Scripture, in view of which human logic is vain and unsatisfactory. Incidental discussions of the nature of God and his creative power, of the contingency of time and space in relation to divine necessity, are features that produce one of Damian's outstanding theological works.

(44) Always true to his eremitical vocation, Damian composed Letter 153 after 1067 for Abbot Mainardus of Pomposa and for his community. It is a model piece of reforming literature meant for monks, revealing his grasp of the spiritual life to which religious should aspire. As a contemplative solitary, he attempts to win over his cenobitic contemporaries by using passages from the *Rule* of St. Benedict to strengthen his arguments. For a reader who is not a monk, this letter provides insight into the motivation that would prompt a person to adopt a life-style that runs counter to that of the majority of men and women. It is not fear, but the love of God that flows from compunction, and the practice of other virtues that follows from this love. A notable passage in this letter addresses the mistaken notion of many critics of Peter Damian who have labelled him an anti-intellectual. He deplores the addiction of some monks to secular studies and their abandonment of theology. But his castigation is not absolute, since he admits of the ancillary use of the arts in the study of Sacred Scripture.[123]

(45) And lastly, in the twilight of his career, in August 1069,

---

140–152. Letter 119 was edited and translated into Italian in P. Brezzi e B. Nardi, *S. Pier Damiani. De divina omnipotentia e altri opusculi* (Florence, 1943). For a study of Letter 119, see Irvin M. Resnick, *Repentance, Forgiveness, and God's Power over the Past. A Study of St. Peter Damian's De divina omnipotentia.* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1983).

123. On Damian's attitude toward dialectic and secular studies in general, see K. Reindel, "Neue Literatur zu Petrus Damiani," DA 32 (1976), 435, and the literature there cited.

he composed Letter 165, entitled in the MSS: *On the Contempt of the World.* In a pessimistic mood that reflects his advancing years and physical infirmities, he deplores the vile condition of the world that will soon come to an end. This piece has often been cited to depict the gloom that pervaded the "Dark Ages." But now, knowing something of its provenance and the physical condition of its author, we can be assured that it is atypical even of the stern man who composed it. A certain note of frustration appears in this work, making it apparent that the old man has lost his power to influence public policy, even within the Church. His voice is not heeded even in synods and councils, and consequently he advises both monks and hermits to desist from attempting reform in the secular world, as he had done, and to remain faithful in promoting their own sanctification. He inveighs against monks who depreciate the laws, amass money in defiance of their commitment to poverty, desert their monasteries by yielding to the lure of wanderlust, dress in fine clothes, and associate familiarly even with those under the ban of excommunication. Carried away by his denunciation of these false brethren, he paints a picture of worldly corruption where greed and avarice are rampant, that can only be the prelude to final disintegration. The monk, Peter the rhetorician has replaced the monk, Peter the Sinner.

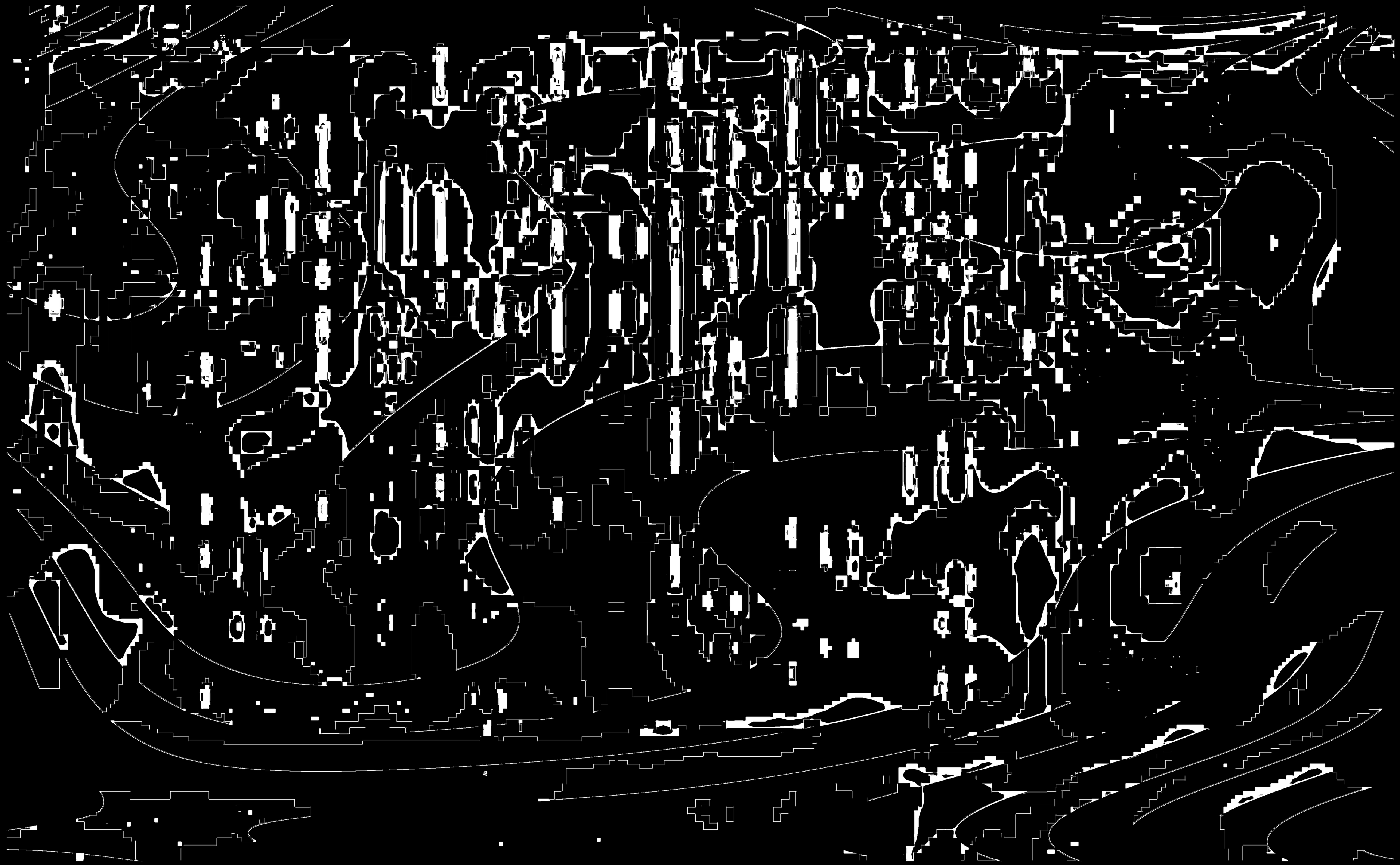
(46) There is still much to be done in studying this letter collection of a man who was prominent in the society of the eleventh century. Damian was fond of explaining and buttressing theological truths by adopting a mystical or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures. In giving moral advice, on the other hand, he had recourse to stories or *exempla* that enhanced the point he was making. His letters and sermons are filled with them, and there is a need to assess the moral and dogmatic presuppositions of these mediaeval tales and legends. Scriptural citations appear in the text with such regularity and frequency that one is tempted to suppose that the author knew the sacred writings (especially the Old Testament) by heart. Damian's scriptural quotations frequently vary both from the Latin Vulgate and from those of the an-

cient Latin versions edited by P. Sabatier, probably because the author was either led astray by a faulty memory or dependent upon citations quoted from the Latin Fathers.[124] This translation, therefore, renders the quotations as given by Damian. Occasional guidance has been sought from the Douay-Rheims Bible, and modern English translations and paraphrases (The New English Bible and the New American Bible).

(47) As the translator wrestled with the Latin text now appearing in the MGH, he chose to include the heavy notation that forms a commentary to each letter. But since this practice was deemed by the project's editorial staff to be a costly duplication of effort, the translator was persuaded, over the objection of the Latin editor of the MGH, to compress the annotation by using frequent "see" references to the notes in that edition.

(48) Perhaps there is some justification for the lengthy commentary of Letter 1. The dating of this letter for 1040–1041 recognizes it chronologically as the first of Damian's writings, earlier than the *Vita S. Romualdi,* which affects the psychohistorical interpretation of Prof. Lester K. Little, who saw in the *Vita,* as Damian's presumed earliest writing, the fulfillment of his quest for a father figure. Secondly, since Letter 1 is well known in Jewish mediaeval scholarship, especially through the work of B. Blumenkranz, a great effort was made to identify the young Peter Damian's sources for his premiere in the literary field. Finally, the commentary took pains to point out that Damian's purpose was not to appear as a gross anti-Semite, but as a sincere, pastorally oriented advocate of Judaeo-Christian spirituality.

124. The translator frequently noted that a Scripture text in question agreed in its reading with a Saint-Germain codex, cited in the notes of Sabatier's *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antique.* 3 vols. (Reims, 1743–1749; Paris, 1751).



LETTERS
1–30

LETTER 1[1]

Peter Damian to Honestus, a nobleman and later a monk of Pomposa, in reply to the latter's request for arguments against the Jews. He responds with a discussion, based on Sacred Scripture, of the Trinity of persons in one divine substance; of the divinity and humanity of Christ, the Messiah, who has already come into this world; and finally, of many other topics which Jews customarily raise against Christians.

(1040–1041)[2]

TO SIR HONESTUS,[3] a most illustrious man in the darkness of this Egypt,[4] Peter, the least servant of the monks sends everlasting love in Christ.

1. Constantine Gaetani divided this letter into two works, *Op.* 2 entitled *Antilogus contra Judaeos ad Honestum virum clarissimum* (3 [1615], 10–18) and *Op.* 3, *Dialogus inter Judaeum requirentem et Christianum e contrario respondentem. Ad eundem Honestum* (3 [1615], 18–22). This arrangement appears also in Migne PL 145, 41–58 and 57–68. G. Miccoli, "Due note sulla tradizione manoscritta di Pier Damiani," *Note e discussioni erudite* 8 (Rome, 1959), 9–15, has demonstrated that we are dealing here with only one work; D. Balboni, "San Pier Damiano, maestro e discepolo in Pomposa," *Benedictina* 22 (1975), 88, agrees with this opinion.

2. For the dating of this letter, see G. Lucchesi, "L'antilogus contra Judaeos di S. Pier Damiano e Pomposa," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 89f. See also *infra,* n. 132.

3. A. Samaritani, "Sui destinatari degli opuscoli 1–3, 29, 42/2, 48 di S. Pier Damiano," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 141–147, sought to identify Honestus, the recipient of this letter with the *advocatus* of the monastery of Pomposa, appointed during the tenure of Abbot Mainardus, and who later also became a monk there. He would likewise be the recipient of Letters 27 and 175. Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 15 supports this identification.

4. Cf. Ex 10.21. In Letter 27, Damian compares life in the secular world to Egypt, and the path from it leading to the promised land, i.e., to life in the monastery. This further reinforces the identification of the Honestus of this letter with the monk of the same name in Letter 27. Here we may also clarify Damian's position in writing this tract against the Jews. It seems unlikely that he had personal contacts with Italian Jews, but was acquainted with at least some of the anti-Jewish literature that dated back to patristic times. It is especially in his mustering of Scripture texts that he reveals his

(2) My dear friend, by our brother Leo[5] you recently sent word to me, begging that I should write something for you to use in silencing, with reasoned arguments, the Jews who debate with you; and that when entering a controversy concerning Christ, you could win your case with the clearest testimony from Sacred Scripture. But if you wish to be a knight of Christ and to fight manfully for him, as a renowned warrior take up arms against the vices of the flesh, against the stratagems of the devil, enemies, indeed, who never die, rather than against the Jews who now have been almost exterminated from the face of the earth.[6] Still, by no means do I disparage this endeavor; on the contrary, I have decided that it is appropriate to comply with your request. Surely it is disgraceful for a man of the Church to hold his tongue out of ignorance when those outside the fold[7] set things in a false light, and that a Christian incapable of giving an account of Christ[8] should retreat, conquered and ashamed, as his enemies vaunt over him. One may add, that often harmful ineptitude and dangerous simplicity in such matters not only excite boldness in the unbelieving, but also beget error and doubt in the hearts of the faithful.

(3) And since certainly this knowledge relates totally to the faith, and faith is undoubtedly the foundation of all virtues,[9] when the foundation is shaken, the whole structure of the building soon threatens to fall into ruin. One must know,

---

dependence on the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome and Augustine; on a pseudo-Augustinian work, on Evagrius, Quodvultdeus, Isidore of Seville, and on an anonymous text of the 10th century. When citations from the Old and New Testament appear in this letter in much the same order as they were used in these anti-Jewish tracts, and when his interpretation of these citations is identical or similar to that of his sources, we are able to recognize his literary dependence. Specific cases of this dependence will be given throughout this letter.

5. Samaritani, *Destinatari*, 141, n. 3 thinks this Leo to be the same person referred to in Letter 142, a monk of St. Apollinaris in Classe.

6. Miccoli, "Due note," 10, n. 2 traces this statement to Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 3, 7, ed. M. Prou, *Raoul Glaber, Les cinq livres de ses histoires* (Collection de textes, 1886) 72.

7. Mk 4.11.

8. Acts 19.33.

9. Cf. Heb 11.6. Faith as the foundation of all virtues is a commonplace idea found in Gregory I, *Moralia* 35, 8, 15 (PL 76, 758).

however, that a Christian man should not enter this fight for reasons of empty glory or for the love of conflict alone, but rather because he hopes to be able to benefit the soul of his adversary through the grace of conversion. Hence also Paul says: "If some one seems to be contentious, we recognize no such custom among us."[10] And to Titus: "See to it that you abstain from stupid arguments and genealogies, and from all controversies and quarrels about the law; they are unproductive and pointless."[11] And when someone starts an action in this matter, he should be advised not to anger his adversary by contentious invective or proud conceit, but with kindly love and most patient seriousness should attract his mind, so that by the modest sweetness of his words he might perhaps soften to the point of believing the stony heart,[12] which by an excess of acrimony he would render more obdurate.

(4) And so it is that the same Apostle, when he remarked to Timothy: "Have nothing to do with senseless, ignorant disputations,"[13] immediately added: "And the servant of the Lord must not be quarrelsome but must be kindly toward all. He must be an apt teacher, patiently and gently correcting those who contradict him, so that when God enables them to repent and know the truth, they may come to their senses and escape from the devil's snares by which they had been caught and held at his will."[14] But although almost all the books of the Old Testament bear witness to Christ, putting aside this abundance of words, I take pains to set before you a few, clear statements of the prophets, by which, however, with the help of God, you may win a victory over all the madness of Jewish depravity and all their garrulous fabrications. And since an arrow is shot more accurately if first the target which it must pierce is set up for us to hit, I here bring on this contentious Jew, that the shafts of my words put into the air may not fly aimlessly, but in a well-aimed barrage, may rather reach the specified objective.[15]

10. 1 Cor 11.16.
11. Titus 3.9.
12. Ez 11.19; 36.26.
13. 2 Tim 2.23.
14. 2 Tim 2.24–26.
15. To facilitate the reading of longer letters, this translation will insert

In the Name of the Lord the Debate Now Begins

(5) Tell us therefore, Jew, as you deny the Trinity and consequently are unaware of unity, if, as you assert, God is one in person, to whom did he say: "Let us make man to our image and likeness'?[16] For if there were one person in the Godhead, he would not have said "let us make," but "let me make." If there were three substances, he would not have used the singular "our image," but rather "our images." Therefore, while "let us make" asserts Trinity and "our image" indicates unity, it is clearly obvious that the essentially one God consists of three persons. Come then, Jew, proceed through the forest of God's Word, walk along with me, studiously turn the pages of your law. Do you find in them anything that disagrees with this statement of mine? Listen to what your Moses says once again: "This is the book of the descendants of Adam. On the day that God created man, he made him in the likeness of God. He created them male and female."[17] Why is it not said that God created man in his image and likeness, but that God created man in the image of God, if it were not to distinguish clearly the person of the Father and of the Son? Similar to this is the statement made again by the same Moses: "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower that the sons of Adam were building."[18]

---

titles and superscriptions found in the MSS, even though most of them derive from eleventh or twelfth-century editors (unlike the practice of the MGH edition).

16. Gen 1.26. On the dependence of the doctrine of the Trinity on Gen 1.26, and on the Jewish objections thereto, cf. P. Browe, *Die Judenmission im MA und die Päpste,* (Miscellanea historiae pontificiae 6, 1942), 122. Tertullian uses the same text in *Adversus Marcionem,* 2.4, 4, ed. E. Kroymann (CC 1, 1954), 478 and 5.8, 1: 685, but interprets it differently from Damian. Also Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Iudaeos ad Florentinam sororem suam,* 1.3 (PL 83, 455A) and 1.4 (PL 83, 458B), but only in the second case does he follow the interpretation of Damian. A similar interpretation is found also in the *Vita sancti Sylvestri,* c. 2, ed. B. Mombritius (Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum 2 [1910]), 517, line 57ff. See also *Altercatio aecclesiae contra synagogam et synagoge contra aecclesiam,* ed. B. Blumenkrantz, "Altercatio aecclesiae contra synagogam." Texte inédit du Xe siècle, *Revue du moyen âge latin* 10 (1954), 70.

17. Gen 5.1–2.

18. Gen 11.5.

And shortly after that he added: "Come, let us go down and there confuse their language."[19]

(6) You see, therefore, that "the Lord came down" expresses the one divine essence; but "Come, let us go down" teaches that there are three persons. Also ask Abraham why when seeing three men he adored one? Thus it was written: "The Lord appeared to him in the valley of Mamre, as he sat in the entrance of his tent, while the day was growing hot";[20] and then he added: "When he looked up, three men appeared to him standing nearby."[21] Notice that although he first said: "The Lord appeared to him"; when the event was described, it was not said: "a man appeared to him," but "three men appeared to him." It is here clearly demonstrated that he who appeared to him is one in divine substance and is threefold in person.[22] Abraham's words likewise give evidence of this when he says: "Sir," he said, "if I have found favor in your sight, do not go on past your servant. But let me bring a little water and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree."[23]

(7) What was written of Lot quite aptly agrees with this, in that although two angels were about to take him out of Sodom which was soon to be destroyed, Lot said to them: "I pray, my Lord, because your servant has found favor in your sight";[24] and then a little farther on he added: "Then the Lord rained down sulphur and fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord out of heaven."[25] Since it is said that the Lord rained down from the Lord, it is perfectly obvious that both persons, namely, of the Father and the Son, are meant.

(8) And so too he says to Moses: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob."[26] Why is it that he calls himself the God of only three of the fathers and not also

19. Gen 11.7. This text is found also in *Altercatio,* 71.
20. Gen 18.1. 21. Gen 18.2.
22. Cf. Quodvultdeus, *Contra Iudaeos, paganos et Arrianos,* c. 5, ed. R. Braun, CC 60 (1976), 233.
23. Gen 18.3–4. 24. Gen 19.18–19.
25. Gen 19.24. Cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 3 (PL 83, 455B).
26. Ex 3.6. In *Altercatio,* 55, the synagoge quotes the same text.

of the others? Is he not also the God of Enoch? Is he not the God of Noah and of innumerable other just men? What does it mean, I ask, that by omitting all the other fathers, he calls himself the God of only three men, except to manifest himself, who is one in substance, to be threefold in person? The prophet Isaiah also clearly and thoroughly taught this Trinity of persons and unity of nature when he reported seeing Seraphim who cried out: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts."[27] To show the Trinity of persons, "holy" is pronounced three times. But to indicate that the substance of the Trinity is one, he speaks of the Lord of hosts, and not of the Lords of hosts. David, too, was of the same opinion when he said: "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made."[28] And the Word of the Lord is the Son of the Father.

(9) But to prove that the entire Trinity together cooperated in making the heavens, he at once spoke of the divinity of the Holy Spirit: "And by the Spirit of his mouth all their power."[29] We read elsewhere, too, of this Spirit: "His Spirit adorned the heavens."[30] And the same David says in another psalm: "May God, our God, bless us; may God bless us."[31] Since he had spoken of God thrice, to show that he was one, he added: "And may all the ends of the earth fear him."[32] And that I might point out another blessing of God, similar to the one of which the Holy Spirit spoke through the words of David, let us go back to the book of Numbers. For there it is written: "The Lord said to Moses, 'Speak to Aaron and his sons. This is how you shall bless the children of Israel, and you shall say to them, The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord let his face shine upon you and be gracious to you. The Lord look upon you kindly and give you peace.'"[33] And that

27. Is 6.3. Cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 4 (PL 83, 459C). See also *Altercatio*, 74, where a similar usage occurs.

28. Ps 32.6. Cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 4 (PL 83, 459C); see also *Liber de variis quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos seu ceteros infideles vel plerosque haereticos ex utroque testamento collectus*, c. 18, 6, ed. A. C. Vega and A. E. Anspach (Scriptores ecclesiastici hispano-latini veteris et medii aevi [1940]), 52; and cf. *Altercatio*, 73f.; in both instances the wording is almost identical.

29. Ps 32.6.

30. Job 26.13.

31. Ps 66.7–8. Cf. *Altercatio*, 74.

32. Ps 66.8.

33. Num 6.22–26.

it might become evident that this God is one, whose name is repeated in a threefold invocation over the people, there is the immediate statement: "They shall invoke my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them."[34]

(10) Take note, then, Jew, as we page through almost all the books of your law, that we quite clearly discover the unity of the divine essence and the Trinity of persons. And if I should wish to gather in affirmation of this all the statements supplied in your books,[35] my tongue would probably grow tired before I ran short of texts. But since every assertion of your faction cleverly supports the one purpose of denying that Christ is God or the Son of God, the thrust of my plea will now also directly follow this route. Do not, as is your custom, by using subtle dodges, turn yourself, as it were, into varying types of monster like a slippery snake[36] when captured, try to escape my hands; but let all your innermost senses be free to understand, let your heart thrust aside the ancient veil of ignorance, let the ears of your mind be carefully attuned. Let your tongue speak, so long as it thinks it has something to say that is likely true; but when unable to oppose me, it should reasonably hold its peace; so that, if possible, he who grants me, although unskilled, the substance of arguments to support the truth, may also infuse into the darkness of your mind the light of his wisdom that leads to faith.[37]

On Christ, Who Is the Son of God

(11) So let us begin, and trustingly beg help from him of whom we speak, saying: "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered, and let those who hate him flee before him."[38] We read, we believe, and therefore are convinced that God,

34. Num 6.27.
35. The books of the Old Testament.
36. The figure "slippery snake," used for a Jew, is found also in the *Vita s. Sylvestri,* 519, line 39; cf. Browe, *Judenmission,* 123. Perhaps it was also a common byword, for which see Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica,* 10, 3, 962, ed. Th. Mommsen, in Eusebius, *Werke,* 2, ed. E. Schwartz, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (1903–1909).
37. The following title is in the MS. 38. Ps 67.2.

the almighty Father, begot the Word from himself before all ages. But if you, Jew, try to deny this, you will without doubt be proven guilty of fighting against God himself, whom you claim to adore. He it was who said: "My heart has uttered a good word."[39] And another prophet says of this word: "The Word of the Lord is mighty and strong, who is able to grasp it?"[40] And again Isaiah speaks of it when he says: "So shall my Word be, which shall go forth from my mouth: it will not return to me void, but it shall do whatever I wish, and shall prosper in the things for which I sent it."[41] Certainly, if he had said this of some passing word, he would not have spoken of it as returning to him, or as doing something. By the power of this Word the earth was created, the heavens with their lights were established, and the sea was poured into its depths. Of whom, as it was said above, we read: "By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made."[42] This Word, born of the Father before the ages, at the end of time wished to become man in the womb of the Virgin. Of the incarnation of the Word Habakkuk spoke, when he said: "The Word shall go before his face and shall come out into the fields."[43]

(12) But if we look carefully, a little farther on we shall find what this Word is, when he says: "But I will rejoice in the Lord and will exult in God my Jesus."[44] And to this point Isaiah most evidently exclaims: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive in her womb and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel,"[45] which means God is with us. And else-

39. Ps 44.2; cf. Isidore, *Liber,* 18, 6, 52, where in the same context he cites Heb 3.5; see *infra,* n. 43.

40. In its present form, this text cannot be identified.

41. Is 55.11.

42. Ps 32.6.

43. Hab 3.5. Cf. Isidore, *Liber,* 18, 6, 53, where the citation is similar to Damian's, but also far removed from the Vulgate. See Sabatier, 2, 967, and relative to the text, Jerome, *Commentariorum in Abacvc prophetam libri duo,* ed. M. Adriaen, CC 76A (1970), 626, where the text is most like Damian's.

44. Hab 3.18. Again the citation varies from the Vulgate and from Sabatier; but thanks to Dr. Walter Thiele, it is found in the *Canticum Habacuc* (Paris, BN Cod. lat. 11553).

45. Is 7.14. The Vulgate reads: "shall conceive," but Sabatier 2, 531 has "shall receive," as does Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum* (Testimoniorum libri tres), 2, 9, ed. R. Weber, CC 3 (1972), 41 and Quodvultdeus, 11, 241. For the conclusion of this passage, cf. Mt 1.23.

where the same prophet said of him: "The Lord has loved him, he will do his pleasure in Babylon, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans. I myself have spoken and acted: I have called him, I have brought him, and his way succeeds."[46] And then, speaking in the person of the Son himself, he added: "Come near to me and hear this: 'Not from the beginning did I speak in secret, from the time before they came to pass, I was there: and now the Lord God sent me, and his spirit.' Thus says the Lord God, the Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, 'I, the Lord your God, teach you what is for your good, and lead you in the way you should go. Would that you had hearkened to my commandments,'"[47] and what follows.

(13) Listen also to the prophet Micah's witnessing to Christ: "In the last days," he said, "the mount of the Lord's house shall be established higher than the mountains; it shall rise above the hills, and peoples shall stream to it; many nations shall come and say, 'Come, let us climb the mount of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will instruct us in his ways and we will walk in his paths.' For from Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between many peoples and rebuke strong nations afar off."[48] And Isaiah revealed this truth, not only with the same meaning, but in almost the same words. To strengthen the position I have taken, I do not hesitate to write once again what the Holy Spirit wished to repeat through the mouths of two prophets. Therefore he said: "In the days to come, the mount of the Lord's house shall be established as the highest mountain and raised above the hills. All nations shall stream toward it; many nations shall come and say, 'Come, let us climb the mountain of the Lord to the house of the God of Jacob; and he shall instruct us in his ways and we shall walk in his paths.' For from Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge the nations and rebuke many peoples."[49]

46. Is 48.14–15.
47. Is 48.16–18.
48. Mic 4.1–3.
49. Is 2.2–4. Isidore, *Liber* 4, 2, 16 also cites Mic 4.2 and Is 2.3 in conjunction; for the use of Is 2.2–3 at this point, see Augustine, *Tractatus adversus Iudaeos*, c. 7 (PL 42, 57ff.).

And somewhat farther on he adds: "O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the Lord!"[50] Nor should we rightly believe that one prophet borrowed this statement from the other, since, as we know, both prophets uttered their prophecies at the same time and under the same kings.

(14) But if all these witnesses to the truth do not yet suffice for you, Jew, listen to what your Jeremiah says: "This is God, and no other is to be compared to him; he has found out all the way of understanding, and has given it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel, his beloved. Since then he was seen on earth and moved among men."[51] But if Christ is not God, as you assert, show me from your books, when it was, after the law was given to Jacob, that God was seen on earth and moved among men. But since you are unable to find such a case, admit that in all these things you have certainly been proven wrong.

(15) But lest it seem that I am deceiving you by my own words, rather than defeating you by texts from the prophets, let Daniel also take the stand and testify to Christ: "When the Holy of Holies has come," he says, "anointing will cease."[52] And you state: "The Holy of Holies has not yet come; the Messiah has not yet come." Is he yet to come? Show me your anointing. If, however, which is a fact, your anointing has ceased, and you no longer have either temple, or king, or priests, admit that the Holy of Holies has come, of whom Isaiah says: "I am God who calls a bird from the east, and from a distant land a man to carry out my plan. And I have spoken, I will accomplish it; I have created, and I will do it. Listen to me, you hardhearted, who are far from justice: I have brought on my justice, it is not far off, and my salvation

50. Is 2.5.

51. Bar 3.36–38. Cf. Cyprian 2, 6, 35; Quodvultdeus 11, 241 and 13, 244; also Euagrius, *Altercatio legis inter Simonem Iudeum et Theophilum Christianum,* ed. E. Bratke, CSEL 45, 1 (1904), 5, where this text is attributed to Jeremiah; likewise *Altercatio,* 79.

52. Dan 9.24 and 26. Damian's citation is not found in this form in the Vulgate. It is a conflation of two texts from Daniel, depending on the *versio antiqua* (cf. Sabatier 2, 877). The same use appears also in Quodvultdeus 12, 242, and is similarly interpreted.

shall not tarry. I will put salvation within Zion and give Jerusalem my glory."[53] And let the patriarch Jacob also come forward: "The scepter shall not be taken from Judah," he says, "nor a ruler from his thigh, till he come who is to be sent: and he shall be the expectation of nations."[54]

(16) But if for a thousand years and more you have lived without a king, and have lain under the duress of nations, how can you now look for the expectation of nations? Since the day you cried out and said to Pilate: "We have no king but Caesar,"[55] you have not had a king; and since you were unwilling to heed the King of Kings, you have lost your kingdom and your homeland. Well did Moses foresee this, when he said: "The Lord will raise up for you a prophet from among your own kinsmen; any man who will not hear this prophet will be exterminated from among his people."[56] And again the same Moses says: "For the Lord will give you a fearful heart and wasted eyes and a dismayed spirit, and your life will be hanging before you. You will stand in dread both day and night, never sure of your existence."[57] But when was your life hanging before you, if not at the moment when, tossing your heads before the cross, you said: "He saved others but he cannot save himself."[58] "If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross and we will believe in him."[59]

(17) Most clearly the Son of God himself speaks of this through David's mouth, when he said: "All they that saw me

53. Is 49.9 and 11–13. The Vulgate and Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri duodeviginti,* ed. M. Andriaen, CC 73 (1963), 519, have *Israel* in place of Damian's *Jerusalem.*

54. Gen 49.10. On which, cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 8 (PL 83, 464B) and 2, 2 (PL 83, 503B), also Isidore, *Liber* 28, 1, 79. In general, see Adolf Posnanski, *Schiloh. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre* 1: *Die Auslegung von Genesis 49, 10 in Altertume bis zum Ende des MA* (1904).

55. John 19.15.

56. Deut 18.15; Ex 30.33. Quodvultdeus 13, 243 also correlates these two texts. For the wording of Deut 18.15 cf. Sabatier 1, 362.

57. Deut 28.65–66; cf. J. Danielou, "Das Leben, das am Holze hängt. Deut 28.66 in der altchristlichen Katechese," *Kirche and Überlieferung. Joseph Rupert Geiselmann zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. J. Betz and H. Fries (1960), 22–34.

58. Mt 27.42.

59. Mt 27.40.

scoffed at me; they spoke with their lips and tossed their heads, 'He relied on the Lord, let him deliver him, let him rescue him, since he loves him.'"[60] Also in the same psalm, as clear as day, he showed the print of the nails in his hands and feet, when he said: "They have pierced my hands and my feet; they have counted all by bones."[61] If you are unaware, Jew, he was your ox who was then slaughtered on the altar of the cross before your eyes; but, considering what you deserve, it is not yet eaten by you. In Deuteronomy, Moses speaks of this to your discredit, when he says: "Your ox will be slaughtered before your eyes, and you will not eat of its flesh."[62] He was the ass, of which he says again: "Your ass will be stolen in your presence, but you will not recover it."[63] Rightly does he speak of our Redeemer in the figure of an ass who, as it were, submitted his back to bear the burden of our depravity, for as the prophet says: "It was our sins that he bore."[64] Elsewhere, too, it is aptly stated: "Your sheep," he said, "will be given to your enemies, with no one to come to your aid."[65]

(18) What these sheep were, by whom the Synagogue ought to have been aided, is clearly indicated when he continued: "Your sons and daughters will be given to a foreign nation while you look on and grow weak at the sight of them the whole day long, and there will be no strength in your hand."[66] Now the holy apostles, who are called sheep because of their innocence, are sons of the people of Israel, because they originate from their offspring. And they were handed over to an alien nation when they said to the Jews who persecuted them: "The word of God was to be declared to you first of all; but since you reject it and thus convict yourselves as unworthy of everlasting life, we now turn to the Gentiles. Seeing these things, you have not seen them; hearing, you have not under-

60. Ps 21.8–9.
61. Ps 21.17–18; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 36 (PL 83, 485AB) and Isidore, *Liber* 22, 3, 66.
62. Deut 28.31.
63. Ibid.
64. Is 53.4. This reading differs from the Vulgate, but is found in Sabatier 2, 609 and in Cyprian 2, 13, 45.
65. Deut 28.31.
66. Deut 28.32.

stood."[67] Even today the same Moses properly reproaches you, when he says: "But not even at the present day has the Lord yet given you a mind to understand, or eyes to see, or ears to hear."[68] In the same way he also cursed you, saying: "The Lord strike you with madness, blindness, and panic, so that you will grope about in broad daylight, just as a blind man gropes in darkness, and you will be unable to find your way."[69] And Isaiah: "Listen carefully," he said, "but you shall not understand! And look intently, but you shall perceive nothing! Blind the heart of this people, and dull their ears, and close their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart and be converted, and I shall heal them."[70]

(19) Do you still wish to have further evidence about Christ from Isaiah? "It was I," he said, "who raised him up to justice, and I will direct all his ways. He shall rebuild my city and let my exiles go free without price or ransom, says the Lord of hosts. Thus says the Lord, The labor of Egypt, the commerce of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, tall of stature, shall come over to you and be yours; and they shall follow you, coming in chains, and shall adore you, saying in prayer, Only in you is God, and there is no God but you. Truly you are a hidden God, O God of Israel, the Savior."[71] Speak, Jew, and answer. Who is it that says: "It was I who raised him up in justice"? But if you do not know, proceed, let your eyes glance at the end of the previous sentence, and notice that it says: "The Lord God of hosts."

(20) But now if you are aware that God is speaking, consider also to whom he is speaking. Go down, therefore, to the end of the line following, and notice what is said: "Only in you is God, and there is no God but you. Truly you are a hidden God, the God of Israel, the Savior." If, then, it is God

67. Acts 13.46; cf. Mt 13.13 and Acts 28.26. See also Quodvultdeus 15, 247.

68. Deut 29.4.

69. Deut 28.28.

70. Is 6.9–10. These citations from Deut and Is appear in the same order also in Isidore, *Liber* 13, 2, 38.

71. Is 45.13–15.

himself who is speaking, and it is God to whom he says: "You are God," it is perfectly obvious that the person of the Father is speaking to the Son. Also, since he does not simply say, "You are God," but "in you is God," and "you are a hidden God," he clearly points out the humanity of our Redeemer. For, as our apostle says, "in Christ Jesus all the fullness of divinity resides in bodily form."[72] But when saying: "The labor of Egypt, and the commerce of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, tall of stature, shall come over to you, and shall adore you," he clearly shows that all gentile nations will be converted to faith in Christ. And hence a little farther on he adds: "Turn to me and you will be saved, all you ends of the earth, for I am God and there is no other. By myself I swear, the word of justice shall go out of my mouth and shall not return; for to me every knee shall bend, and every tongue shall swear."[73] And then the Father who is speaking gives clear evidence of the Son, when he continues: "Therefore in the Lord they will say, 'Just deeds and power are mine.' They shall come to him and all that resist him shall be confounded. In the Lord all the descendants of Israel shall be justified and praised."[74] Similar to this is the statement of the same prophet when he says elsewhere: "Is it too little, he says, for you to be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and restore the boundaries of Israel? I have made you a light to the nations that you may be my salvation to the ends of the earth."[75] But Christ is called a servant because he received the form of a servant. Thus, from the viewpoint of his humanity he prays to the Father in the psalm, saying: "Keep my life, for I am holy; save your servant, O my God, who trusts in you."[76] But who is it that both firmly states that he is holy, and yet humbly begs to be saved, unless it be the one whom the Lord in the words of Isaiah promised would come, when he says: "My just one is near, my Savior has gone forth"?[77]

72. Col 2.9.
73. Is 45.22–24; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 1 (PL 83, 500B-C).
74. Is 45.25–26.
75. Is 49.6. In place of "boundaries of Israel," the Vulgate has "the remnant"; while Jerome, *Esaias* 536 and Sabatier 2, 600 have "dispersal."
76. Ps 85.2.
77. Is 51.5.

(21) Note, that in order to show both the weakness of humanity and the power of divinity in the one mediator between God and man, who above required help for himself, he is here called Savior. Of him the same Isaiah elsewhere testified: "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up a righteous shoot to David; he shall reign as king and be wise, and shall do what is just and right in the land."[78] And then he continues: "In those days Judah will be saved, and Israel shall dwell in security; and this is the name they shall call him: 'The Lord our justice.'"[79] This is the just one, at whose coming the same prophet grows thoroughly excited in his eagerness, when he cries: "Drop dew, you heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain down the just one. Let the earth be opened and bud forth a savior, and let justice spring up also! I, the Lord, have created him."[80] And elsewhere: "Oh, that you would rend the heavens and come down, that the mountains might quake before you. Like burning fire let them be consumed and glow with fire, that your name be made known to your enemies."[81] And again: "For Zion's sake I will not be silent, for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest until her just one goes forth as brightness and her savior as a burning lamp."[82]

(22) Habakkuk also presents evidence for the coming of Christ, with the words: "Then the Lord answered me and said: 'Write down the vision clearly upon the tablet, so that he who reads may understand. For still the vision awaits its time, and in the end it will become visible, and not in vain. If it delays, wait for it, for it will surely come, it will not be late."[83] Let the prophet Abdias (Obadiah) also step forward to give yet further evidence for Christ: "As you have drunk upon my holy mountain," he said, "so shall all the nations drink continually. Yes, they shall drink and swallow, and shall

78. Jer 23.5.
79. Jer 23.6. For Jer 23.5 and 23.6 used in conjunction, see Isidore, *De fide* 2, 3 (PL 83, 506B) and 2, 5 (PL 83 508B–C).
80. Is 45.8.
81. Is 64.1–2.
82. Is 62.1.
83. Hab 2.2–3. Damian's citation is quite different from the Vulgate, but is similar to that in Jerome, *Abacvc* 596 and in Sabatier 2, 964.

become as though they had not been. And on mount Zion shall be salvation, and it shall be holy. And the house of Jacob shall take possession of those who possessed them. And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame; the house of Esau stubble."[84] What is meant by the house of Jacob and Joseph but the Church of Christ? What should be understood by the house of Esau if not infidel people? And so the house of Jacob and Joseph became a fire, because holy Church, inflamed by the fire of the Holy Spirit, ignited the hearts of carnal men, long cold, to the love of God; and thus consumed the house of Esau like stubble, converting it from the concupiscence of today's world to a desire for the Creator. And in our Gospel, Truth says of this fire: "I have come to send a fire on the earth, and how I wish that it were kindled!"[85]

(23) Tell me this also, Jew, who is the stone which the Lord promised to place in the foundation of Zion? Isaiah said of it: "See, I am laying in Zion a stone for a foundation, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone as a sure foundation."[86] Who, I say, is this stone but he of whom David sang: "The stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone"?[87] But if your "heart of stone" thinks that Isaiah was speaking of a material stone, listen to what follows: "The man who falls upon that stone will be smashed to bits; and he on whom it falls will be crushed."[88] Yet it is clearly established that a stone placed in a wall's foundation cannot fall on anyone. This is certainly the stone which Daniel saw cut out of the mountain, made without hands,[89] namely, Christ, who without human intervention was born of the unsullied Virgin. Listen also to the testimony which the same Isaiah gives for Christ, when he says: "But a shoot shall sprout from the stump of Jesse, and from his roots a bud shall blossom. The spirit of the Lord

84. Obad 16–18. 85. Lk 12.49.
86. Is 28.16. This text is cited also in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 10 (PL 83, 470A).
87. Ps 117.22. These two texts appear in conjunction also in Isidore, *Liber* 34, 3, 106.
88. Mt 21.44; Ezek 11.19, 36.26.
89. Cf. Dan 2.34. On which, see Quodvultdeus 12, 242 and Isidore *De fide* 1, 10 (PL 83, 470A).

shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and of understanding, a spirit of counsel and of strength, a spirit of knowledge and of godliness, and he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord."[90]

(24) And what is clearer than this, which in the psalm David sings of Christ: "The Lord said to me, 'You are my son; this day I have begotten you. Ask of me and I will give you the nations for your inheritance and the ends of the earth for your possession.'"[91] Was it possible for David to be called Son of God, or when his power was established on the throne of the people of Israel alone, was it possible that he possessed all the kingdoms of the earth? But since we see that this prophecy cannot possibly refer to David, a king who was to die, it follows that we must accept it as relating undoubtedly to Christ, the Son of God. Of him, the eternal David, Isaiah says: "I will make an everlasting covenant with you, my mercy for the faithful David, as I made him a witness to the people, a leader and commander of the nations. So shall you summon a nation you know not, and nations that know you not shall run to you, because of the Lord, your God, the holy one of Israel, for he has glorified you."[92] Had not David already died when the prophet said these things? How, then, was it said of him that he was to call the nations, and that the nations would run to him, who was no longer alive and living with mortal men? If, therefore, we know that this oracle of prophetic promise could in no way have been spoken of David who had already died, we must consequently admit that the statement was uttered about him who had not yet come.

(25) Further, also, through Zechariah the Lord pronounced sentence on the rejection of the Jews and on the most obvious call of the nations, when he says: "I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord of hosts, neither will I accept any sacrifice from your hands. For from the rising of the sun, even to its setting, my name is great among the nations; and

90. Is 11.1–3.
91. Ps 2.7–8; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 1 (PL 83, 451A) and 2, 2 (PL 83, 503B).
92. Is 55.3–5.

everywhere they bring sacrifice to my name, and a pure offering; for great is my name among the nations, says the Lord of hosts."[93] And somewhat farther on: "And on that day, says the Lord of hosts, I will destroy the names of the idols from the land, so that they shall be mentioned no more; I shall also take away the spirit of the false prophets and the spirit of uncleanness from the land."[94] Tell me also, Jew, of whom do you think this was said, when you read: "O God, with your judgment endow the king, and with your justice the king's son"?[95] Who is this royal father of the royal son? Is it David, the father of Solomon? But read through the psalm, and see what follows: "And he shall endure as long as the sun, and before the moon through all generations."[96] Can it be truly said that Solomon endured through all generations, when he scarcely had the reins of government for forty years?

(26) Read on and finish the whole psalm, and notice how different he is from Solomon, especially there where it is said: "He shall redeem their souls from usury and wickedness."[97] But how could Solomon redeem souls from iniquity when later he himself deviated toward wickedness from the holiness he had formerly embraced? With whom, if not with God alone, does this other passage agree, which reads: "May his name be blessed forever"?[98] The psalm continues and says: "In him shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed, all the nations shall praise him."[99] Of old God had promised this to Abraham, when he said: "In your descendants all the nations shall find blessing."[100] And elsewhere he said to David: "The Lord swore the truth to David, and will not disappoint him, 'Your own offspring I will set upon my throne.'"[101] And in the second book of Kings we read: "These are the last words spoken by David the son of Jesse, Thus spoke the man who was appointed to speak of the Anointed of the God of Ja-

93. Mal 1.10–11; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 7 (PL 83, 512f.) and 2, 17 (PL 83, 527B); and also Augustine, *Tractatus* 9 (PL 42, 61f.).
94. Zec 13.2.
95. Ps 71.2.
96. Ps 71.5.
97. Ps 71.14.
98. Ps 71.17.
99. Ibid.
100. Gen 26.4.
101. Ps 131.11.

cob."[102] And again in the book of Chronicles: "The word of the Lord," he said, "came to the prophet Nathan, saying: 'Go and tell my servant David, Thus says the Lord, I declare to you that the Lord will build you a house. And when you shall have completed your days to go to your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you who will be one of your own sons, and I will establish his kingdom. He it is who shall build me a house, and I will establish his throne forever. I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me, and I will not withdraw my favor from him as I withdrew it from him who preceded you; and I will maintain him in my house and in my kingdom forever, and his throne shall be firmly established forever.'"[103]

(27) Who would be so foolish, who so out of his mind as to believe that all these things were fulfilled in Solomon? For how is this to be understood of Solomon, when it says: "After you have gone to rest with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you who will be one of your sons, and I will establish his kingdom."[104] How, I say, can this relate to Solomon, who was not born or did not begin his reign after David's death, but reigned while his father was still alive? What, then, is the meaning of this statement: "After you have gone to rest with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you," unless it is Christ who is meant in this promise, who was to be raised up, not before David's death, but long after he had died? He, indeed, would build a house for the Lord, with walls, not made by hands, but of living and precious stones, that is, of the holy and the just. Who would understand that this too, which follows, was said of Solomon: "And his house shall be faithful, and his kingdom for ever before me,"[105] if he reads that his house was filled with foreign women? How can it be said that Solomon's house was

102. 2 Sam 23.1.

103. 1 Chr 17.3–4, 10–14. The citations from Ps and 1 Chr are found together also in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 9 (PL 83, 465 A–C).

104. 2 Sam 7.12; 1 Chr 17.11. These two texts and the one following are cited by Isidore, *De fide* 1, 9 (PL 83, 465–466) with the same interpretation.

105. 2 Sam 7.16. This reading varies from that of the Vulgate, but is found in Sabatier 1, 531.

faithful to God when it was filled with Gentile women who adored idols? He was also seduced by them and fell into idolotry; good in the beginning, he unfortunately came to a wicked end. And how can it rightly be said that his throne would be established forever, since it is evident that nowhere today do we find a king descended from Solomon?

(28) Therefore, Jew, it is necessary for you to admit that all these things which you see in no way applying to Solomon, agree totally with Christ. Of him Zechariah also testified, when he said: "Thus says the Lord of hosts, 'Here is a man whose name is the Rising Sun (*Oriens*) and under him the temple of the Lord shall spring up, and shall be built. He shall build the temple, and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and he shall be a priest upon his throne.'"[106] And again: "Yes," he says, "I will bring my servant, the Rising Sun. For look at the stone that I have placed before Jesus; upon one stone there are seven eyes,"[107] by which eyes are meant the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

(29) But if all these citations from the prophets have not yet overwhelmed you, investigate the eightieth psalm and consider the Lord's clear promise to David concerning Christ: "I have sworn to David my servant," he said, "forever will I provide your posterity and establish your throne for all ages."[108] And a little farther on: "I will set his hand upon the sea," he said, "his right hand upon the rivers. He shall cry out to me: 'You are my father, my God, and the support of my salvation.' And I will make him the first-born, and highest of the kings of the earth. Forever I will maintain my kindness toward him, and my covenant with him stands firm. I will make his posterity endure forever, and his throne as the days of heaven."[109] And again: "Once have I sworn by my holiness; I will not be false to David. His posterity shall continue for-

106. Zech 6.12–13. 107. Zech 3.8–9.

108. Ps 88.4–5. For Damian's reading "for all ages," see Sabatier 2, 176. Cf. also the *Psalterium Romanum,* ed. R. Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 10 [1953]), 218; Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum,* ed. M. Andriaen, CC 98 (1958), 804.

109. Ps 88.26–30.

ever, and his throne shall be like the sun before me. Like the moon, which remains forever—a faithful witness in the sky."[110]

(30) Look carefully, therefore, at all these promises made to David, and either show me the king of David's posterity presiding on his throne, or be compelled to admit that all these things were foretold of Christ and fulfilled in him. But continue, and examine yet another psalm. Who is this of whom it is said: "Mother Zion shall say, 'This man, and that man is born in her, and he, the Most High, founded her.'"[111] Who is this Most High, who is called both man and the Most High? Examine, inspect, and leaf through all the pages of Holy Writ, if you will, and consider thoroughly that the term "Most High" is used everywhere of God, and is never found applying to a mere man. It follows then, that when "Most High" and "man" are brought together, we are to understand that God and man are called one person, of whom it is wonderfully said that he who was born in her, that is, in Zion, was indeed he who founded her. First, it is necessary for a city to be founded, and then later for a man to be born in it. But who has the power first to build a city and in it later come forth from his mother's womb? Who, I say, but our Redeemer, who deigned to be born in the things which he made?

(31) What do you have to say to that, Jew? By what shameless daring can you avoid such obvious, such divine statements? Even allowing what you blasphemously say, that Christ could invent lies about himself,[112] if he were not God, would he be able to prophesy about himself through the lips of others before he was born? I would also like to hear how you interpret this verse: "My heart has uttered a good word, I speak of my works to the king."[113] Who is this king to whom God speaks of his works? Perhaps you will tell me: "David." But read through the rest of the psalm and understand its true meaning. Continue on a little, and do not ask me, but

110. Ps 88.36–38; on which cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 9 (PL 83, 465B).
111. Ps 86.5; cf. Sabatier 2, 174.
112. Apparently this was an objection raised by the Jews.
113. Ps 44.2.

ask the Lord himself who this king is to whom he speaks of his works. Listen to what God himself says to this king: "Your throne, O God," he says, "is for ever and ever, the scepter of your kingdom is a scepter of righteousness."[114] If, therefore, it is God himself who is speaking, and it is God to whom the speech is addressed, it follows that it is not the time-bound David who is meant, but the co-eternal Son of the Father, who is truly mighty.

(32) This verse too, which you also refer to David, should not, I think, be passed over in silence: "The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand.'"[115] If, as you say, this is to be understood of David, how is it possible for the verse that follows to be adapted to David? "Yours is princely power in the day of your strength, in the brightness of the saints; from the womb, before the day star, I have begotten you."[116] And again: "The Lord has sworn, and he will not repent, 'You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek.'"[117] Therefore, if you are unable to bend the meaning of these latter words to apply to David, you are compelled to accept what went before as referring to Christ, with whom it clearly agrees. Isaiah is obviously speaking of him when he says: "On that day will come the root of Jesse, who stands as a signal for the nations; the Gentiles shall pray to him, and his tomb shall be glorious."[118] Surely, the root of Jesse stands as a sign for the nations when Christ imprints the sign of the cross on men's foreheads. His tomb, moreover, is glorious since, in addition to the fact that we, redeemed by his death, give glory to him with all our heart, we also observe the place itself, resplendent with miracles, summoning all the world to himself to advance his glory.

(33) And now, amid all these pronouncements of the prophets, with such an array of evident testimony of the

114. Ps 44.7; cf. Isidore, *Liber* 21, 3, 58 and 21, 7, 58 where he also cites Ps 109.1, as Damian does.

115. Ps 109.1.

116. Ps 109.3.

117. Ps 109.4. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 10 (PL 83, 469B) cites from Ps 109.3–4.

118. Is 11.10, also cited by Isidore, *De fide* 1, 9 (PL 83, 467B), with the same interpretation.

saints, will you, Jesus son of Sirach, be totally silent, and would you also not wish to testify with the others on Christ's behalf? Step forward now with your most eloquent wisdom and introduce this more powerful Jesus, this fountain of paradise with its four streams flowing throughout the whole world in the guise of the evangelists: "Moses prescribed a law," he said, "in the precepts of justices as an inheritance for the house of Jacob and a promise for Israel. He appointed David his servant to raise up from himself a mighty king, sitting on a throne of glory forever. He overflows like the Pishon, with wisdom, like the Tigris in the days of the new fruits. He runs over like the Euphrates with understanding, he increases like the Jordan at the harvest time. He sends forth knowledge like the light, and stands ready like the Gihon at vintage time."[119]

(34) Now, then, good Jesus, you have presented one bit of evidence for Christ; and so, give us yet another. "At his word," he says, "the wind is still, and by thinking he will calm the deep, and the Lord Jesus will plant it.[120] Because of him their journey is ended, and by his word all things are completed.[121] We shall say much, and yet shall want for words. Let the last word be: He is in all things. What good shall it do for us to praise him? For the Almighty is above all his works. Awful is the Lord and exceedingly great, and wonderful is his power. If you glorify the Lord as much as you can, his marvelous grandeur will yet far exceed. Bless the Lord and extol him as much as you can; he is still beyond your power to praise. When you exalt him put forth all your strength and be not weary; you have not yet exerted yourself. Who has seen him and will describe what he has seen? And who will glorify him as he is from the beginning? There are many hidden things that are greater than these; only a few of his works do we see."[122]

(35) If one considers the range of Scripture, how can he

119. Sir 24.33–37.
120. For Damian's reading, "Lord Jesus," see Sabatier 2, 487.
121. For the variant, "ended," see Sabatier 2, 487.
122. Sir 43.25, 28–36.

doubt that all these statements apply to our Redeemer? Let Jesus testify to our Savior yet a third time so that, as I might put it, every case may stand on the word of two or three witnesses, or rather, pieces of evidence.[123] And so he says: "Christ forgave him his sins, and raised his horn forever; and he conferred on him the rights of royalty and a throne of glory in Israel."[124] Therefore, if it was Christ, taking his origin from David according to the flesh, who forgave David his sins; if it was he who raised the horn of David forever and conferred on him a throne of glory, it follows surely that he who is the son of David is also the creator of David. Would the reader think that these things were said of David if he kept his eye focused on the whole of the previous text?

(36) We would still like to hear Isaiah bearing witness to Christ. "I will bring the lion," he says, "upon those who were from Moab and for those who remain in the land. Send forth the lamb, O Lord, the ruler of the earth, from Petra in the desert, to the mount of the daughter of Zion."[125] From this people of the Moabites, indeed, sprang the spotless Lamb, "who takes away the sins of the world,"[126] who is Lord of the whole earth. He who is called the lion because of his courage, is also known as the lamb because of his meekness. By Petra in the desert we understand Ruth, who when widowed by the death of her first husband, gave birth to Obed by her husband Boaz, from whose line Christ also came.[127]

(37) By a mixture of the statements of the prophets, now presenting the evidence of one, and then turning back to the words of another which I had just cited, I have purposely tried to avoid tiring my hearer who would grow bored if many proofs from the same author were lumped together. I am also trying to give the names of the prophets associated with each piece of evidence, so that when something is stated,

123. Cf. Mt 18.16. 124. Sir 47.13.

125. Is 15.9, 16. 1. There two texts in conjunction are found also in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 9 (PL 83, 467C), along with the variant readings translated here.

126. John 1.29.

127. Cf. Ruth 4.13–17. For Damian's interpretation of Is 16.1, cf. Jerome, *Esaias* 259 and Isidore, *De fide* 1, 9 (PL 83, 467C).

and you would perhaps care to go to the source, you might easily discover it so as to avoid misrepresentation.

(38) So again we might let Daniel stand forth as a witness and present what he knows of Christ. But first let him report what king Nebuchadnezzar saw after he commanded the three young men to be thrown into the fiery furnace. "But I see four men," he says, "unfettered and unhurt, walking in the fire, and the fourth looks like the Son of God."[128] Here, then, Jew, you have the Son of God; why try any further to deny the Son of God? Speak! Answer me! What can be said more sharply or more clearly of the Son of God than to call him the Son of God? But if you are unable to object, and can find no escape, surrender and humbly give yourself up to the winner, and admit that you have been defeated and thoroughly beaten.

(39) Now, then, let Daniel tell us what he saw of Christ, the Son of God: "I saw a vision during the night, and there was one like the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven, and he came to the Ancient of Days, and was presented before him. And he gave him dominion, and glory, and kingship: and all nations and peoples and tongues shall serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that shall not be taken away, and his kingship shall not be destroyed."[129] And again in the eighth vision, the same Daniel said: "Know, listen, and understand," he says: "From the utterance of the word that Jerusalem was to be rebuilt, until Christ the leader, there shall be seven weeks, and the walls (shall be rebuilt) in dangerous times. And after sixty weeks Christ shall be slain, and a people who shall deny him shall not be his."[130]

(40) What can be said more clearly, more expressly concerning the death of Christ than to say: "Christ will be slain"?

128. Dan 3.92; on which cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 1 (PL 83, 451B); Quodvultdeus 15, 247; Evagrius 52.

129. Dan 7.13–14, on which see Pseudo-Augustine, *De altercatione ecclesiae et synagogae dialogus,* ed. G. Segui and J. N. Hillgarth, "La altercatio y la basilica paleocristiana de Son Bou de Menorca," *Boletin de la sociedad arqueologica Luliana* 31 (1954), 51f.

130. Dan 9.25–26. No other source has Damian's "sixty weeks," instead of the usual "sixty-two."

Here no mystical figure lurks, there is no hidden meaning, but rather clearly narrated history, even though spoken of future events. Somewhat prior to this, the angel Gabriel also said to Daniel: "But you, consider my word and understand the vision: Seventy weeks have been shortened for your people and for your holy city, that transgression may stop, and sin may end, and iniquity may be abolished, and everlasting justice may be introduced, vision and prophecy ratified, and the most holy one be anointed."[131] But if you are in doubt about the prescribed amount of time, read Tertullian, and you will surely find that four hundred and ninety years had passed from the first year of the reign of Darius, the king of the Persians, to the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened under Vespasian, the ruler of the Roman Empire. Without a doubt, the seventy weeks equal four hundred and ninety years. But you say that Christ has not yet come and that you still expect his coming. Yet who can doubt that this number of years since Daniel's time has passed, since we know perfectly well that one thousand and forty years have now been added to that total?[132]

131. Dan 9.23–24; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 5 (PL 83, 461C); similar attempts at this "numbers game" in Julian of Toledo, *De comprobatione aetatis sextae* 1, 22 (PL 96, 554D); here also we find reference to the birth of Christ as the pivotal point of these calculations. For this passage in Daniel, cf. also *Altercatio* 90. Other calculations appear in Fulbert, *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* (PL 141, 310C–D).

132. Daniel's vision, in which Gabriel speaks of the "seventy weeks" until the coming of the Messiah (Dan 9.1–27), has been in great dispute: cf. Franz Fraidl, *Die Exegese der siebzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit* (1883); Wilhelm Chraska, *Daniel und die siebzig Jahrwochen (Dan 9.24–27). Zum heutigen Stand der Forschung* (mimeographed dissertation in theology, Wien, 1958); Friedrich Nötscher, ed., *Echter-Bibel* 3 (1958), 638–643; M. McNamara, "Seventy Weeks of Years," NCE 13 (1967), 141–142. Damian follows the interpretation of Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos* 8, 1–18 (CC 2, 1356–1364) and finds the "seventy weeks" to mean 490 years, composed of 437 years and 6 months from the reign of Darius to the birth of Christ (Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 8, 11, 1360f.), and of 52 years and 6 months that passed from this time to the first year of the reign of Vespasian, in which Tertullian (*Adv. Iud.* 8, 16, 1362f.) places the destruction of Jerusalem. But this calculation does not bring one to the beginning of Damian's new era, for on this assumption one would arrive at the year 1107. In his "Vie et survie de la polémique antijuive," *Studia patristica* 1, ed. K. Aland and F. L. Cross (TU 63 [1957], 265, n. 1), B. Blu-

(41) It is highly impudent, therefore, to assert that after such a long time has been added to the prophetic reckoning, the Savior is still to come. For at the time when the Lord lived among men, the perversity of the Jews could perhaps oppose the truth, arguing that they were in doubt whether this amount of time had elapsed. But now, since so many years have passed beyond the prescribed number, who can say that he is unsure of the exact number, even though he can scarcely compute the additional amount of time.

(42) Again, Isaiah most aptly speaks of the passion of Christ and of his death, when he says: "Lord, who would believe what we have heard? To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? He grew up like a sapling before him, like a shoot from the parched earth; there was in him no stately bearing, nor grace; and we have seen him, and there was no appearance that would attract us to him. He was spurned, and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows, accustomed to infirmity, and his face is hidden, as it were, and despised, and we held him in no esteem. Yet it was our infirmities that he bore, our sufferings that he endured, while we thought of him as a leper, and one smitten by God and afflicted. He was pierced for our offenses, crushed for our sins. Upon him was the chastisement of our peace, and with his stripes we were healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray, each one to his own way; and the Lord laid upon him the guilt of us all. He was offered, because it was his own will, and opened not his mouth. Like a sheep he shall be led to the slaughter, and as a lamb he shall be silent before the shearer, and he shall not open his mouth. Oppressed and condemned, he was taken away, and who will ever

---

menkranz computes this period of time from the death of Christ, and thereby arrives at the year 1073 as the year in which this letter was composed, which he then corrects as the years 1068–1072. A more probable interpretation seems to be that of G. Lucchesi, *Antilogus* (see n. 1 *supra*), who reckons the Christian era from the first appearance of Christ on earth, and thereby arrives at the year 1040 as the date of this letter. Whether Damian was right or wrong in estimating the elapsed time from either the birth or the death of Christ, he seems clearly aware that he is writing in or about the year 1040. Consequently, Letter 1 was written in Pomposa where he was in residence from 1040–1041.

speak of his generation? Because he was cut off from the land of the living: for the sins of my people I have struck him. And he shall give him the wicked for his burial, and a rich man for his death, though he had done no wrong nor spoken any falsehood, and the Lord was pleased to crush him in infirmity. If he gives his life as an offering for sin, he shall see his descendants in a long life, and the will of the Lord shall be accomplished through him, because he surrendered himself to death and was counted among the wicked. And he took away the sins of many, and prayed for the transgressors that they not be lost."[133]

(43) Would you care to hear still more and more clear evidence for the death of Christ, set forth without the slightest uncertainty? Then listen to what Solomon has to say about the Jews who were plotting against Christ and planning for his death: "The wicked," he reported, "said to one another,[134] 'Come, let us beset the just one, because he is obnoxious to us, and sets himself against our doings, reproaches us for transgressions of the law, and charges us with violations of our training. He professes to have knowledge of God and styles himself the Son of God. To us he is the censure of our thoughts;[135] merely to see him is a hardship for us, because his life is not like other men's, and different are his ways. We are judged by him as triflers, and he holds aloof from our paths as from things impure. He calls blest the destiny of the just and boasts that God is his Father. Let us see whether his words be true, let us find out what will happen to him and learn what shall be his lot. For if he be the true Son of God, he will defend him and deliver him from the hand of his foes. With outrage and torture let us examine him, that we may know his gentleness. Let us condemn him to a shameful death, for according to his own words there will be care for him.' These were their thoughts, but they erred; for their wicked-

133. Is 53.1–10, 12; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 15 (PL 83, 473f.). Damian's concluding words, "that they not be lost," are found in no biblical version.

134. The opening words of this citation are not biblical.

135. "Our thoughts" used here, are from the liturgy: cf. *Beuron* 11, 1, 4 (1980), 276.

ness blinded them, and they knew not the hidden counsels of God, neither did they count on a recompense of holiness nor esteem the honor of their own souls."[136]

(44) And now Jeremiah: "Christ the Lord," he said, "the breath of our mouth, was caught in our sins. To whom we said, In your shadow we shall live among the nations."[137] And through blessed Job the Lord himself, in his passion, complained when he said: "My disfigurement bears witness against me, and a traitor rises up against me, speaking openly against me. He also gathers his fury against me, and threatening me, he gnashes his teeth against me; my enemy looks at me with terrible eyes. They have opened their mouths at me, insultingly they have struck me on the cheek, they are glutted with my pains. God has given me over to the impious, and delivered me into the hands of the wicked. He has surrounded me with his lances, he has wounded my loins; he did not spare me, and poured out my bowels upon the ground."[138] All of this, which was completely foreign to blessed Job, was found to be most clearly fulfilled in Christ.

(45) Obviously, for anyone who still needs evidence after such enlightening testimony, it remains for him to request a lighted lamp to view the radiant sun at noontime. With the vision of so many heavenly stars sparkling before you, Jew, I marvel how such deep shades of blindness can hold sway, even in eyes that are totally without sight. This bright light of truth could not even be concealed from him, who by the darkness of his gloomy avarice had lost the use of spiritual sight, Balaam I mean, who while providing light for other men in high places, himself walked in darkness.[139] Therefore, Jew, if you do not wish to follow the lead of sighted men along the path of truth, at least blindly follow this blind man who goes before you. So listen to what he has to say: "Balaam, the son of Beor, has said: The man whose eye is closed has said: The hearer

136. Wis 2.12–22. The closing words, "of their own souls," are also from the liturgy: cf. *Beuron* 11, 1, 4 (1980), 283.

137. Lam 4.20. This text and that from Wis are used in conjunction also in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 23 (PL 83, 479 B–C).

138. Job 16.9–12, 14.

139. Cf. Num chapters 22–24.

of the words of God has said, who knows the doctrine of the Most High and sees the vision of the Almighty, falling down, but having his eyes uncovered. I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh; a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall strike the chiefs of Moab, and shall waste all the sons of Sheth. And he shall dispossess Edom, the inheritance of Seir shall fall to their enemies: while Israel shall do valiantly. From Jacob shall dominion be exercised, and the survivors of the city be destroyed."[140]

A Dialogue between a Jew Who Makes Inquiry and a Christian, on the Other Hand, Who Responds

(46) But now let us have a brief discourse in dialogue form, using questions and answers, on certain ceremonies about which you often inquire in great detail, and in your wordy circumlocutions bring suit in these matters; so that when all shall be to your satisfaction, you will be compelled either to agree that you have lost, or to depart in confusion because of your shameful disbelief.

(47) *Question*: If Christ did not come to abolish the law but to fulfill it,[141] why is a Christian not bodily circumcised? *Response*: Today a Christian does not submit himself to circumcision because Christ carried out what had been foretold by circumcision. The despoiling of carnal life,[142] prefigured in the Old Law, is now seen completed in the resurrection of Christ; and what we await for the future in our own resurrection is presently evidenced in the mystery of holy baptism. As something superfluous, therefore, circumcision of the flesh is rightly belittled, while today its spiritual version, for which the former was an early figure, is observed.

(48) *Question*: If Christ did not come to abolish the law but

140. Num 24.15–19.

141. Cf. Mt 5.17. This dependence on Mt, here and in the following questions, is found also in Augustine, *Tractatus* 2–3, 52f.

142. The symbolic significance of circumcision is confirmed by Paul in Col 2.11 and Rom 2.25–29. Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 2, 8–14, 1342ff. and 3, 1344–1347 contrasts carnal and spiritual circumcision, as does Isidore, *Liber* 2, 3, 9 and 53, 158–161.

to fulfill it, why does a Christian fail to honor the Sabbath?[143] *Response*: We do not observe the Sabbath because that which then figuratively went before, we now see accomplished by the presence of the thing itself. For in Christ we practice the true Sabbath of spiritual tranquility by placing our hope in him alone, and thus with all our love and devotion we rest in him, that we may abstain from every servile work of vice and from ambition for earthly things. He exhorts us to celebrate this Sabbath when he exclaims: "Come to me," he says, "all you who are weary and find life burdensome, and I will refresh you. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me for I am gentle and humble of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls."[144] Therefore we conclude that the observance of an earthly Sabbath is superfluous, since we now celebrate the true and salutary Sabbath on account of which the former had been established.

(49) *Question*: If Christ did not come to abolish but to fulfill the law, why is a Christian indifferent to the distinction between foods,[145] which he is required by law to observe? *Response*: This difference in foods is not admitted by Christians for the simple reason that what was prefigured by it was fulfilled in Christ. Surely, the uncleanness from which we abstained in food is now disapproved in human behavior. For just as every holy or just man is transformed into the body of Christ, so too are condemned and wicked men rejected from it like unclean food. And so, once Truth itself arrived, which is here foreshadowed, the figurative shadow rightly ceased to be.

(50) *Question*: If Christ came not to abolish but to fulfill the law, why does a Christian not take pains to offer the flesh of

143. On the Sabbath, cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 4, 1347ff., and especially Isidore, *Liber* 2, 6, 10 and 31, 89ff., who interpret the word in similar fashion.

144. Mt 11.28–29, cited also by Cyprian 1, 13, 15, with reference to the old and new yoke. For further uses of the Sabbath theme in Damian's writings, see M. Della Santa, "Il sabato giudaico nell'interpretazione di S. Pier Damiano," *Vita monastica* 10 (1956), 68–73.

145. On the difference between foods, cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 28 (PL 83, 537A) and Isidore, *Liber* 2, 7, 10.

animals in sacrifice[146] to God? *Response*: Again, this sort of sacrifice is not offered by Christians, because whatever was typified by these victims is truly fulfilled in the immolation of the Lamb who takes away the sins of the world.[147] Because all these practices had no further salutary function than to point unanimously to our sacrifice, to highlight this unique offering by their ceremonial diversity, after this singular victim appeared, the multiple shadow that went before, vanished. Who is not aware that the sacrifices you mention were imposed upon a disobedient people to save them from debauchery in the service of idols, rather than as an offering to God, as if he desired them?

(51) *Question*: If Christ did not come to abolish the law, but to fulfill it, why does a Christian not observe the unleavened bread that the law prescribes? *Response*: The visible and physical unleavened bread is considered of little importance by Christians because when the yeast of that former life was thrown away, the fresh dough was spiritually fulfilled.[148] It was formerly commanded by the written law, but now it serves only as a witness; and after what was symbolized had appeared, that which was the symbol passed away.

(52) *Question*: If Christ came to fulfill the law, why does a Christian not celebrate Easter with the blood of the paschal lamb,[149] since this is so strongly prescribed by the law itself? *Response*: Here we must reply with the same answer given above. For after becoming aware that the true Lamb, who was symbolized, had come, the symbol was judged superfluous. Quite clearly we no longer besmear the stone or wooden portals with his blood, but with it we rather seal the heart of the inner man.

(53) *Question*: If Christ did not abolish the law, why does a Christian not celebrate the feast of the new moon[150] prescribed

146. For the symbolic interpretation of "sacrifice," see Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 5, 1349–1352; Isidore, *De fide* 2, 14 (PL 83, 521 A–B) and 2, 17 (PL 83, 526f.); and Isidore, *Liber* 2, 6, 9f. and 29–30, 82–89.

147. John 1.29.

148. Cf. 1 Cor 5.7.

149. On the paschal lamb, see Isidore, *Liber* 2, 4, 9.

150. Cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 28 (PL 83, 538A).

by law? *Response*: The Christian ignores this celebration because Christ fulfilled in its entirety the objective for which it was observed. The solemnity of the new moon prefigured the new creation that would take place in man, of which the Apostle says: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old order has passed away, and now all is made new."[151]

(54) *Question*: If Christ did not come to abolish the law, why does the Christian not observe the ablutions[152] that the law prescribes? *Response*: These observances are not deemed to be Christian practice, because formerly they were a foreshadowing of things to come,[153] of which we now possess the clear fulfillment. "Through baptism into his death we were buried with Christ, so that, just as Christ rose from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in the newness of life."[154]

(55) *Question*: If the law was carried out by Christ, and not abrogated, what reason can be advanced for Christians not celebrating the feast of Tabernacles?[155] *Response*: The tabernacle of God is the community of the Christian people, and since the former tabernacle prefigured holy Church, the symbol is considered unimportant after that which was symbolized had come. It would not have been called the tabernacle of the testament unless it had witnessed to something which, in its time, was to be manifested by the truth. Thus, what formerly functioned by law as a symbol, is now observed as present and is revealed by the evidence. And since we now see what was prefigured, that which served as a symbol is judged totally superfluous.

(56) *Question*: If Christ did not wish to abolish the law but to fulfill it, why does a Christian fail to observe the seventh year of relaxation of debt,[156] or even the jubilee? *Response*:

151. 2 Cor 5.17.
152. On ablutions, cf. Isidore, *Liber* 32, 6, 94.
153. Cf. Col 2.17. 154. Rom 6.4.
155. Cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 28 (PL 83, 538A).
156. Cf. Deut 15.1–9. On this relaxation of debt, cf. Isidore, *Liber* 62, 2–3, 187. It is similarly discussed also in Damian's Letter 27, *infra*.

Because the Truth and Wisdom of God, which, though he instructs the angels in heaven, came also to teach men on earth, what he had formerly commanded to be observed physically under the shadow of allegory, he later enjoined on his disciples to be understood spiritually. Just as he ordained that the seventh day be a day of rest,[157] that it might symbolize eternal rest, so too in the seventh year, as also in the year of jubilee, which is reckoned to be the course of fifty years, multiplying seven by seven and adding one, is suggested the quiet security of perpetual happiness. As the year of jubilee begins, trumpets blast, and everyone returns to his own property, for as the Apostle says: "The Lord himself shall come down from heaven at the word of command, at the sound of the archangel's voice, and God's trumpet; the trumpet will sound and the dead shall rise uncorrupted."[158] Each returning to his own property means that we suddenly receive our incorrupt bodies. Then shall Adam return to the ancient earth of his flesh in which he had dwelt of old; then their own property is restored to Noah, Abraham, Moses, and all the rest, as the body is re-made incorruptible for them. And so our Redeemer, who opened his disciples' minds that they might understand the mysteries of the Scriptures, did not wish the year of jubilee, the seventh year of relaxation, nor the other ceremonies of ritual law to be observed physically after he had given them a spiritual significance. Obviously, the precepts of the law are truly fulfilled when they are carried out in accord with the spiritual meaning for which they were instituted. Formerly, while they were being carried out physically, they were empty, that is, a shadow or image of the thing, and not the thing itself. Would you like to hear in what way they were empty and unmeaning, and not the very truth but imitations of truth? Listen to what the Lord says to Moses in the book of Exodus: "And there shall be poles on both sides of the altar

157. Cf. Lev 25.10.

158. 1 Thess 4.16; cf. 1 Cor 15.52. These two texts frequently appear together; cf. *Beuron* 25, 4 (1977), 247. Here also Damian's variant reading "uncorrupted," in place of "first" is noted.

to carry it; you shall not make it solid, but empty and hollow, just as it was shown you on the mountain."[159]

(56) And so, what Moses saw on the mountain is the holy Church, the true thing itself. But the tabernacle, built in the desert, is the shadow and image of this Church after which it was modeled. Certainly it is the man in whose image a seal is made; but when compared side by side, the man is said to be the thing, the truth, while the seal appears to be only the likeness and the form of the thing. But when the fulness of time had come, the Lord filled the things that had been meaningless and empty as he commanded their spiritual manifestation. Thus it happened that after the Lord came, the earthly Jerusalem with its temple was totally destroyed, so that only the holy universal Church might be resplendent throughout the world. For as the evangelist relates: "As some were saying of the temple that it was fitted out with good stones and adorned with gifts, he said, 'These things which you see, the days will come in which there shall not be left a stone upon a stone that shall not be thrown down.'"[160]

(58) There was formerly the great royal city, Jerusalem, in which the famous temple was erected to God; but after he came, who was the true temple of God, and began to reveal the mysteries of the heavenly Jerusalem, the earthly city was destroyed when the heavenly one appeared, and of the former temple no stone remained upon a stone.[161] In former days the highpriest purified the people with the blood of bulls and goats; but when the true highpriest had come, who would purify the believers with his own blood, the highpriest of the former dispensation is nowhere to be found, nor is there any room for him. Previously, there was an altar and sacrifices

159. Ex 27.7–8. Damian's text differs from the Vulgate and from readings found in Sabatier 1, 189. Here we have evidence, thanks to Dr. Walter Thiele, of a group of Italian bible MS whose provenance is Rome and not Milan, which Damian may have used. On which, see S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant des premiers siècles du moyen âge* (1893), 141; H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 6 [1922]), 384.

160. Lk 21.5–6.

161. Cf. Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture* 1 (Theologie 41, 1959), 627f.

were offered; but when the true lamb had come, who offered himself as a victim to God, all these things that had existed as something temporary, ceased to be.

(59) Wherefore, surely, divine providence disposed that both the city and the temple and all that was in them would be overthrown, lest perhaps one who was still a babe and a suckling in the faith, seeing these things in existence, should be struck with amazement at the rites of sacrifice and the arrangement of services, and be carried away by the very sight of these divergent forms. But aware of our infirmity, and observing that his Church was to multiply, he caused all these to be destroyed and utterly removed, that with the immediate disappearance of the shadows and typical models truth might survive, and that with the leveling of the physical temple, the Church alone might prevail throughout the world.

Epilogue

(60) But now, Jew, after such a cloud of witnesses I will compose a peroration for you. Beginning with the coming of the humanity of Christ and proceeding through the passage of time until its end, I will place before your eyes, if you are up to it, the evidence of the prophets, that you may view in summary, as it were, and in one glance everything that you saw me discussing above in a diffuse and scattered way. That the Son of God was to take up our human nature is affirmed by Jeremiah when he said: "The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth, and a woman shall encompass a man."[162] If he should say this of an ordinary man, the word "new" would be used superfluously, since it is observed happening universally in the human race. But that this woman was to be a virgin, through whom the Son of God would come forth into our midst as through a heavenly gate from the bosom of the Father, Ezechiel indicates by saying: "I turned back," he says, "to the way of the outer gate of the sanctuary which looked to the east, and it was closed. And the Lord said to me, This gate which you see is to remain closed, and is not to be opened,

162. Jer 31.22.

and no man shall pass through, but shall always be closed."[163] Now the blessed Virgin Mary is always closed, because both before and after giving birth she remained always inviolate. David sang of her when he says: "He pitched his tent in the sun, and he is like the groom coming forth from his bridal chamber."[164]

(61) Isaiah, moreover, declares that he would be a little one in the substance of humanity to make us great by the power of divinity, when he says: "For a child is born to us and a son is given to us; upon his shoulder dominion rests, and his name will be called wonderful, counsellor, Mighty God, Father of the world to come, Prince of Peace. His reign shall be multiplied and of peace there shall be no end: over the throne of David and over his kingdom, to establish it and strengthen it by judgment and justice both now and forever."[165] Now, since he states that the one whom he first called a child would later be known as Mighty God and Father of the world to come, he certainly and with great clarity shows that he is both God and man. Again the same Isaiah says: "The wolf shall live with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid. The calf and the lion and the sheep shall remain together, and a little child shall lead them."[166] Now the wolf lives with the lamb with sentiments of holy love, for those who in the world were plunderers find repose in peace with the mild and gentle. The leopard lies down with the kid, when he who was spotted by the stains of his sins agrees to be humbled along with him who despises himself and acknowledges that he is a sinner. And then he continues: "The calf and the lion and the sheep shall remain together," because both he, who by a contrite heart, prepares himself as a daily sacrifice to God,[167] and the

163. Ezek 44.1–2. Cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 10 (PL 83, 470B), where also the text from Ps 18.6 follows immediately. This also occurs in Isidore, *Liber* 21, 12, 60. Damian's citation differs slightly from the Vulgate and from the variants in Sabatier, 3, 842.

164. Ps 18.6.

165. Is 9.6–7. The same text, similarly interpreted, is in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 5 (PL 83, 460B–C) and in Isidore, *Liber* 18, 3, 51 and 20, 1, 55.

166. Is 11.6.

167. The author is perhaps here referring to the daily eucharistic sacrifice.

one who like a lion roared out of cruelty, and the third who as a sheep lives on in simple innocence, have come together in the fold of Holy Church. Finally, a little child leads these animals, because he who was made a little less than the angels,[168] daily and in hidden ways inflames our hearts by an inner desire, lest they become attached to earthly things. By the love he gives us he does not allow us to fix our attention on this world. And this special leading of his has as its purpose to ignite us constantly to his love, lest, on the contrary, by loving ourselves we remain intentionally in this land of exile.

(62) The fact, too, that he would be brought to the temple, the prophet Malachi foretold when he said: "Thus says the Lord, Behold I send my angel, and he shall prepare the way before my face. And presently the Lord, whom you seek, and the angel of the testament, whom you desire, shall come to his temple. Yes, he is coming, says the Lord of hosts, and who shall be able to think of the day of his coming?"[169] Moreover, that while still a child he would be taken into Egypt and returned, Hosea reveals in saying: "As the morning passes, so will the king of Israel pass by. Because Israel was a child, and I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son."[170] Again, Zechariah announced that he would come to Jerusalem, seated on an ass, when he said: "Rejoice heartily, O daughter Zion, shout for joy, O daughter Jerusalem! See, your king shall come to you, the just one and the savior, poor and riding on an ass, on a colt, the foal of an ass. And I shall destroy the chariot from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem; the warrior's bow shall be banished, and he shall proclaim peace to the nations. His dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth."[171] That he would likewise accuse the Jews and rebuke their malice, Isaiah stated when he says: "He shall not judge according to appearances, nor by hearsay shall he reprove, but he shall judge the poor with

168. Cf. Ps 8.6.
169. Mal 3.1–2; cf. Isidore, *Liber* 82, 21, 240.
170. Hos 11.1; cf. Mt 2.15.
171. Zech 9.9–10; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 3 (PL 83, 507C) and Isidore, *Liber* 21, 17, 62.

justice and decide aright for the meek of the land, and shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked. And justice will be the band around his waist, and faith a belt upon his hips."[172]

(63) Isaiah, moreover, announced that the Christ would be baptized in the Jordan when he says: "Let the desert rejoice and the wilderness of the Jordan be glad, and my people shall see the glory of the Lord and the majesty of the Lord."[173] And a little farther on: "And I shall cut rivers through the mountains and break through the heights, and on the parched earth without water I shall flow abundantly."[174] The Lord himself testifies that he would be betrayed by his disciple, when he laments in David's words, saying: "Even my friend who had my trust and partook of my bread has boldly raised his heel against me."[175] And again: "If my enemy," he says, "had reviled me, I would indeed have borne it; and if he who hated me had vaunted himself against me, I might indeed have hidden from him; but you, my other self, my guide, and my bosom friend!"[176] Amos, moreover, testifies that he would be sold for silver when he says: "For three crimes of Israel, and for four, I will not alter him, because he has sold the just man for silver."[177] That he would be sold for thirty pieces of silver, Zechariah recounts in saying: "And they counted out my wages, thirty pieces of silver."[178]

(64) That again the silver pieces were thrown away by Judas after he had received them, this too the same prophet describes exactly when he adds: "And the Lord said to me, Throw it into the proper mint, the price at which they valued me. So I took the thirty pieces of silver, and threw them into

172. Is 11.3–5.

173. Is 35.1–2. Here the text departs somewhat from the Vulgate and from the variants in Sabatier 2, 572. But thanks to Dr. Walter Thiele, our attention is called to the liturgical use of the passage; for which cf. J. M. Thomasius, *Opera omnia,* ed. A. F. Vezzosi 5 (1750), 324.

174. Is 41.18; cf. Sabatier 2, 583 and Jerome, *Isaias* 473.

175. Ps 40.10.

176. Ps 54.13–14. This text and the one preceding are found in succession also in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 21 (PL 83, 478f.) and in *Altercatio* 98, followed immediately by Zech 11.12.

177. Amos 2.6.

178. Zech 11.12.

the proper mint in the house of the Lord."[179] There also, somewhat farther on, he adds the following on the condemnation by the Jews: "They shall look on me," he says, "whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn as one mourns for an only son, and they shall grieve as one grieves at the death of a first-born."[180] There too he clearly speaks of the transfixing nails in the hands of the Lord, when he says: "And should they ask him, 'What are these wounds in the middle of your hands?' And he shall say to them, 'I received these wounds in the house of them that loved me.'"[181] And then the text continues: "Awake, O lance, against my shepherd, and against the man who is my associate, says the Lord God of hosts. Strike the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered."[182] That he would be suspended on the cross, Jeremiah clearly states in saying: "Lord, you have informed me and I knew. You have shown me their doings, and I was like a meek lamb that is carried to be a victim. And I did not know that they had devised counsels against me, saying, Let us add wood to his bread, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, and let his name be remembered no more."[183] That his garments were divided by lot, he himself asserted through David's words, saying: "They divided my garments among them, and for my vesture they cast lots."[184] That he would be given gall to eat and vinegar to drink, he announced again through David when he says: "They put gall in my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink."[185] Moreover, that he

179. Zech 11.13; cf. Isidore, *Liber* 21, 17, 62. The MS readings punctuate differently from the Vulgate, having "proper" modifying "mint." The Latin substantive here is *statuarium*, which also has the meaning "furnace" or "mint." The use of the word "proper" at the end of the quotation is not in the Vulgate or in Sabatier 2, 998. But see Isidore, *De fide* 1, 20 (PL 83, 478B).

180. Zech 12. 10; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 36 (PL 83, 485f.) and 1, 61 (PL 83, 498A); also Isidore, *Liber* 21, 17, 63.

181. Zech 13.6.

182. Zech 13.7.

183. Jer 11.18–19; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 35 (PL 83, 484A–B) and Isidore, *Liber* 22, 3, 65f.

184. Ps 21.19; also in Isidore, *De fide* 1, 38 (PL 83, 486B) and Isidore, *Liber* 22, 5, 66,

185. Ps 68.22; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 2, 10 (PL 83, 515D) and Isidore, *Liber* 22, 4, 66; also *Altercatio* 101.

would be spat upon and pierced with lances, Jeremiah indicates, saying: "Wicked men without mercy rose up against me, they sought to kill me, and did not forbear to spit into my face, and wounded me with their lances."[186]

(65) On his descent into the nether world and the deliverance of the saints he speaks through Hosea in this way: "I will deliver them," he says, "from the hand of death, from death I will redeem them: O death, I will be your death! O nether world, I will be your sting."[187] Again, that he would rise on the third day, and at no other time than at dawn, the same Hosea clearly proclaims, saying: "Come, and let us return to the Lord, for he has seized us and he will heal us; he will strike and he will cure us. He will revive us after two days; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight. We shall know, and we shall strive to know the Lord. His coming forth is made ready like the dawn, and he will come to us like the early and the later rain to the earth."[188] Through Jeremiah he promises us the law of the New Testament which he would proclaim throughout the world, when he says: "See, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. Not according to the covenant that I made with your fathers the day I took them by the hand to lead them forth from the land of Egypt; the covenant which they made void, and I showed myself their master, says the Lord. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will place my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."[189]

(66) That he would ascend into heaven and would send the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, David briefly included in one verse, when he says: "Ascending on high, he has led captivity

186. This text is not found in Jeremiah nor in any other book of the Bible.

187. Hos 13.14; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 52 (PL 83, 492A) and Isidore, *Liber* 24, 2, 70.

188. Hos 6.1–3; cf. Isidore, *De fide* 1, 54 (PL 83, 493A) and Isidore, *Liber* 23, 2, 68.

189. Jer 31.31–33. The variant readings in this text are found in Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam libri sex,* ed. S. Reiter (CC 74, 1960), 318.

captive, he has given gifts to men."[190] When Christ ascended on high he led captivity captive, in that by virtue of his incorruption he swallowed up our corruption; but he granted gifts to men, since by pouring down the Spirit he gave to his disciples various gifts of heavenly charisms. And Joel says: "And afterwards I will pour out my Spirit upon all mankind, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. Moreover, upon my servants and handmaids, in those days, I will pour out my Spirit."[191] Isaiah testifies about this pouring forth of the Spirit, when he says: "Fear not, O Jacob, my servant, the most special one whom I have chosen; for I will pour out water upon the thirsty ground, and streams upon the dry land. I will pour out my spirit upon your offspring, and my blessing upon your descendants."[192] Also concerning baptism, whose reception he would command throughout the world, he promised by Ezekiel, saying: "I will pour clean water upon you to cleanse you from all your impurities, and from all your idols I will cleanse you."[193] Moreover, that he would judge the world, the psalmist declared, for after he had stated: "The Lord has reigned from the tree."[194] He then adds, at the end,

190. Eph 4.8; Ps 67.19.
191. Joel 2.28–29.
192. Is 44.3.
193. Ezek 36.25.
194. The phrase "from the tree" is not in the Vulgate. But see Sabatier 2, 191. Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 73, 1–2, ed. E. J. Goodspeed (Die ältesten Apologeten, 1914), 182f. accused the Jews of maliciously deleting it from their texts: it is in neither the Hebrew nor in the oldest Greek MSS. G. Q. Reijners, "The Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature As Based Upon Old Testament Typology," *Graecitas Christianorum primaeva* 2 (1965), 36f., refers to the *Psalterium Veronense, saec.* 6, that has the reading *apo xylo*. The phrase was taken into the *Psalterium Romanum* 237; also in Venantius Fortunatus, *Vexilla regis* c. 4, ed. G. M. Dreves, AH 50 (1907), 74–75; cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1953), 89–90; J. Szövérffy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung* 1 (1964), 136; *Idem*, "Venantius Fortunatus and the Earliest Hymns to the Holy Cross," *Classical Folia* 20 (1966), 107–122, esp. 115ff. In the anti-Jewish literature it first appears in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3, 19, 1, 533 and Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* (see n. 132 *supra*) 10, 11, 1378 and 13, 11, 1386; Evagrius 43; Isidore, *De fide* 1, 35 (PL 83, 485A) and 2, 26 (PL 83, 535A); also Ps.-Augustine, *Altercatio* 46.

in reference to this same Lord who rules from the tree, "He will rule the world with justice, and the peoples with his truth."[195]

An Argument From Reason

(67) So now, Jew, if so many pieces of evidence from Holy Scripture do not attract you to faith in Christ, if such clear and obvious sayings of all the prophets do not change you, I would still like to argue with you from reason, putting aside the statements of the prophets. I should like to raise with you one brief question at the conclusion of this little work, so that whatever might be suitable to your conversion should not be left untried by my efforts.

(68) Listen then, answer me, what was the greatest sin that your fathers were known to have committed, whereby they greatly inflamed the anger of God and violently provoked his vengeance against them? Grumbling, you will say, idolatry, fornication. Now I will agree with you and consider these three crimes of theirs to have been quite worthy of punishment. Still all of these in the sight of the mercy-tempered justice of God would not bring irreparable punishment. Indeed, to refer to your ancient history, one reads of grumbling in the book of Numbers: "Therefore the whole community broke out with loud cries and wept that night, and all the Israelites grumbled against Moses and Aaron, saying, 'Would that we had died in Egypt, and not in this vast desert; would that we were dead, and that the Lord should not bring us into this land to fall by the sword and our wives and little ones be taken captive.' So they said to one another, 'Let us appoint a leader and go back to Egypt.' "[196] Yet because of this, the great sin of grumbling, to be sure, his anger visited them with nothing more than forty years of divine punishment, as we read of the Lord saying to them: "Your children," he said, "must wander for forty years, and shall bear the crimes of their fathers, till your bodies be consumed in the desert, in keeping with the forty days you scouted the land. A year shall be com-

195. Ps 95.13.

196. Num 14.1–4.

puted for each day, and forty years shall you suffer for your crimes."[197]

(69) On account of the calf that they worshiped near Mount Sinai, we know that no more than twenty-three thousand men were put to the sword, as we read in the book of Exodus. Moses said to them: "Every one of you, put your sword on your hip. Now go up and down the camp, from gate to gate, and each one of you slay your own kinsmen, your friends and neighbors. The Levites carried out the command of Moses, and that day there fell about twenty-three thousand men. Then Moses said, You have dedicated yourselves to the Lord, each one of you against your sons and kinsmen, to bring a blessing upon yourselves."[198]

(70) Similarly, because of the illicit relations that they had with the Midianite women, only twenty-three thousand men fell by the sword, as it is written again in the book of Numbers: "Thus the slaughter of the Israelites was checked, and twenty-three thousand men were slain."[199] Why is it, therefore, that we read of God taking such short-lived vengeance because of the sins of your ancestors, while this bondage of yours and dispersal throughout the world has lasted for so many centuries? Just read your Josephus,[200] where you will find that in the punishment for the death of Christ, which Titus and Vespasian exacted, one million Jewish people fell by the sword and one million one hundred thousand were taken captive.

197. Num 14.33–34. 198. Ex 32.27–29.

199. Num 25.8. Here Damian has 23,000, while the Vulgate has 24,000; see *Biblia sacra* 3, 218 with reference to the Italian Bible MSS.

200. Josephus, *De bello judaico* 6, 9, 3, ed. O. Michel and O. Bauernfeind, 3 vols. (1959–1969), 2, 2, 72, describes the destruction of the Jewish people, but with statistics that differ from Damian's account. The numbers agree with the Latin translation of Josephus by Hegesippus, *Historiae libri quinque* 5, 49, 4, ed. V. Ussani, CSEL 66 (1932), 404. In Landulfus, *Additamenta ad Pauli historiam Romanam,* 130, ed. H. Droysen, *MGH Auct. ant.* 2 (1879), 305, it is stated: "Josephus writes that 1,100,000 perished by the sword and from famine." H. St. J. Thackery, *The Jewish War* 6, 3 (Loeb Classical Library: *Josephus* 3, 497–498) states that 97,000 Jews were taken captive, and 1,100,000 were slain. See also H. Lewy, "Josephus the Physician. A Medieval Legend of the Destruction of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Wartburg Institute* 1 (1937–1938), 221–141, esp. 229.

And after that, whoever of you survived the consuming sword, we see reduced to slavery at the feet of all mankind.

(71) Indeed, whoever of your ancestors were taken into captivity, were never totally deprived of an association with prophets, that they might continually intercede for their sins, always remind them of the law of the Lord, and by their presence provide them with great comfort in their calamities, while announcing to them the certainty of future return to their native land. And so it was said through Zechariah: "The angel of the Lord said: O Lord of hosts, how long will you be without mercy for Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, with which you have been angry? This is now the seventieth year. To the angel who spoke to me the Lord replied with good and consoling words."[201] And by Jeremiah: "Seventy years these nations shall be enslaved to the king of Babylon; but when the seventy years have elapsed, I will punish the king of Babylon,"[202] etc.

(72) It is clear, therefore, that your ancestors, even though frequently struck down by divine retribution, were at times relieved and refreshed by abundant consolations. But from the time of Christ's passion until today, you who live in such enduring calamity, observe a prophet come among you nowhere in the world, you hear no message of good times to come sent to you by God. What, therefore, is this incurable crime of yours? Whence is this punishment beyond all remedy that you must endure? What is its source, I ask, if not that you have killed Christ, the Son of God, and after committing this crime you refuse to have recourse to the fountain of life? This deepest hell of your iniquity exceeds every kind of infamy, surpasses in barbarity every sort of crime. Surely, Moses foresaw this sin of yours when in anger he spoke against you: "Assemble all your tribal elders and learned men before me, that I may speak these words for them to hear, and so may call heaven and earth to witness against them. For I know that after my death you will become corrupt and quickly turn aside

201. Zech 1.12–13. 202. Jer 25.11–12.

from the way which I prescribed for you, so that evil will befall you in some distant age when you shall do evil in the Lord's sight and provoke him by your deeds."[203]

Exhortation

(73) Now therefore, Jew, heed my advice so that the God you have angered may be merciful to you. Put off the garb of your old self and accept the sacrament of new grace. May the blessings of Mount Gerizim be yours that you may avoid the curse of Mount Ebal.[204] Abandon the errors of Jewish blindness and follow the path to the truth of evangelical grace. Without doubt you can be sure of forgiveness, if after turning to faith in Christ you are steeped in the waters of holy baptism. But since, perhaps, I can do more for your soul by praying to God than by preaching to you, may the God of your fathers remove the ancient veil of ignorance from your heart, and dispelling the darkness of error, flood you with the new light of his knowledge, who made this promise through his prophet, saying: "For though your people, O Israel, were like the sand of the sea, a remnant of Israel shall be saved."[205]

Conclusion

(74) And so, dear brother Honestus, notice that as I attempted to take into account your lack of training, I did not try to employ the flowers of rhetorical eloquence nor the sharp arguments of the dialecticians. Given that I did not care to adopt the trappings of worldly wisdom, and that I was aware that you were also involved in secular affairs and were unable to devote yourself to much reading, I did not wish to burden you with wordy and extended proofs. Wherefore, in placing before you almost bare texts from Scripture, I have sent you, as it were, a bundle of arrows for your quiver. And since from the words of your opponent a good opportunity of replying is provided, I have indeed supplied the weapons. But since the contest is not imminent, I was unable to instruct you fully

203. Deut 31.28–29.
204. Cf. Deut 11.29.
205. Is 10.22; Rom 9.27.

as to where, when unscathed, you should let loose, and where you should protect yourself with your shield. But you have at your disposal all that is necessary for such an engagement. Use the means before you as you shall judge expedient.

(75) Dear brother, may almighty God in his mercy protect you from the hidden snares of the enemy and bring you safely through the battles of this world to his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

LETTER 2

Peter Damian to the margrave Boniface of Tuscany. He advises Boniface, despite all his wealth and worldly power, to think about his eternal future and to despise the things of this world which quickly pass away. He asks his excellency to protect the monasteries in his territory, especially the monastery of St. Vincent.

(1042–1043)[1]

TO SIR B⟨ONIFACE⟩[2] the most excellent duke and margrave, Peter, the least servant of the monks, sends his faithful prayers in Christ.

(2) I am not unaware, my most eminent lord, that if almighty God did not love you to some extent, he would not have committed so many thousands of people to your rule, placed the necks of your enemies under your feet, and so gloriously have distinguished you above all other powerful men in the kingdom.[3] But God's kindness has exalted you in the world for this reason, that if you are zealous in keeping

1. This letter must be dated before 6 May 1052, the day on which Boniface was murdered; cf. Neukirch 60f., where he dates the letter for 1048–1052. R. Foglietti, *Sancti Petri Damiani ecclesiae doctoris autobiographia* (1899), 52f., assigns 1055 as the date by confusing Boniface with Duke Godfrey. Falce, *Bonifacio* 2, 110, assigns the letter to spring/summer of 1047, when the area was laid waste by the invading troops of Henry III. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 203, however, dates this letter for 1042/1043 when Damian was in residence at S. Vincenzo *ad Petram Pertusam.*

2. Even though his name is not written out in full in any MS, it can be only Boniface II who is here involved, the first member of the house of Canossa, who was margrave of Tuscany from *ca.* 1030 to 1052. On whom, see Falce, *Bonifacio*; H. H. Anton, "Bonifaz von Canossa, Markgraf von Tuszien, und die Italienpolitik der frühen Salier," HZ 214 (1972), 529–556, esp. 537; W. Goez, *Reformpapstum, Adel und monastische Erneuerung in der Toscana,* in: Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung, ed. J. Fleckenstein (Vorträge und Forschungen 17, 1973), 205–239, esp. 212f. See also M G. Bertolini, "Bonifazio II," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 12 (1970), 96–113.

3. The precise identity of the "kingdom" (*regnum*) referred to here is uncertain.

his commandments he will advance you through earthly goods to those of heaven, lead you through things temporal to those that last forever.[4] Wherefore, my dear friend, using the good sense with which your gifted nature has endowed you, keep heaven in perspective, focus your attention on the termination of this very brief life, and carefully consider who it is to whom you must give an account of your extensive and long-lasting stewardship. How can it profit a man if today he is decked out in gold and gems and purple attire, frequently surrounded by massed troops, if tomorrow perchance he be dragged naked, guilty, and deprived of all consolation to the punishment of hell? What does it avail a man if today he is endowed with such temporal power that he may cause the earth to tremble beneath his feet, and tomorrow he is forced to leave this world a beggar and a pauper? Listen to what Solomon says: "If a man should live a hundred years and should be happy in all of them, let him remember the evil days and the time of darkness which, when they come, reprove the past."[5]

(3) Where now are the world's many powerful men, the many invincible kings who were seen exalted to high heaven, having under the dominion of their power almost the whole expanse of earth? If you should examine their graves, would you not find that their entire body, before which the world was forced to tremble, scarcely weighs a single pound? Therefore, my dear friend, zealously consider these points, bring them unremittingly before your mind, and carefully ponder not what you are, but what you will be forever.

(4) But now, for God's sake, I beg you and humbly request that you stretch forth your hand to protect the monasteries[6] that lie in your area and not allow them to be plundered or

4. On the duties of those in authority here addressed, see G. Fornasari *Prospettive* 515f.

5. Eccl 11.8. For Damian's use of *laetus* in place of *laetatus* and of *malorum* against the use of *multorum* in the Vulgate, see *Biblia sacra* 11, 168.

6. It is also impossible to identify the monasteries here referred to. According to C. Lilii, *Historia di Camerino* 1 (1833), 201f., 206, Boniface took all of Camerino and caused all the destruction to which Damian alludes. The "sources" to which Lilii refers are actually this present letter.

molested by the many troops under your command. Above all I beseech your excellency to have special regard for the monastery of St. Vincent.[7] Restore to its legal control[8] the estates held by usurpers, and defend them with your protecting shield from all men. Let the case of this monastery show whether my lowliness may present with success some greater request in the hearing of your excellency.

7. S. Vincenco di Petra Pertusa or also S. Vincenzo al Furlo, now known as Badia del Furlo (*It Pont* 4, 220) dates back perhaps to the 6th century. Cf. L. M. Tocci, *Eremi e cenobi del Catria* (1972) Index no. 4; P. Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 188ff. The claim is that S. Vincenzo di Bevagna was the patron saint of the monastery (as C. Leonardi, *Di S. Vincenzo Vescovo* would have it) is not certain (cf. P. Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 200, n.6.) See also G. Buroni, "I monasteri Benedettini del Metauro nel'archidiocesi di Urbino," *Studia Picena* 15 (1940), 1–34; F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (an. 604)* in: Studi e testi 35 (1927), 434f., 503. Shortly after he entered the religious life at Fonte Avellana, Damian visited St. Vincent's and, according to John of Lodi (*Vita*, c. 5, PL 144, 122A), exchanged his fine attire for a poorer habit. Also in John's *Vita*, c. 6 (PL 144, 123f.) Damian again stayed at St. Vincent's in 1042 to assist the monks in their reform efforts, which Damian himself affirms in his Letter 142. Cf. also G. Cacciamani, "Le fondazioni eremitiche e cenobitiche di S. Pier Damiano. Inizi della congregazione di S. Croce di Fonte Avellana," *Ravennatensia* 5 (1976), 5–33, esp. 18ff. It was here also that he wrote his *Vita Romualdi*: "Another brother, the father of this monastery of St. Vincent . . ." (Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, c. 57, 98); and his stay must have been during the year 1042, for he says: "Almost fifteen years have now passed since blessed Romuald entered the kingdom of heaven" (*Vita Romualdi*, Prologue, 9). Since Romuald died in 1027, we can therefore date Damian's work for 1042. A hymn to St. Vincent, composed by Damian (M. Lokrantz, *L'opera* 92–96), according to P. Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 200, n. 6, was written in honor of St. Vincent the Deacon.

8. From the context of this statement it is clear that Boniface had some juridical authority over the monastery of St. Vincent, but the source of this authority is not stated. He was the duke and margrave of Tuscany, and the lord of most of Emilia. The reference in Bertolini, "Bonifazio" 111 to a letter of Damian's cited by T G. Leporace, "Cronologia dei duchi de Spoleto (569–1230)," *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 35 (1938), 5–68, is incorrect. Cf. Falce, *Bonifacio* 2, 108f. In the *Chronica* of Alberich de Trois Fontaines, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS 23 (1874), 790, Boniface is called *prefectus Anchonitanus*. Damian also speaks of the plundering of the monastery and of the Emperor's jurisdiction in this matter in Letter 142: "At no little cost the Emperor was reached in Germany, and pragmatic sanctions bearing imperial seals were procured. . . ." Falce, *Bonifacio* 2, 110 dates this destruction for the spring or summer of 1047, as imperial troops passed through the Marches; on 2 April 1047 Henry III was in Rimini; cf. Steindorff, *Heinrich III*, 1, 329ff.

LETTER 3

Peter Damian to archbishop G⟨ebhard) of Ravenna. He asks to be released from the obligation of travelling to his see because of the burden arising from his recent appointment as prior of Fonte Avellana. He praises the archbishop for his efforts in fostering monastic discipline and for his almost unique immunity from the sin of simony.

(1043)[1]

TO G⟨EBHARD⟩,[2] bishop of the second see[3] of Italy, Peter, the hermits' least servant,[4] offers the allegiance of his most devoted service.

(2) You have ordered me to visit you, beloved father and lord, and your order is my command. But after assuming the direction of this poor little place,[5] while previously a poor man in my own person alone, I have now become poorer still according to the number of those whose direction I have undertaken.[6] And so, I consider the onus of being charged

1. For the dating of this letter, see F. Neukirch 25, 47, 91.

2. This can only be Gebhard, who had formerly been a canon at Eichstätt. See Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 360; Amadesius, *In Antistitum Ravennatum chronotaxim* 169–175; G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni* 2 (1844), 107f.; Schwartz, *Bistümer* 156; Samaritani, *Gebeardo*; Laqua, *Traditionen* 52ff., 110ff. Damian was ordained a priest by Gebhard; see Spinelli, *La data.*

3. For the special ranking of Ravenna, see G. Zattoni, *Il diritto storico degli arcivescovi Ravennati di sedere all destra del papa (secolo XI) e la bolla di Clemente II* (1904). This bull of Clement II, dated 5 January 1047 (*It Pont* 5, 53, no. 170; PL 142, 581f.), is considered to be a forgery by G. Buzzi, "A proposito della bolla di Clemente II a favore della chiesa di Ravenna," *Felix Ravenna* 26 (1918), 1063–1072. See also Buzzi, "Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell' 850 al 1118," *Archivio della reale società Romana di storia patria* 38 (1915), 107–213, esp. 185ff. The sources cited by Fois, *Cardinali* 90, n. 255, as referring to the Church of Ravenna, relate to the Church of Aquileia.

4. For this title, used for himself by Damian, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.

5. On the poverty of the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, see F. Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 30f.

6. Fonte Avellana was a priory: *It Pont* 4, 93; on the role of the prior, cf.

with the governance of many and of not having the wherewithal to provide for their necessities. Wherefore, while caring for the needs of my brothers, I could not readily visit you; and yet, as I give careful thought to this obligation, I still consider it almost sacrilegious if for any reason I should delay my obedience to your holiness. Who, indeed, could safely disobey him, who certainly conforms to God's will in his good deeds? To you the see of Ravenna, which you rule by God's authority, to you all of Christ's holy Church gives thanks. While the dragon of simony,[7] after binding the arms of those trafficking wretches in its intricate coils of avarice, is spewing forth its venom, you were almost the exception in standing unconquered and unshaken as the knight of Christ,[8] piercing the throat of the evil beast with the javelin of Peter[9] and keeping your church free from its foul contagion. What the see of the teacher[10] lost through the fault of its shepherds, or rather, of its robbers, the see of his noble disciple preserved inviolate.

(3) But among all the endeavors of your holiness this especially is dear to me that you keep a shepherd's watch on the welfare of the monks and do not cease to reveal their long-concealed ills or to cut them away with the surgery of

---

Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 90ff. Damian assumed the direction of Fonte Avellana after his return from the monastery of S. Vincenzo *ad Petram Pertusam* (*It Pont* 4, 220) in 1042 (cf. Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi* c. 43, 85 n. 1 and c. 57, 98) and before the death of Gebhard in February 1044 (see *Annales Augustani*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 3 [1839], 126; Hermann of Reichenau, *Chron.* 125). The death date varies in the necrologies between 16 and 23 February.

7. The fight against simony was taken up a few years later in the agenda of the synods, and that with the assistance of Emperor Henry III, perhaps as early as the synod of Pavia in October 1046 (see M. Boye, "Quellenkatalog der Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922–1059," NA[1930], 45–96, esp. 82f.; Capitani, *Immunità* 52–74, Il Concilio di Pavia del 1046).

8. 2 Tim 2.3.

9. Cf. John 18.10–11.

10. In this reference to "the master's see in the hands of hirelings or thieves," it becomes obvious that the charge of simony against Benedict IX dates back to the year 1043, and did not originate only in the hindsight of later reformers. On which see R. L. Poole, "Benedict IX and Gregory VI," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 8 (1917/18), 199–235. See also O. Capitani, "Benedetto IX," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 8 (1966), 354–366; Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 65; Fuhrmann, *Fälschungen* 336. In trying to rescue Benedict's reputation, Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum* 166f., did not cite this letter.

discipline. Come then, knight of Christ, bravely gather your strength and with prudent circumspection fight manfully against all the devices of the devil. Kill avarice, trample pride, lift up the fallen, extend to waverers the right hand of holy counsel, so that while guarding your own integrity behind a shield of holy virtues, you may at the same time defend others against every attack of the ancient enemy. But I beg of you, my dear sir, if at all possible with your permission, do not let me be disturbed at this time; if however it cannot be so, enjoin me with full authority to do whatever you may wish.

LETTER 4

Peter Damian to archbishop L⟨awrence of Amalfi⟩. After expressing his deep affection, he requests that the archbishop intervene with the pope in the deposition of the unworthy bishops of Fano and Pesaro. He begs him to show favor to the abbot of St. Apollinaris in Classe.

(1043)[1]

TO SIR L⟨AWRENCE⟩[2] the most reverend archbishop, Peter[3] offers the allegiance of his devoted service.

(2) My dear father and lord; how much I fervently

1. This letter must be dated after the banishment of Archbishop Lawrence from Amalfi in 1039, and before the expulsion of Benedict IX from Rome (September, 1044). It is also probable that the two bishops referred to in this letter were also dismissed by this pope.

2. The assumption of Gaetani, accepted by Migne, that the recipient of this letter was Archbishop Gebhard of Ravenna, is not supported by the MSS. The majority of the MSS address the letter to an archbishop L. (cf. K. Reindel, *Neue Literatur* 408; G. Lucchesi, "Lorenzo di Amalfi e S. Pier Damiani," *Revista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 31 [1977], 151–156), who at this point in time can be only Lawrence of Amalfi; on whom, see W. Holtzmann, "Laurentius von Amalfi, ein Lehrer Hildebrands," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 207–236; H. Hoffmann, "Der Kalender des Leo Marsicanus," DA 21 (1965), 82–149, esp. 96–99; D. Třeštík, "Miscellanea zu den St. Wenzelslegenden 2: Laurentius aus Monte Cassino und Laurentius aus Amalfi," *Mediaevalia Bohemica* 1 (1969), 73–92; H. Bloch, "Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages," in: *La scuola nell' occidente latino dell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 19, 1972), 563–605, esp. 578; H. M. Willard, "Abbot Desiderius and the Ties between Montecassino and Amalfi in the Eleventh Century," *Miscellanea Cassinese* 37 (1973), 33f.; F. Newton, "A Newly-discovered Poem on St. Maur by Lawrence of Amalfi," *Benedictina* 20 (1973), 99–107; idem (ed.), *Laurentius monachus Cassinensis archiepiscopus Amalfitanus. Opera* (MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des MA 7, 1973), 1–21; U. Schwarz, "Amalfi im frühen MA (9.–11. Jh.)," *Untersuchungen zur Amalfitaner Überlieferung* (Bibliothek der Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 49, 1978), 99–104. He became archbishop of Amalfi in 1029, and on this occasion kept his monastic name Lawrence, and did not assume his Christian name Leo (cf. Schwarz, *Amalfi* 99–104). Eventually, his relations with Waimar, the ruler of Salerno since 1039,

long for you, and with what affection for you my heart now glows is witnessed both by my tongue, so often complaining of your absence, and by my imagination that sees with such clarity the most benign image of your angelic face. In the repository of my heart, not where my father or mother, but where I myself reside, I seek to store you away as my other self.[4]

(3) Wherefore I beg you in all humility, that on your part you show mutual love in return, and that the affection that goes forth simple may be doubly returned to me. Of this I could easily be persuaded by those who visited you from our area, attempting to negotiate with my most holy lord, the pope.[5] Prove yourself, therefore, dear father, to be such a one

---

deteriorated and he was driven from his see. At first he took up residence in Florence (cf. Beno, *Gesta Romanae aecclesiae contra Hildebrandum,* ed. K. Francke, MGH Ldl 2, 1892), 376ff.; see also Davidsohn, *Geschichte* 171f.). According to the account in the *Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalphitanorum,* ed. F. Ughelli, in: *Italia sacra* 7 (1721), 195, he came under the protection of Pope Gregory VI, who provided him residence in Rome. That he was a teacher of Hildebrand is reported in Beno, *Gesta* 376.

3. For this unqualified use of his name, Peter, cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.

4. This expression of his high regard for Lawrence is also suggested in Damian's *Vita Odilonis* (PL 144, 944AB): "As Lent was near at hand, Lawrence, the archbishop of the see of Amalfi, a man of holy and blessed memory, who was famous for his writings and adept in two languages, knowing both Latin and Greek, and, which was much more important, enjoyed a reputation for an outstanding and praiseworthy life . . . ," even though he is here dependent on his model, Iotsald, *Vita Odilonis,* ed. E. Sackur, "Handschriftliches aus Frankreich," NA 15 (1890), 120; cf. Holtzmann, *Laurentius* (see n. 2), 208f. G. Lucchesi, "Il sermonario di S. Pier Damiani come monumento storico agiografico e liturgico," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 7–67, esp. 20f., conjectures that Damian wrote his *Sermon* 50 (see G. Lucchesi, *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones,* in: CC 57 (1983), 314–320), and also *orationes* 86–88 (PL 145, 945AB) for the feast of the translation of S. Matthew, at the request of Lawrence.

5. It could be either pope, Benedict IX or Gregory VI, to whom he here refers, but it is more likely to have been Benedict. It is obvious that at this time Damian was not yet aware of the simonist influence that surrounded the promotion of this pope. On Benedict, see A. Mathis, "Il pontefice Benedetto IX. Appunti critici di storia mediovale," *Civiltà Cattolica* 66, 4 (1915), 549–571 and 67, 1 (1916), 285–296, 535–548; Borino, *L'elezione*; Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum*; G. Giovanelli, "Sulla fine di Benedetto IX a Grottaferrata," *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata,* N.S. 13 (1959), 65–109; F. Halkin, "L'abdication de Benoit IX (Théophylacte de Tusculum) et

in the case of the reprobate bishops of Fano[6] and Pesaro,[7] that I might truly detect in you a man who fears the judgment of God, who fights valiantly against the servants of the devil, who clears away the brush planted by the evil one, and who wishes to summon the Church of Christ back from darkness into light. Of one thing, however, you should be aware, that if these notorious and guilty men should remain in the sublime office of bishop, the gleaming reputation of the lord pope will suffer greatly, and you who serve as his counsellor[8] and are endowed with such wisdom and erudition of every kind, will surely be faulted and found guilty of censure.

(4) And so, I ask and humbly beg you to receive in my stead my dear father, the abbot of St. Apollinaris in Classe,[9] and recognize that whatever favor or charity you bestow on him, you are actually providing for me.

---

sa fin édificante parmi les moines grecs de Grottaferrata," *L'oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Academia nazionale dei Lincei. Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 62, 1964), 131–138.

6. The bishop of Fano, according to Prete, *S. Pier Damiani* 122, was a certain Albert, with a reference to P. M. Amiani, *Memorie istoriche della città di Fano* 1 (1751), 125. It is more likely that the reference here is to his successor, Hugo, who was present at a synod held by Benedict IX on 2 November 1037 (Mansi 19, 582). For a history of this diocese, see G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni* 7 (1848), 321–433; R. Aubert, "Fano," DHGE 16 (1967), 472–484, esp. 474.

7. The name of the accused bishop of Pesaro is unknown; he is almost always referred to as anonymous; cf. Bartoccetti, *Serie* 15, 115; Vernarecci, *Fossombrone* 186, n. 1 calls him Peter, but he appears on the scene only in 1047.

8. Since Gebhard of Ravenna is not the addressee of this letter, all references to him as the counsellor of Benedict IX lose their probability; Lucchesi, *Lorenzo* 153f., however, changes his opinion and states that the pope here cited is Gregory VI. But one should not overlook the fact that Beno, *Gesta* (see n. 2) 376ff. frequently refers to the exceptional relationship between Lawrence and Benedict IX.

9. The abbot here referred to is certainly Lambert; cf. Steindorff, *Heinrich III* 1, 249, n. 2; Laqua, *Traditionen 65ff.*

LETTER 5

Peter Damian to bishop B⟨ ⟩, thanking him for an alms given him and his community, and exhorting him to avoid vices that might pervert his obvious virtue. In conclusion he recommends two clerics for ordination to the diaconate.

(1043)[1]

TO SIR BISHOP B⟨ ⟩,[2] Peter offers faithful prayers in Christ.

(2) My dear friend, as I recall the favors which your generosity bestowed on me, I must acknowledge that with all my heart I resort to repaying your affection by the gift of my daily prayers. This prayer of mine, even though it is impeded by my sins from profiting anyone, is nevertheless made worthy of benefitting you because of your devotion. So be on

1. Cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 60.

2. The bishop here addressed with the letter B, is thought by Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 60 to be the ordinary of Gubbio, since he would have the right to ordain clerics residing at Fonte Avellana. He must have held office either before or after Tebald, whose tenure Lucchesi places from 1049–1052. The earlier conjecture is preferred, since Damian still uses the simpler form of salutation, Peter, without the qualifying "the sinner," for his first contact as prior of Fonte Avellana with the bishop of the diocese. But a bishop Teudaldus of Gubbio subscribes to the acts of the Roman council of 1037 (Mansi 19, 582) and as Teudaldus, bishop of St. Marianus in 1044 (Mansi 19, 608), and in 1049 was still in that office; cf. Sarti, *De episcopis Eugubinis* 26ff.; U. Pesci, "I vescovi di Gubbio," *Archivio per la storia ecclesiastica dell'Umbria* 4 (1917–1919), 485–633, esp. 512; Schwartz, *Bistümer* 244. By 1057 the next occupant was a Bishop Guido. Neukirch 95 conjectures that Damian was residing at the hermitage of Suavicino (that was established, however, only in 1048), and therefore is addressing Bishop Bernard of Ascoli, who is first mentioned in 1045 and is still in office in 1069; cf. Schwartz, *Bistümer* 226. In Roman Tuscany during the requisite time period there are still the following bishops whose names begin with B: Benedict of Bieda (Schwartz, *Bistümer* 255), Benedict of Civita Castellana (Schwartz, *Bistümer* 257), Bonizo of Toscanella (Schwartz, *Bistümer* 265), and Benedict of Toscanella (Schwartz, *Bistümer* 265).

your guard, my dear friend, lest the good with which the liberality of your almsgiving could endow you be consumed by enticements to vice, and that the edifice built by a merciful hand be destroyed by the battering ram of concupiscence. Therefore let good deeds be done in such a way that evil may have no part in them. Let temporal goods be so given, to the end that through them eternal benefit may be acquired, lest, God forbid, while temporal things have the greater weight in the scales of the exacting Judge, the weight of good deeds be of no account. What does it avail a man to offer temporal goods to God, but deny him the most precious coin of his own soul? Almighty God indeed gave all created things for man's use, reserving only souls to himself. And thus, dear father, strive so to expend the things that are yours that you take care to bestow yourself as well. You were given the dignity of the episcopal office to nourish us who are younger at the breasts of holy preaching, and to devote the fulness of a mother's love to tender infancy that must still be nursed. I therefore request of your holiness that you advance to the diaconate these two clerics who declare that they have received permission from their own bishop, and that you determine that they obtain the requisite ordination to this office gratis, as is only proper.

LETTER 6

Peter Damian to the monks of Pomposa. Damian had spent a year or more at this monastery and had built up lasting friendships there. He begs remembrance in the community's prayers, especially after his death.

(ca. 1044)[1]

TO ALL THE RELIGIOUS AND HOLY MEN who serve God at Pomposa,[2] Peter sends the alternative of his devoted service.

(2) Dearly beloved fathers and lords, I am disinclined to write to tell you how much my heart is inflamed by the fire of your love, nor with what burning affection it glows for the monastery of Pomposa,[3] lest perhaps I appear to indulge in flattery. But of all this my conscience bears witness, and it is no secret to those who are able frequently to speak with me. You too, my dear friends, even though I live far removed from you, must not regard me as a stranger, nor consider me as just any friend or as some sort of companion, but without doubt recognize me and my entire community as your own

1. On the date of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15; Pio Laghi, "S. Guido, abbate di Pomposa," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 7–107, esp. 60f., dates it for shortly after 1046.

2. On Damian's previous residence in Pomposa, where it is most likely that he wrote his tract on the Jews in 1040–1041, see Letter 1 n. 132; for the significance of Pomposa in the reform movement in the Church, cf. R. Grégoire, "Pomposa et la réforme de l'église au XIe siècle," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 3–19; B. Calati, "Il 'De perfectione monachorum' di S. Pier Damiano ed il contributo di Pomposa alla riforma monastica del secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 21–36; A. Samaritani, "Contributi di Pomposa alla storia del secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 37–72; J. Leclercq, "Cultura spirituale e ideale riformatore dell' abbazia di Pomposa nel secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 73–88; Lucchesi, *Antilogus*.

3. On the deep relationship of Damian with Pomposa, see also L. Gatto, "Studi Mainardeschi e pomposiani," *Collana di saggi e ricerche* 4 (1969), 82ff. and Balboni, *Maestro e discepolo*.

legal possession, and whatever should be your wish, without hesitation demand of us as your subjects and servants. And so, my dear friends, prostrating myself at your sacred feet, with tears I beseech you to pray always for me your servant, and especially after my death, that you also take care to do for miserable me whatever you do for a monk of your congregation.[4] I also beg of you, my lords, that you kindly accept a small blessing[5] from the hand of your servant, and take note not of what, but by whom it is offered, not how valuable it might be, but of the extent of affection whereby it is bestowed.

4. Leclercq, *Pierre Damien* 41f.; Idem, *Wissenschaft und Gottverlangen zur Mönchstheologie des MA* (1963), 206f., classes this letter as a "friendship-letter." But Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 70f. and Laqua, *Traditionen* 46ff. are probably more correct in seeing it as a request for inclusion in a confraternity of prayer. On Damian's further attempts to inspire such fraternal groups, see H. Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jh.* (Schriften der MGH 27, 1979), 172ff.

5. Laqua, *Traditionen* 49f. notes that the "small blessing" here referred to, could also be some material gift a guest might bestow, but that here Damian hints more probably at the letter itself.

LETTER 7

Peter Damian to W⟨idger⟩, the archbishop of Ravenna. He complains, on the occasion of the imminent visit of the archbishop, that he has not heard a word from him. On the contrary, a monastery placed under his direction has suffered untold ravages, not the least of which are the archbishop's monetary exactions. He begs for mercy and forebearance.

(Before Christmas 1044)[1]

TO SIR W⟨IDGER⟩,[2] the most reverend archbishop,[3] Peter sends his greetings.

(2) I give thanks to God, the King of Kings, that as the approaching feast of the nativity of Our Lord illumines the whole world, your illustrious coming also cheers our city.[4]

1. For this dating, see Laqua, *Traditionen* 131–134.

2. The symbol W relates better to Widger than to William, suggested by MS G1 (Graz), or to Wibert, used by Gaetani. Widger belonged to a noble family in Cologne, and after the death of Gebhard was probably appointed archbisop of Ravenna by Henry III in May 1044: "A certain canon of the church of Cologne, a man of noble birth named Wigerius, was made archbishop of Ravenna by the Emperor Henry . . ." (*Ex Anselmi gestorum episcoporum Leodiensium recensione altera* c. 54, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 14 [1883]), 115; see also Hermann of Reichenau, *Chron.* 125.

3. For the special significance of Ravenna for the German rulers, and their influence in supplying the occupants of this see, cf. Borino, *L'elezione* 333f.; G. Buzzi, "Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dall' 850 al 1118," *Archivio della reale società Romana di storia patria* 38 (1915), 107–213, esp. 186ff.; P. Kehr, "Vier Kapitel aus der Geschichte Heinrichs III," *Abh. Berlin* 1930, 3 (1930), 40; C. Violante, "Aspetti della politica italiana di Enrico III primo della sua discesa in Italia (1039–1046)," *Rivista storica Italiana* 64 (1952), 157–176, 293–314, esp. 313, n. 4; on Widger himself: Steindorff, *Heinrich III* 1, 295ff.; Laqua, *Traditionen* 111f. The deposition of the unconsecrated archbishop-elect took place in Aachen in May 1046; cf. Benson, *Bishop-elect* 206ff.

4. According to Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 67, this remark refers to the first visit of the newly appointed archbishop to Ravenna at Christmas 1044. But this opinion runs counter to an apparent earlier contact that Damian had with the appointee, in which Damian harried him about his monastery. Laqua, *Tra-*

And so one is pleased to exclaim: "Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace to men of good will."[5] And yet, venerable father, I marvel somewhat that after visiting you,[6] after my obedient presence at your bidding (when I was called back from another journey), I was not deemed worthy to hear anything further of the mission nor to receive a single indication of your friendship. Certainly there are several witnesses of this matter of which I speak, namely that if I had been willing to comply with your predecessor[7] of blessed memory and taken up residence here, he would have confirmed, as he promised, that he would accept my advice, both concerning the good of his own soul and also regulations on spiritual matters. But you, on the contrary, daily lash me, daily afflict me with biting blows of the scourge; and he who does not deserve to hear a harsh word, receives the discipline at your sacred hands. Indeed, while carefully thinking over this matter, I keep silently turning over the following words in my mind. My lord does this to me, I say, just as almighty God, as we read, treated Elias. "Go," he said, "to Sarephta of the Sidonians; I have commanded a widow woman there to feed you."[8] After this widow, by God's command, had received the prophet, she thought that both she and her household would be blessed by the presence of such a guest. But while she carefully waited on him and served him with the fullest devotion, her son suddenly died. Her hope had been that the prophet would be the cause of a long life for her son, but now she began to assail him as if he were the cause of his death, saying: "What have I to do with you, you man of God? Have you come to me that my iniquities should be remembered, and that you should kill my son?"[9] It is obvious, my

---

ditionen 131–134 glosses over the difficulty by stating that the "coming" here mentioned was not the first, but refers to a later solemn entry of the archbishop into his city.

5. Lk 2.14. The Latin variant is in Sabatier 3, 267.

6. This visit to Ravenna in 1044, at the invitation of the archbishop and many citizens of Ravenna, is mentioned also in Letter 8; see also Laqua, *Traditionen* 132f.

7. Archbishop Gebhard.

8. 1 Kgs 17.9. For this variant from the Vulgate, cf. Sabatier 1, 580.

9. 1 Kgs 17.18.

most gentle lord, that all the other monasteries stand unharmed under your merciful patronage and continue to serve God with security and immunity from harm. This house alone, from the moment you commanded me to take over its possession,[10] has suffered such attack and depredation, that unless you immediately show an inclination to mercy on its behalf, it seems that it is doomed to total destruction. Thus it appears that on my account the house of God has been ruined by the one through whom, with God's help, it was our hope it would be exalted to the highest heaven. Wherefore, my most illustrious lord, with tears in my eyes I fall at your feet and implore the compassionate side of your nature that in your wisdom you seriously consider withdrawing the lash and curbing your excessive persecution, as the Lord said by the prophet: "In the midst of your trouble, in your wrath remember compassion."[11] Do not continue to oppress this holy place by taking away its income, since you are aware that it has already suffered enough loss of its ecclesiastical properties.

10. According to the generally accepted conjecture of Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 100, he alludes to S. Apollinare in Classe. This house had passed from imperial to archiepiscopal authority; cf. W. Kölmel, "Die kaiserliche Herrschaft im Gebiet von Ravenna (Exarchat und Pentapolis) vor dem Investiturstreit (10./11. Jh.)," HJb 88 (1968), 257–299, esp. 287ff.

11. Hab 3.2. This variant reading is in Sabatier 2, 966.

LETTER 8

Peter Damian to the priest G., treasurer in Ravenna. After an unsuccessful mission to his native city at the request of Archbishop Gebhard, his successor Widger, and many of the citizens, he is uncertain of his future course. He turns to the treasurer for advice, setting forth arguments for both the active and the contemplative life. Coming to no conclusion, but favoring the former state, he awaits the decision of his counsellor.

(Early 1045)[1]

TO THE DEVOUT PRIEST, Sir G., the treasurer of the Ark of acacia-wood,[2] Peter, the monks' least servant,[3] sends the homage of his fervent devotion.

(2) Dear sir, you are not unaware that I was often importuned years ago by Archbishop Gebhard,[4] and more recently by the new archbishop[5] who was installed because of zeal for the spirit of God, and also by many citizens of Ravenna, and that finally I consented to leave the hermitage and come to

1. For the date assigned, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 67.

2. "The treasurer for the Ark of acacia-wood (Sethim)" seems to be the title for this office; cf. Exod 25.10; Deut 10.3. The Latin word used here, *cymiarcha,* is a short form of *cymiliarcha,* for which cf. Du Cange 2, 328; it also appears in the *Codex Justinianus* 7,72,10, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus iuris civilis* 2 (1906), 130. For the establishment of the office of treasurer in the curia of Ravenna, cf. G. Buzzi, "La curia arcivescovile e la curia cittadina di Ravenna dall'850 al 1118," *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano* 35 (1915), 7–187, esp. 14f. The following note is found in Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 163f.: "That he calls G., the treasurer, the Ark of Seth in the treasury, means that this was a title and dignity in the Church of Ravenna that continued down to the last century." The symbol G. in MS G1 was made to read Gaudencius, but without further evidence. Samaritani, *Gebeardo* 125, notes evidence that a *Gysebertus* was *camerarius* and *cyriarchus* of the Church of Ravenna in 1038. On the role of a *Giselbertus* in the administration of the Church of Ravenna, see Laqua, *Traditionen* 115.

3. On this title, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.

4. He declined Gebhard's invitation; cf. Letter 3.

5. Widger's invitation he accepted; cf. Letter 7.

live in the city with the hope of saving souls.[6] But when I saw this man[7] accomplishing not what he was sent to do, but rather, what he was permitted to do, and that the people had neither the zeal of charity for me nor a concern for their own salvation, I suffered regret, I confess, that I realized clearly, if belatedly, that while I trusted in human vanity I had strayed from the track of God's will. For while eagerly fishing in a well-stocked pool, I frustratedly lost those few I used to catch in the broad waters of the sea. Meanwhile, however, I was enjoying a certain amount of consolation in that even though I was unable to exert myself for the salvation of souls, I was not oppressed with the heavy burden of popular adulation. Both issues have received equal consideration as I balanced them in my judgment, as I weighed the loss of my sterile effort against the profit of a denial of applause. Popular favor for an inadequate person is indeed a dangerous thing because it either propels the smug into the whirling vortex of vainglory, or transfixes those who resist with the terror of a reward already received.

(3) On the occasion of a certain celebration to which a group of clerics had invited me, sending a horse for me, after I had returned to the province of Urbino,[8] such a flood of friends, both monks and laymen, engulfed me that it was impossible to steer my way to a safe port. And as my progress to the open sea was impeded on all sides, and not finding any other path, I was witness to the badgering affection of my friends. But it seems to me that almighty God permitted me to come here for this purpose, where he had not destined me to remain, so that while discerning the rocky outcroppings, I should esteem the field of a sparser harvest, not entirely beneath my notice, and, as a matter of fact, quite arable. And so, in noting the stony field, a land of thirty-fold yield might, by comparison with it, be judged to be the most fertile virgin soil of Africa.

6. For the significance of the "hope of saving souls," see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 44f.; Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 178ff.

7. Widger.

8. On the dating of this visit to Urbina, see Neukirch 48; Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 31; Laqua, *Traditionen* 119f.

(4) At length, being formerly anxious about where I might reap a more plentiful harvest of souls, and compelled by zeal for my neighbor, I travelled extensively with a devoted purpose throughout various parts of Italy; and while striving to recall others to an upright life, I myself was barely able to avoid the blame of wanderlust. But now, as I might put it, it seems as if a certain ballast has stabilized the swift cutter of my mind, or rather that it is restrained as if by the three-ply cable of perseverance of an anchor attached to the bottom of the sea. Only one anxiety still bothers me, dear Father, compelling me to importune your counsel. And if, by your response this scruple is removed from my mind's shoe, I have no doubt that by the mercy of God it will steadily proceed along the right path. In your wisdom, therefore, tell me which is more useful for me: whether I should live in a place where a harvest of souls can be reaped and where popular respect is shown me; or rather should I live in a place where I must endure a life equally without the harvest and the honor? Both seem dangerous to me. And while I am apprehensive of the one, the other, for opposing reasons I dread.[9] For if I should live unprofitably, I flinch at the gospel's ax applied to the roots of my tree, concerning which Truth itself proclaims in terrifying words: "Cut it down. Why should it go on using up the soil?"[10] If, however, while gaining results, I am at the same time honored, I barely avoid the judicial rebuff which states: "I tell you this: you have already had your reward."[11] So this is the problem I wish you to solve; this alone is why I decided to write to you all that has gone before. But since I know that you are busy, being myself charged with the ecclesiastical office of prior, and can perhaps not easily find the leisure to reply, I myself am writing for the moment what I think about the subject; not, to be sure, as a student who would instruct his teacher, but that I may learn whether my decision is tenable. Thus, by choosing according to your prudent judgment, you may curb what should be rejected with your own pen, or

9. For Damian's clear choice of the active life in the cure of souls, see Laqua, *Traditionen* 119ff.

10. Lk 13.7; cf. Mt 3.10.

11. Mt 6.2.

establish what deserves approval by the authority of your judgment.

(5) Clearly, all the statements of Sacred Scripture were written in its many books for no other reason than for the salvation of souls. For whatever is there commanded or forbidden is all certainly for the promotion of spiritual welfare, as Paul states when he says: "Everything that was written was meant for our instruction, so that by the patience and encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope."[12] If, therefore, because of scriptural threats one should sidestep high honor in such a way as to neglect the welfare of souls, it is perfectly clear that the intention for which the scriptures should be observed is not being maintained. For if all of sacred Scripture is to be referred to one end, the quest for the salvation of souls, we do not observe this most important objective for which Scripture was written if by fleeing honor we disregard the winning of souls. Thus, while striving incorrectly to conform to the sacred books we are struggling against these same sacred works. For he who says: "Do not take your seat in the place of honor,"[13] also commands: "Let everyone who listens answer, 'Come'."[14] And he who forbade his disciples "to be called teachers,"[15] commanded them: "Go, teach all nations."[16] Therefore, it is proper that while seeking the welfare of souls, one should not intend to seek human praise, nor popular esteem, or any reverential honor. But if spontaneously extended honor should be heaped upon us against our will, it is imperative that it be trodden down by the stern foot of discipline on the floor of the heart, and that like a poisonous serpent[17] it feel the blow at the very head of its temptation, so that, God forbid, it should not dare at the end to strike at the heel of our good deeds. Nor for this reason should one desert the cure of souls; but, in fact, as eager combatants, while protecting ourselves with the shield of humility from the thrust of

12. Rom 15.4.
13. Lk 14.8.
14. Rev 22.17.
15. Mt 23.10.
16. Mt 28.19. For the textual change from "going" to "go," see Sabatier 3, 180.
17. Cf. Gen 3.15.

the javelin of pride, we should arouse our neighbor with shouts of holy encouragement to deeds of bravery. Indeed, the shield of our discretion should so protect our neighbor, that an enemy lying to our rear might not inflict an invisible wound from his concealed ambush. We should so fight against our opponent that we are able also to assist our comrades. Fraternal charity should so guard our comrades that our own flank be not laid bare to hostile swords. And so, indeed, we obtain a double reward, in that the hardships of war which we overcome by resistance take their origin from our dutiful exertion out of love for our neighbor.

(6) Yet, lest I appear to pursue debate rather than hard truth, it will not annoy you, I hope, if I demonstrate what I have proposed with examples from Sacred Scripture. Joseph, who was indeed a holy man, in order to alleviate the perilous hunger of the people, did not refuse the dignity of the vice-regency;[18] and he who had previously known the confinement of a narrow prison, was now made the ruler of all Egypt. And thus his brothers eagerly said to Jacob: "Joseph your son is still alive, and he is ruler over all the land of Egypt."[19] Moses, who had formerly tended his kinsman's flock quite humbly in the desert[20] that he might later become the leader of a better flock, did not flee from the allegiance of the entire people of Israel. Indeed, he reached such heights of honor that the whole Hebrew nation was dependent upon his command and submissively obeyed his laws. But it is obvious just how meekly both of them stood firmly at the height of their power, when the former voluntarily revealed himself to his foreign brothers while he could have hidden his identity, and when the latter modestly disclosed his humility as if speaking of another, saying: "Moses was by far the meekest man on the face of the earth."[21] Joshua, too, who served as Moses' assistant, did not refuse to accept the burdens of command at the latter's death.[22] Clearly, if for reasons of humility he had turned down the rights of commander, he would have been guilty of

18. Cf. Gen 39–41.
19. Gen 45.26.
20. Cf. Ex 3ff.
21. Num 12.3.
22. Cf. Josh 1.1–9.

exposing his entire people to annihilation at the hands of the numerous kings whom he destroyed. While avoiding an occasion for self-display, he would have been negligent of the danger to the life of his brethren. What shall I say of Samuel, who before he was deposed from the office of ruler by the people themselves, appeared exalted in his public image but humble in his private life. In fact, after accepting the office of leader he abandoned his position so unwillingly that scripture immediately says of him, after the elders of Israel petitioned for a king: "The word was displeasing in the eyes of Samuel, that they should say, 'Give us a king, to judge us.'"[23] And what of Elijah or of Elisha, who, that they might benefit their neighbors by their preaching, were never afraid to dazzle them with many miracles and to appear worthy of respect before kings and before all the people?

(7) Turning now to the Gospel, omitting many fathers of the Old Testament, could the Lord's precursor wholly avoid reverence and esteem when, by his denial he could barely convince the crowd, bent on believing it, that he was not Christ?[24] Was popular regard wanting to Peter who healed many sick people by the merest brush of his shadow?[25] Was honor not shown to Paul when once at Lystra, just as a crippled man arose at his command and the crowd in wonder shouted at once in his praise: "The gods have come down to us in human form."[26] And so, as is said in what follows: "The priest of Jupiter who was just outside the city, brought oxen and garlands to the gates and he and all the people were about to offer sacrifice."[27] But both Paul and Barnabas showed how inflexibly he stood at the summit of his humility when, after rending their tunics in grief, they cried: "Men, what is this that you are doing? We are only human beings no less mortal than you."[28] John the Evangelist, moreover, the Lord's favorite, was unable to escape altogether the honor and reverence accorded him by the crowds of men and women who met him with hymns and songs as he returned from exile.

23. 1 Sam 8.6.
24. Cf. John 1.20.
25. Cf. Acts 5.15.
26. Acts 14.10.
27. Acts 14.12.
28. Acts 14.14.

For him also they sang that commendation peculiar to Christ, not presumptuously, but out of the sheer excess of their devotion: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."[29] Did Andrew the apostle, moreover, want for the people's favor, do you think, when the citizens of Achaia rioted to free him as he hung on the cross, and also tried to kill the provincial governor?[30] But to strengthen our contention by referring to the very chief of all the saints, unless he had withdrawn to the hills, the Jews were on the point of proclaiming our Redeemer king.[31]

(8) Therefore, if the mediator between God and men[32] had wished so to cast aside human deference to demonstrate the virtue of humility alone, that he neither showed the power of his miracles nor engaged in preaching, of what value for salvation, I ask, would he have been to a human race that was dead in sin? It was for this very reason that he wished to appear as one revered and admired that he might convert the hearts of his admirers to himself and to recall those so converted to our homeland by the road on which he had walked. Why, therefore, should we so much fear the reverence of men, when as a result our virtue is tested and profit accrues to the devotion of those who show their reverence? If even this reverence grumbles with the wind of vainglory before the door of our mind, one immediately wards it off with the shield of humility. And the more violently it strikes, the more generous will be the reward accumulated for us after we have won. Moreover, unless the presence of the preacher appears somehow worthy of respect to the audience, his mes-

29. Mt 23.39; 21.9.

30. On the origins of the apocryphal legends of Andrew, see Jerome, *Epistula* 59, c. 5, 546. Further developments are in Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis b. Andreae apostoli* c. 36, ed. M. Bonnet, MGH SS rer. Merov. 1 (1885), 845; in the "Passio s. Andreae apostoli," ed. M. Bonnet, *Analecta Bollandiana* 13 (1894), 376f.; also in the "Passio s. Andreae apostoli," ed. M. Bonnet, in: R. A. Lipsius and M.B., *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* 2, 1 (1898), 28ff.; cf. J. Flamion, *Les actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André* (Université de Louvain, *Recueil de travaux* 33, 1911), 89ff.; F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 4, 1958),181ff.

31. Cf. John 6.15.

32. 1 Tim 2.5.

sage, ignored, fails to move their spirit. For if the person of the speaker is despised, it only follows that his address will be equally held in contempt by the audience. Not even Paul could labor among those who despised him and said of him: "His epistles are weighty and powerful, but his appearance is weak, and as a speaker he is of no account."[33] And yet he achieved much good among them, and gratefully said to them: "You welcomed me as if I were an angel of God; I can say this for you, you would have torn out your very eyes and given them to me, had that been possible."[34] Did the apostle wish to be held in the contempt of which he complains? Did he avoid the zealous service for which he is thankful? But neither occurred on his own account. "For he did not seek benefits for himself but worked only in the cause of others."[35] And so it is clear that he wished to be honored by his followers that he might also receive their earnest attention; he objected when despised by his audience because he feared that his message would also be despised. For this reason he said to the Thessalonians: "We beg you, brothers, to acknowledge those who are working so hard among you, and in the Lord's fellowship are your leaders and counsellors. Hold them in the highest possible esteem and affection for the work they do."[36] With the same purpose he spoke to the Philippians about Epaphroditus: "Welcome him," he said, "in the fellowship of the Lord with wholehearted delight. You should honor men like him."[37]

(9) If, therefore, the apostle determined without exception that honor should be avoided and still enjoined his audience to show honor to their teacher, he advised them on the other hand to expell from their midst those who had sought after him for the sake of honor. Of this, moreover, the celebrated preacher seems to caution us, that a prudent man should on the one hand outwardly accept an honor tendered him for the welfare of the brethren; but on the other, in his humility should inwardly disdain the same honor, so that with all cir-

33. 2 Cor 10.10.
34. Gal 4.14–15.
35. 1 Cor 10.24.
36. 1 Thess 5.12–13.
37. Phil 2.29.

cumspection he might provide for the welfare of others while at the same time not yielding to the vice of pride. Nor must we deny our brothers the help that preaching affords so that we may the more safely avoid this vice, since Moses said: "Alas, O Lord; this people has committed a great sin in making a god of gold for themselves! Either forgive them this sin, or if you will not, strike me out of the book that you have written."[38] How, therefore, can we in good conscience neglect the welfare of the brethren out of love for ourselves, when Moses did not hesitate to suffer total removal from the book of God's memory on behalf of the salvation of his neighbor? Hence Paul also says: "For I could even pray to be outcast from Christ for the sake of my brothers, my natural kinfolk, who are Israelites."[39] Therefore, when holy men do not fear to face danger to their own souls to provide for the brethren, what else are they doing but imitating the example of their head? He indeed laid down his life for his sheep,[40] and did not shrink from undergoing the torments of death that he might redeem us from death. God forbid that we should be compelled to deprive our brothers of the words that edify because of the honor that is shown us; rather, to achieve their salvation we should be pleased to tolerate such honor with composure.

(10) All these things I have made bold to say, venerable father, not following my own judgment, nor presuming to assert them with certainty; but that you, according to the talent that God has given you, might either intimate another point of view, or confirm what I have said with the authority of your sound judgment. Please extend my greetings to my beloved father and teacher, Mainfred the priest,[41] and to my dear brother Gerard of Blanche.[42] May almighty God reward them for all the good things that they have done for me for his sake.

38. Ex 32.31–32.
39. Rom 9.3–4.
40. Cf. John 10.15.
41. Nothing further is known of Damian's teacher. The reference to him in PL 144, 358D as Mainfrenus is not borne out in the MSS.
42. An early example of the use of matronymics.

LETTER 9

Peter Damian to the monk Peter. In answer to the monk's inquiry concerning certain opinions of St. Gregory the Great, Peter discussed the eternal punishment of the rich man in the Gospel, explaining that his fate was determined by the law of the New Testament. He also defined the meaning of "curiosity."

(Before June 1045)[1]

TO PETER,[2] my beloved brother, Peter[3] sends greetings.

(2) My dear son, you ask me for the meaning of blessed Gregory's statement in his homily on the rich man, when he said: "Some think that the precepts of the Old Testament are more severe than those of the New, but these people are in error because they interpret rashly. In the Old Testament it is not niggardliness that is punished, but plundering; and when something is taken unjustly it is penalized by fourfold restitution.[4] Here, however, this rich man is not censured for having taken things that belonged to others, but for not having given what was his."[5] In these words the celebrated doctor seeks only to establish that if the rich man had lived in Old Testament times he would not have been consigned to the punishment of hell. Therefore, according to this statement, he perished because in living under the new dispensation of grace, he refused to observe the Gospel. But on the other hand, in objecting you say: How is it possible to maintain that already in his time the New Testament had dawned since Christ had not yet hung on the cross, had not

1. On the dating here assigned, cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.
2. Whether this letter is addressed to Petrus Cerebrosus, to whom Damian wrote Letter 56, as Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15, 29 n. 3 would suggest, is not quite certain. Cf. Neukirch 117.
3. On the unqualified use of his own name, cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.
4. Cf. 2 Sam 12.6.
5. Gregory 1, *Homilia* 40 (PL 76, 1304D).

yet been exalted by the glory of the resurrection and the ascension? And what is more, the Gospel which we are commanded to observe, had not yet been spread throughout the world by the preaching of the apostles. And lastly, the Holy Spirit, who gives strength to men's souls to observe the Gospel precepts, had not yet filled the hearts of men. So it is written: "For the Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus had not yet been glorified."[6]

(3) With all due respect to the doctors, let me reply briefly to this question, using the ideas that now come to mind. The Lord says in the Gospel: "The law and the prophets obtained until John appeared."[7] But John commanded: "The man with two shirts must share with him who has none, and anyone who had food must do the same."[8] But as there are two precepts in this statement of John, so there are two sins committed by the rich man. John indeed said: "The man with two shirts must share with him who has none,"[9] but the latter "was dressed in purple and the finest linen."[10] John added: "Anyone who has food must do the same,"[11] but the rich man "feasted in great magnificence every day," and in both cases he was clearly shown to be insensitive and inhumane by not clothing the naked Lazarus, whom the dogs licked, and by absolutely denying food to him who would have been glad to satisfy his hunger with the crumbs that fell from the table.[12] This is an important matter, and one need not wonder that it had extensive antecedents. And so the New Testament, at least as it referred to human conduct, had already begun, even though it had not as yet been brought to completion. Therefore, we are led to believe that the rich man lived at the time of John, but refused to obey his commands. And the Savior says of this period: "Ever since the coming of John the Baptist the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence and violent men are seizing it."[13] Therefore it is obvious that since

6. John 7.39.
7. Mt 11.13.
8. Lk 3.11.
9. Ibid.
10. Lk 16.19.
11. Lk 3.11.
12. Cf. Lk 16.20–21.
13. Mt 11.12. In this citation several variants from the Latin Vulgate cannot be found elsewhere.

that time of which it is said that the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, the Gospel had already superceded the Law, and we are correct in believing that in place of the Old, the New Testament was now splendidly in possession. Rightly then this rich man was condemned to hell with the damned because he was unwilling to join the chosen in subjecting the kingdom of heaven to violence.

(4) If one were to object to my explanation by stating that Abraham said to the rich man: "They have Moses and the prophets, let them listen to them,"[14] but did not say, they have Christ, they have John, but said: "They have Moses and the prophets," this would work in my favor. For since John was not only a prophet, but far more than a prophet,[15] whatever is reported of John can doubtless be referred to a prophet, especially since this statement of John's is not out of line with the pronouncements of the earlier prophets. Something similar is often found in their works: "Share your food with the hungry, take the homeless poor into your house, clothe the naked when you meet them."[16] Moses also says: "God will raise up a prophet for you, one of your own race, to whom you should listen as you would to me."[17] And the Lord himself says: "If you believed Moses you would believe what I tell you, for it was about me that he wrote."[18] Therefore whatever is written of Moses and the prophets can surely also be said of John and of Christ.

(5) In addition, you also ask about the vice of curiosity that is found in another homily of the aforesaid doctor. In an attempt to be brief in treating his somewhat vague statement, I will use the words of St. Augustine to explain the knotty problems contained in this question. As he was explicating the epistle of blessed John the apostle, he said: "The concupiscence of the eyes includes every curiosity. And yet how widespread is this curiosity: in shows, in theatres, in devil mysteries, in the magic arts, in sorcery, all this is curiosity. At

14. Lk 16.29.
15. Cf. Lk 7.26.
16. Is 58.7.
17. Deut 18.15; for the variant readings used here, cf. Sabatier 1, 362.
18. John 5.46.

times it tempts the servants of God to wish that they might work some kind of miracle, trying to discover whether God will hear them. In miracles there is curiosity, and this desire is not from the Father."[19]

(6) Having solved your questions, I beg in return the favor of enjoying a small portion of your holy prayers. The wages due are paid with interest, if a sinner's obedience is compensated by the prayers of a holy man.

19. Augustine, *In epistolam Joannis ad Parthos tractatus decem* 2.13 (PL 35, 1996).

LETTER 10

Peter Damian to the hermit William. The latter had promised to enter the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, but could not bring himself to renounce the use of wine, which was forbidden there. Using a rhetorical tour de force, Damian allows water to speak for itself and to recount all its benefits for mankind. He answers objections and advises William to arm himself with the Pauline weapons of the spiritual life.

(Before June 1045)[1]

TO DEAR BROTHER WILLIAM,[2] Peter[3] sends everlasting love in Christ.

(2) I marvel, dear brother, that you have not come to the hermitage[4] as you promised, and what is more, that you have not fulfilled what you pledged to me, not by messenger, but by your own agreement under oath. Tell me, I ask, what has frightened you away from the austerity of eremitical life? Why has base fear seized the heart of a warrior of Christ? Has the taste of wine with feminine charm kept the hardy knight within the confines of his house, and not permitted him, already helmed and fully armed and impatient to perform valiant deeds, to go forth to battle? O, what ignominy will overwhelm the soul of such a pliant man, what blushing shame will appear on his face when he sees others burdened with the spoils of war, returning victorious from battle, enriched by abounding wealth, and after the triumph

1. For dating this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.

2. This hermit, William, is hardly the same as the disciple of Romuald (Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi* c. 21, 46), and is otherwise unknown.

3. In these early letters Peter still uses his name without further qualification; cf. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 15.

4. Damian here refers to Fonte Avellana. In the superscripts found in various MSS (such as V1 and P1) William is called a hermit, but must have resided in some hermitage where the use of wine was not so strongly forbidden as in the early years of Fonte Avellana.

crowned with such great glory. Compared to this, what will a little wine be worth to him, when later he will keep wishing that he had drunk poison? Listen to what the wise man Solomon says: "Whose is the misery? Who is a burden to his father? Whose are the quarrels and the pitfalls? Who gets the bruises without knowing why? Whose eyes are bloodshot? Is it not those who linger late over their wine and are always eager to drain their cups?"[5] For if they who linger over wine are threatened with woe, a word we use for lamenting, joy is surely promised those who for the love of God drink water. And here the text aptly continues: "Do not admire a wine that glows like gold, when its color sparkles in the glass. It goes down gently, but in the end it will bite like a snake and will spread its poison like a cobra."[6] I do not say these things of this beverage to belittle one of God's creatures which is certainly good, but because I judge that wine, meat, marriage, and many similar things must be denied themselves by monks, so that abstaining from creatures, they may the more closely please the Creator.

(3) But since you detest water, perhaps water itself should address you, attacking you in its own words, clearly demonstrating by the proof that it presents how little you appreciate its many favors.[7]

(4) Well now, good man, it says, why do you despise me with such total disdain? Why do you wrinkle your brow in disgust and angrily spit me out of your mouth? Why are you so ready to have nothing to do with me? If this is what I deserve from you, I will not resist or complain, and will, indeed, justly accept this indignity at your hands. But tell me, what evil have I ever done you, or rather what favor have I not bestowed? It was I, you know, by the power of the Holy Spirit who hallowed me, who changed you from a slave of the devil into a son of God. From a proprietor of Gehenna I con-

5. Prov 23.29–30.
6. Prov 23.31–32.
7. A direct source for this *prosopopoeia,* in which water speaks on its own behalf, could not be found. But in general one might see Isidore, *Etym.* 13.12.3, where the element water is preferred to all others, and the good qualities of water are recommended.

verted you into an heir of the heavenly kingdom, from an inhabitant of hell into a citizen of heaven. From darksome stubble, feeding the everlasting fire, I have changed you into the new light of grace. "You were darkness once, but now you are light in the Lord."[8] From a person deserving God's wrath, I have made of you an object of his mercy. I removed from you the cloak of age-old damnation and clothed you in the light of the new man. I freed you from the ancient bonds of sin, and after causing your rebirth, numbered you among God's adopted sons. You are my witness, for when you were submerged in me, stained with those seven primal vices,[9] you were quickly purified and emerged gleaming without a single taint of sin. Finding you soiled and filthy, I did not hesitate to wash you body and soul. And now you will not condescend to touch me even with your lips. I have placed you on the guest list of God, and you are not ashamed to banish me from the tables of men. Yet be that as it may: let other objects be given their due and I alone, as I deserve, be deprived of my honored prerogative. But just because I am younger than the other elements,[10] must I perforce be considered less than all the rest in dignity? You might inquire of Moses and ask him which element the Holy Spirit chose for his dwelling at the beginning of the world. Was it earth, or air? Was it fire? Clearly, unless I am deceiving you, he will quickly reply: "God's Spirit hovered over the water."[11]

(5) What is more—I have said enough about spiritual things—I wash your body, your clothes, and everything else that you use; I continuously water your fields so they might bring forth crops; I furnish routes for your ships, I refresh all life on earth, and produce an abundance of fruit and vegetables which you eat. I will say nothing about the birds and the fish that are daily begotten in my realm and are never ashamed to admit that they are the offspring of the home that I provide. Those very grape vines, moreover, of which

8. Eph 5.8.
9. See J. Gross, *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas* 2 (1963), 481f.
10. Here Damian is probably alluding to Gen 1.1.
11. Gen 1.2.

you are so madly fond as you have nothing but scorn for me, if they did not strike root and grow with my help, they would quickly wither and become fuel for the fire instead of glutting the bellies of drunks sitting at their overflowing cups.

(6) But why do I linger over unimportant things when the mighty earth itself, where all visible things come into being, in association with the air, rests on my support as its very foundation, and by my power is kept in existence. And while maintaining the earth, I am not content with lower things, but even claim as my right the heavenly heights themselves.[12] As we read in Genesis: "God also divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament."[13] Fire from heaven would surely consume the entire earth unless, by watering it, I constantly moderated the fury of that fire.[14]

(7) But perhaps, because you regard water as not being potent, you believe that I am weak. But if my strength were not at your service, who, I ask, would turn the great mill wheels that grind your grain? And so, you should not despise the power of water which so easily moves hard stone. What is more, so that you do not overlook the wondrous power that is in me, fire itself, which in the words of the dialecticians, is said to be my opposite,[15] comes forth from me and is created from my very substance. For if crystal, which without question, is hardened ice, is placed in relation to the rays of the sun, it will at once certainly produce fire.[16] You will notice, moreover, that stones which are cooked in the furnace to make quicklime, if after a certain lengthy period they are

12. For the view that the earth is resting in the oceans of the world, see Isidore, *Etym.* 14.1.2 and Isidore, *De natura rerum* 45, ed. G. Becker (1875), 75.

13. Gen 1.7.

14. On this heavenly fire, see Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis* 1.14.17; on a zone of water above the earth, cf. Ambrose, *Hexameron* 2.9–10, 47f. Further reference to Gen 1.7, see Isidore, *De natura rerum* 14 (see n. 12 *supra*), 30: "that there be sufficient water within the celestial orb to temper the heat of the flaming axis."

15. See Ovid, *Met.* 1.432: "And since fire is repugnant to water."

16. Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 16.13.1 and Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 147.2, 2139.

touched by me, they will suddenly smoke and burn; that while hitherto they were cold, after experiencing the force of my touch they are restored to their former heat.[17]

(8) I ask you, if you know, why it is that in almost all rivers you see me swell with the waxing of the moon and fall back when the moon wanes?[18] What is it, moreover, if you have ever learned about this, that causes me to grow warm and steam in wintry springs while all else is mostly frozen hard, and that makes me cold in summer time?[19] Or do you perhaps believe the vain opinions of the philosophers who think that it is now summer at the antipodes, while in the upper regions the receding sun brings on winter?[20] But if you examine this idea carefully you will find it entirely false and contrary to established truth. So you should diligently investigate these matters, and when you are unable to explain them with certainty, you must conclude that the innermost forces of my nature are unfathomable.

(9) But in an effort to be brief, as I quickly pass over my majestic powers, I would not have you unaware that in the liberal arts[21] my role is not a meager one. For, indeed, when the geometrician or the astronomer strives to construct a clock to determine the interval of the hours, for comparing the orb of the sun with the sphere of the heavens,[22] or the dimensions of the zodiac and all the signs, for discerning the orbits of the planets and comparing the magnitude of the

17. Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 16.3.10.

18. On the relationship of the tides to the phases of the moon, see Bede, *De temporum ratione* c. 29, ed C. W. Jones, *Bedae opera de temporibus* (Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America 41 [1943]), 232ff.

19. See Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.8.10: "when water is drawn from springs, it steams in the winter and grows cold in the summer."

20. On the antipodes, see Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2.133 and 14.5.17; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii,* 6. 602–608 (ed. A. Dick, Bibliotheca Teubneriana [1925], 298ff.). Here also he refers to the variation of seasons. See also Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis* 2.5; Bede, *De natura rerum* c. 46 (PL 90, 264f.); H. Löwe, *Ein literarischer Widersacher des Bonifatius. Virgil von Salzburg und die Kosmographie des Aethicus Ister,* Abh. Mainz 1951 (1951), 903–988, esp. 938ff.

21. See Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 542ff.

22. While studying in Parma, Damian became aware of a silver astrolabe that belonged to one of the clerics. Cf. Letter 117.

earth with the parts of the heavens, they at once have recourse to me.

(10) Why, moreover, should I say anything about music, since it is evident that in its very name it is dependent on my laws and is born of me as from its source? For since in the Greek language *musa* means water,[23] music is obviously given its title by my name. Nor does the author Pythagoras[24] disagree with my claim since, in blazing a path for this discipline, he carefully designed certain vessels for measuring the quantity of water, and thus by my guidance and direction, to his satisfaction finally achieved a comprehensive skill in the field of harmony, and even today whatever is sweetly played on a water-organ is also supported by my power.[25]

(11) And now, if I may point to the most outstanding prerogative that I have enjoyed, when the Lord hung on the cross, it was I who flowed from the side of my Creator and, in association with his precious blood, hallowed the earth and the heavens.[26] In consequence the apostle John says: "This is He who came by water and blood, Jesus Christ."[27] And a bit later he adds: "There are three witnesses: the Spirit, the water and the blood."[28] After giving close attention to everything included above, moreover, you should regard all the other elements that depend on me.

(12) But while enumerating my praises, perhaps I can show my nature and power better if I remind you of yourself, so that in seeing how my powers are exercised over you, you can have no doubt about my other qualities. And so, you are not

23. For this bit of etymology, cf. Papias, *Vocabularium latinum* 214, "*Musa*, that is, water in Greek, in that musical sound is composed chiefly of water and air." See also Isidore, *Etym.* 8.11.96.

24. On Pythagoras as the discoverer of music, see Isidore, *Etym.* 3.16.1, and Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.10., ed. G. Friedlein, *Boetius. De institutione arithmetica libri duo. De institutione musica libri quinque* (1867), 196ff.; in general, see also K. G. Fellerer, *Die Musica in den Artes liberales*, in: *Artes liberales. Von den antiken Bildumg zur Wissenschaft des MA*, ed. J. Koch (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des MA 5, 1959), 33–49; W. Vetter, "Pythagoras," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 10 (1962), 1790f.

25. Cf. Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.3, 189.

26. Cf. John 19.34.

27. 1 John 5.6.

28. 1 John 5.8.

unaware that you consist of four elements,[29] but that while three of them are settled in other members of the body, the all-powerful Creator conferred on me a greater dignity, granting as it were a certain eminence of control among the others, as He decided that I reside in the head itself. For while it is obvious that mucus is produced from the aqueous humor,[30] and that mucus is in the head, there is no doubt that water can be observed as presiding in the head. Hence it is quite wonderful that the liquid humor, held up with such authority in the highest part, never escapes into the lower areas except by gently flowing through the arteries of the brain, and seeks to vent itself through the mouth, so that it may escape as through its door. By this, indeed, your pride is obviously confounded. For while it disdains to drink of me when I am offered externally, it is constantly compelled to turn me about within the confines of the mouth. And, if I may put it so, you flee from me while taking me with you, and wherever you turn you cannot live without me. As a watermill can never grind grain without a constant stream of water, so must I continually flow through both mill stones in the human mouth, making it possible for the tongue while speaking to form its words. If, therefore, you need my help in all these things and find my functions so necessary, why do you disdain my company only in the drinking cup? Therefore, you fugitive, return to me; come back, you ungrateful man, so as not to appear nauseous with disgust over that on which you are totally dependent for your well-being.

(13) But perhaps you will say: I have a headache, I suffer from stomach disorders.[31] These are the bandages which the weak parade, the palliatives of monks who live according to

29. See Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo* 18.3 (PL 111, 490D): "... to the four elements of the world, of which the human body is composed." Cf. also Ambrose, *Hexameron* 6.55. 246.

30. On mucus (phlegm), cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.10.6. and Isidore, *Etym.* 4.5.3.

31. On the salutary effects of wine, see Isidore, *Etym.* 20.3.2: "Wine is so called, because when it is drunk it quickly fills the veins with blood." In Damian's Letter 18 he allows wine for the sick, and moderated his prohibition of wine because it hindered recruits from entering his hermitages.

the flesh. This excuse appears to be rather thin, since water refreshes the sick and wine often kills them. Was the Lord's precursor, who never drank wine or any intoxicating beverage, ever indisposed by sickness? Have you ever read that James, the son of Alphaeus,[32] sought medical care, of whom we know that from his birth he never used such drinks? Surely, if we go back to the beginning of time, the world knew nothing of wine until Noah was six hundred and three years old, during which span of time men certainly died, but no one is reported to have been sick. But when it is said in Genesis: "Noah, a farmer, began to work the land and planted a vineyard,"[33] it is immediately stated, as if in praise of water: "He drank wine, became drunk and lay naked inside his tent."[34] This was like saying: He whom water had so long restrained to live soberly and fully clad, wine suddenly caused to expose himself. Solomon agrees nicely with this judgment when he says: "Wine robs the wise of their wits."[35] Lot, too, who lived continently among the Sodomites, later when in the hill-country he had drunk some wine, unknowingly slept with his two daughters,[36] and in one night in the wilderness wine caused him to lose the chastity which Sodom could not violate when he lived for years among adulterers. And so it happened that Lot, who up to then had been a just man in all respects, subverting the law in this one matter, became both father and grandfather to Moab and Ammon. Hence Solomon observes quite properly: "Wine is a wanton thing, and drunkenness makes an uproar; no one addicted to their company grows wise."[37]

(14) Yet our invalid replies to these objections: "But the apostle," he says, "instructed his disciple in these words: 'Stop drinking nothing but water; take a little wine for your digestion, for your frequent ailments.'"[38] How I wish, brother, that we could have memorized the other passages from Sacred Scripture that praise fasting, just as we do this one, which

32. Cf. Mt 10.3; Mk 3.18; Lk 6.15; Acts 1.13.
33. Gen 9.20.
34. Gen 9.21.
35. Sir 19.2.
36. Cf. Gen 19.36.
37. Prov 20.1.
38. 1 Tim 5.23.

with discretion softens the rigors of abstinence? Why do we not likewise remember what the same Paul says elsewhere: "Do not become drunk on wine, giving way to the dissipation that goes with it."[39] Why do we not also recall what Isaiah says: "Shame on you, you mighty wine-tipplers, you valiant indulgers in drunkenness"?[40] Why do we not likewise call to mind the words of Solomon: "Do not give wine to kings, O Lamuel, not to kings, for nothing remains secret where drunkenness rules, lest by their drinking they forget the rights and customs and twist the law against the sons of the poor."[41] But Paul makes clear elsewhere the artful discretion of his advice, both in this statement which you so gladly quote for me, and in others like it, when he says: "I say this by way of concession, not command."[42]

(15) Now in those things which are allowed by way of concession, it is often more satisfactory if the disciple humbly disregards the order than if he promptly obeys. This we can understand at once if we remember what Jeremiah relates. He says: "The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord: 'Go to the house of the Rechabites, and speak to them, and bring them to one of the treasure rooms in the house of the Lord and offer them wine to drink.' "[43] Here then was a command of God, and a little further on he adds: "I set bowls full of wine and drinking cups before the sons of the house of the Rechabites and said to them, Drink the wine."[44] Notice here that we never find out whether what was commanded by God, and what was made known through the intervention of the prophet was ever accomplished. For Scripture continues and says: "But they replied, 'We do not drink wine, for our forefather Jonadab son of Rechab laid this command on us, You shall never drink wine, neither you nor your children.' "[45] But was God offended by their refusal? Was this action considered disobedience? Listen to what the voice of God later said to them: "Because you have kept the command of Jon-

39. Eph 5.18.
40. Is 5.22.
41. Prov 31.4–5.
42. 1 Cor 7.6.
43. Jer 35.1–2.
44. Jer 35.5.
45. Jer 35.6.

adab your ancestor and obeyed all his instructions, therefore these are the words of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: Jonadab son of Rechab shall not want a descendant to stand before me for all time."[46] O blessed disobedience, that was found worthy of commendation by such a judge, that was rewarded by everlasting enrollment in God's service. O blessed disobedience, I repeat, that was not sentenced to bear punishment, but that carried off the prize of God's reward.

(16) It would please me very much, my dear friend, were I able, with proper decorum, to continue sportively conversing with you with such familiarity, but as you know, one can only discuss things briefly in a letter. But still I exhort and beseech you: Break through slow delays and shatter the chains that benumb you.[47] Do not allow the flying javelins of the enemy to terrify you, the coaxings of hearth and home to undo you, the loud blast of trumpets to frighten you, nor the dense forest of weaponry to keep you locked in your room. But like a famous warrior who has put aside all fear, come out and break into the ranks of the enemy like lightning sent from heaven. Take up arms like a man, and bearing the banner of Christ, eagerly charge where the battle rages hand to hand. Be quick to cut down with your sword whatever is near you, and always remember to protect yourself by covering up on all sides with the shield of faith. And lest your heart grow fearful at inflicting wounds, listen to what wisdom in the words of Solomon promises you: "Do not be afraid when with sudden terror the powers of evil strike at you; for the Lord will be at your side, and he will keep your feet clear of the trap."[48]

(17) But that no one may accuse me of inventing this kind of attack by some novel imagining of my own, let him take note of what Paul, the spiritual drillmaster, says: "For my part I run with a clear goal before me; I do not fight like one who beats the air."[49] And again: "Put on the whole armor which God provides, so that you may be able to stand firm against

46. Jer 35.18–19.
47. Vergil, *Geor.* 3.42f.
48. Prov 3.25–26.
49. 1 Cor 9.26.

the devices of the devil. For our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against cosmic powers, against the principalities and powers of this dark world, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavens." And then he continues: "Therefore take up God's armor."[50] For those whom he advises with such vigor to take up arms, he then clearly enumerates what sort of arms these might be: "Stand firm," he says, "fasten on the belt of truth; for breastplate put on integrity; let the shoes on your feet be the preparation of the gospel of peace; and with all these, take up the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Put on the helmet of salvation; take up the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God."[51]

(18) Nor was Solomon ignorant of this kind of battle, since he said: "Look, it is Solomon, carried in his litter; sixty of Israel's chosen warriors are his escort, all of them skilled swordmen, all trained to handle arms, each with his sword ready at his side to ward off the demon of the night."[52] And in telling of the swords with which the enemy is cut down, he also speaks of shields that protect us, when somewhat further on the bridegroom says to the bride: "Your neck is like David's tower, which is built with embrasures; a thousand bucklers hang upon it, and all are warriors' shields."[53] But in the book of Proverbs, Solomon clearly stated what he meant by these shields, when he said: "All of God's word is a fiery shield for all who hope in him."[54]

(19) For a long time, dear brother, I have thirsted to speak to you with the parched lips of my longing. So, since I have removed wine from the table of the monks, I have seized the opportunity to slake my thirst at the copious stream of my words.

50. Eph 6.11–13.
51. Eph 6.14–17.
52. Cant 3.7–8.
53. Cant 4.4.
54. Prov 30.5.

LETTER 11[1]

Peter Damian to Peter, the papal chancellor. He asks for his friendship and notes the lamentable condition of the Roman church. (1045)[2]

TO SIR PETER,[3] chancellor of the sacred palace,[4] Peter, servant of the servants of the cross of Christ,[5] offers the homage of his ardent devotion.

1. Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 150 sees this letter, not as a request to participate in the work in Rome, but as an assurance that he is already involved.

2. For the dating of this letter, see Neukirch 91.

3. While Benedict IX was still pope, a certain Peter had been in office since 1036 as "deacon of the holy Roman Church," and in 1042 was addressed as "chancellor and librarian"; see L. Santifaller, "Saggio di un elenco dei funzionari, impiegati e scrittori della cancelleria pontificia dall'inizio all'anno 1099," *Bullettino del'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 56 (1940), 1–865, esp. 140ff., 145ff., 150, 154, 157f., 346–352. His later titles become clear when we recall that after the death of Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne in 1036, the office of librarian of the Roman Church, held by him, was transferred to the Bishop of Silva Candida (JL 4110), who had previously been the director of the papal chancellory. With the newly established office of the "librarian and chancellor of the Apostolic See," Peter the Deacon, who had in practice directed operations, was now recognized as the permanent agent of the head of chancellory; cf. H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* 1 (1912), 222ff.; P. Kehr, "Scrinium und Palatium. Zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Kanzleiwesens im XI. Jh." *MIÖG Ergänzungsband* 6 (1901), 70–112, esp. 73ff., treating probably of the addressee of this letter. Peter's background is unknown; his brother, a judge named Andrew, participated with him at the Lateran Council in May 1050 (*It Pont* 2.92, no. 27); cf. P. Kehr, *Die ältesten Papsturkunden Spaniens* (Abh. Berlin 1926, 2 [1926], 30); that in 1046, when Damian wrote to him, he was no longer a young man, is reflected in a poem discussed by P. Kehr, "Diplomatische Miscellen 1: Zu Petrus Diaconus," *Nachrichten Göttingen 1898* (1898), 496–505. On his association with Benedict IX, see G. Giovanelli, "Sulla fine di Benedetto IX a Grottaferrata," *Bollettino della badia Greca di Grottaferrata* N. S. 13 (1959), 65–109, esp. 69, and Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum* 89. He was still in office under Clement II and Leo IX, and died in 1050 at Langres, where he had accompanied Leo IX; cf. Clarius, *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensi,* ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 26 (1882), 32.

4. On the reorganization of the *Sacrum Palatium Lateranense* in the 11th

(2) Dear Sir, while I am aware of what Rome is like at this time,[6] and have also frequently heard of you, this one idea keeps recurring to me that he who is able to grow the whitest lily among a crush of thorns,[7] has also chosen to display you as such amid the maneuverings in Rome. Wherefore you should surely know that I wish to enjoy your love and desire with no little fervor to be joined to you with the bonds of friendly and harmonious agreement. Nor can distance present an obstacle to my desire. For while not seeing the eye that grants me sight, I still enjoy its service, and since it is the eye which has occurred to me by way of giving an example, you be my eye and my teacher in this matter, so that through you I may be able to perceive what advice I might give this pope, his apostolic holiness.[8] For it is certain that unless the

---

century, see R. Elze, "Das Sacrum Palatium Lateranense im 10. und 11. Jh.," *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952), 27–54, esp. 40ff.

The office of chancellor of the Lateran palace, previously unknown in the Roman Church (cf. Kehr, *Scrinium* [*supra* n. 3], 73) was created by John XVIII, and the direction of the chancellory was definitively brought under control of the papacy by Benedict IX.

5. The hermitage of Fonte Avellana was dedicated to the Holy Cross; see A. Fortunius, *Vita beati Petri Damiani* (PL 144, 166). For Damian's hymn in honor of the Holy Cross, see M. Lokrantz, *L'opera* 114f.

6. The reference to the wretched conditions in Rome, repeated once again later in this letter: "unless the Roman See returns to its former integrity," is treated of also in Letter 40: "For since the Roman See . . . was under the power of venality." The concept of "its former integrity," used also in Letter 8, is discussed by Fois, *La sede* 323f. On the practice of simony as the grounds for censuring Rome, see Meier-Welcker, *Simonie* 85f. and J. Benzinger, "Invectiva in Romam. Romkritik im MA vom 9. bis zum 12. Jh," *Historische Studien* 404 (1968), 64f.

7. Cf. Cant 2.2.

8. It is not quite clear to which pope Damian here refers. Borino, *L'elezione* 171 and Idem, "Quando e dove si fece monaco Ildebrando," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 5 (Studi e testi 125, 1946), 218–262, esp. 235 identifies him as Benedict IX; also Fois, *La sede* 323 and Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum* 89; Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 103 thinks it is Clement II. Neukirch 91 and Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 88 opt for Gregory VI, while Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 150 vacillates between Gregory VI and Clement II. In any event, he misunderstood the letter's proposal: Damian was not yet in a position to call this to the attention of the Pope, but only hoped soon to do so. Laqua, *Traditionen* 267f. makes the point that Damian here had the new Pope Gregory VI in mind, but the reference to "this pope" is subject to other interpretations. At this time Damian was also a "new man" in Rome. If one

Roman See returns to its former integrity, the whole world will remain forever in its fallen state. Certainly it is urgent that today she should become the principle of renewal, just as once she had been the visible foundation in the earliest days of human salvation.[9] But since a word suffices to a man of your good judgment, may my lack of sophistication not be offensive to one so urbane as you if I should ask the reader's indulgence in replying to me in writing. Please accept this overly short little document as a token of the overflowing library of my heart.

---

accepts Benedict IX as the pope here addressed, the dating of this letter is thereby affected: it must then have been written before 1 May 1045, the date on which Gregory VI began his pontificate. On this chronology, see R. L. Poole, "Papal Chronology in the Eleventh Century," *English Historical Review* 32 (1917), 204–214, esp. 210 and Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* 570f., 583–590; H. Kromayer, "Über die Vorgänge in Rom im Jahre 1045 und die Synode von Sutri 1045," HV 10 (1907), 161–195.

9. Here we have evidence that early in his career Damian was aware that the Roman Church was the pivotal center from which the reform movement must emerge. Ryan, *Canonical Sources* no. 3, 23f. sees this statement as an echo of the decree of Innocent I to Decentius: "it behooves them to follow (the legacy of the apostle Peter) which the Roman Church preserves, from which, to be sure, they received their foundation." See also Leclercq, *Pierre Damien* 66.

LETTER 12

Peter Damian to Bishop John. He seeks the bishop's friendship and sends him several of his works. He suggests that the purpose of this relationship is not worldly gain, but common spiritual benefit arising from mutual advice.

(ca. 1045)[1]

O JOHN, the most reverend bishop,[2] Peter the least servant of the monks, sends the service of the reverence he owes.

(2) My dear friend, he who desires to scale a lofty mountain, must necessarily climb to its summit by gradual stages. Wherefore, since I wish to come to the attention of your highness, as to a man of the Church, who by the hand of God was raised to the ecclesiastical heights of Mount Sion,[3] I dispatch a small gift in advance, as one would use a ladder. For it is indeed not from any desire to appear ostentatious, nor for any physical convenience that might ensue that I both address my small pieces to you and seek your favor. Him rather do I please, whom certainly I acknowledge as the judge of my innermost secrets.[4]

(3) Consequently, my dear father and lord, you are aware

1. On the date assigned, see Neukirch 2. Since Damian is here concerned with broadening his contacts, it seems quite likely that this letter was composed early in his career. See also Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 151; *Clavis* 37; Laqua, *Traditionen* 235, however, dates it for 1044.

2. It is possible that he is addressing Bishop John of Cesena (1031–1053), as suggested by Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 129, but the evidence is not compelling. Cf. Schwartz, *Bistümer* 167f.; F. Lanzoni, "Cronotassi dei vescovi di Cesena," in: *Appendice al sinodo diocesano di Cesena di Mons. G. Cazzani, vescovo di Cesena* (1912), 7–9; Burchi, *Cronotassi* 161f. On the significance of this new contact, see Laqua, *Traditionen* 235–243.

3. Cf. Rev 14.1.

4. The translation follows *occultis* (found in 9 later MSS) rather than *oculis* (MS C1).

that all temporal things pass away; that our worldly possessions cannot long remain with us. Like smoke, earthly honors and dignities return to nothing the higher they rise, and none of the things of this world can escape the world's destruction at the end of time.[5] We too, who begin these projects so eagerly, seized by a sudden fever, quickly abandon them all; and then without doubt we learn that the things we judged to be important were as nothing. Only our deeds, whether good or evil, will not perish, but will survive to be examined in the severe court of the dreadful judge of all. Therefore, my dear friend, go back within your conscience and while you can, diligently ponder the answer you must give to such overwhelming majesty. Consider who it is who is coming to settle your account with you, and how great and varied a harvest he will require of your vast stewardship. Finally, my dear father, you should be certain that I desire always to enjoy your favor and your good will, and with all my heart wish for the well-being, not only of your soul but also of your body. Wherefore, do not hesitate to demand anything of me in serving you, and know certainly that I will gladly obey you.

(4) And so, since I am without worldly gifts to offer, I send you a wretched present of my little works,[6] not to seek

5. The concept that mankind was nearing the end of time, and that the world had grown old, was broadly held; see E. Wadstein, *Die eschatologische Ideengruppe: Anti-christ—Weltsabbat—Weltende und Weltgericht, in den Hauptmomenten einer christlich-ma. Gesamtentwicklung* (1896), 7ff.; N. Tamassia, "La formola 'appropinquante fine mundi' nei documenti del medio evo," *Il Filangieri* 12 (1887), 257–264; reprint in idem, *Scritti di storia giuridica* 2 (1967), 97–105. It also appears here and there in Damian's other writings: cf. Letter 20 and Letter 165. For examples of the spread of these ideas in other writings of the 11th century, see Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana* 301ff.: *Excursus 'mundus senescens'*; for eschatological observations during the years 1044–1046, see C. Violante, *La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica* 1 (Studi storici 11, 1955), 45f., Capitani, *Immunità* 22 n. 45.

6. Larger works of Damian that belong to this period, would be Letter 1, written most likely in 1040–1041, and his *Vita Romualdi,* composed in 1042. Laqua, *Traditionen* 140–173 suggests that *Sermo* 17.1 (for the feast of St. Vitalis) in Lucchesi, *Sancti Petri Damiani sermones,* CC CM 57 (1983), 85–94, is also a possibility. Later, Damian sent his treatise "On the Degrees of Relationship" (Letter 19) to John of Cesena, and according to the conjecture of Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 129 he composed the *Vita s.*

thereby the patronage of your protection, but to clear for my words an approach to the recesses of your heart; not that you might be of assistance to me, but that my counsel may be of benefit to you. There are certain matters that I must, in all humility, bring to your attention, matters of urgent importance to you, not merely for the life to come, but also for the present time.[7] Some of these I would have written even in this letter, were it not that I fear the curious eye of him who might intercept it.[8] Therefore, please set a date after Easter and with the authority your holiness wields, direct that I visit you. If it pleases you, moreover, take careful note of what the bearer of this letter has to say.

Mauri episcopi Caesenatis et confessoris (PL 144, 945–952) at John's suggestion. St. Maurus had been bishop of Cesena in the first half of the 10th century; see P. Burchi, "Il vescovo di Cesena s. Mauro e il monastero della Madonna del Monte," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 11 (1957), 95–106; *Idem, Cronotassi* 157ff.

7. John introduced the common life for his cathedral clergy on 21 June 1042 (Burchi, *Cronotassi* 161f.), and, in the opinion of Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 130, endorsed by Samaritani, *Gebeardo* 125 and Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 168, with the cooperation of Peter Damian. But the evidence of this letter, in which he was just now seeking the bishop's friendship, would oppose this opinion.

8. The sender was often concerned for the security of information contained in his letter, frequently discussing only matters of lesser moment, while the bearer delivered the real message orally. On which, see Hoffmann, *Brieftechnik* 145ff.

LETTER 13

Peter Damian to Pope Gregory VI. He welcomes the election of this pope and requests that he discipline the bishops of Castello, Fano, and Pesaro.

(1045)[1]

TO HIS HOLINESS, the lord Pope[2] Gregory, the monk Peter the Sinner[3] offers the devotion of his responsible service.

1. For the dating of this letter, see Neukirch 91; Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 68.

2. Damian was ecstatic over Gregory VI's accession, and had possibly tried through the efforts of chancellor Peter to make contact with the newly consecrated pope (cf. Letter 11). It was most unlikely that Damian was originally aware that Gregory VI had "paid off " Benedict IX for his office. At the synod of Sutri the Emperor Henry III had Gregory deposed and sent him to exile in Germany; see G. B. Borino, "Invitus ultra montes cum domno papa Gregorio abii," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 3–46. Here it is probable that Damian had his first inkling of the financial arrangements while he was in Rome at Christmas 1046, when Gregory VI was deposed and Clement II was crowned. Cf. Letter 70; R. L. Poole, "Benedict IX and Gregory VI," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 8 (1917–1918), 199–235, esp. 212. (Damian comments on the deposition of Gregory VI in his Letter 72: "Later, with the Emperor Henry present, when the council had debated these events, because payment had intervened . . . he was deposed"; cf. Borino, "Invitus," 6). For a general discussion of these events, see H. Zimmermann, *Papstabsetzungen des MA* (1968), 120ff.; Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum* 154ff.; F. J. Schmale, "Die 'Absetzung' Gregors VI in Sutri und die synodale Tradition," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 11 (1979), 55–103, who speaks of Gregory's self-condemnation.

3. Here for the first time Damian used the self-depreciating title, "the monk, Peter the Sinner," that would become standardized in his later letters; see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 11; this formula was used also by others, as Otloh of St. Emmeram (Regensburg), cf. B. Bischoff, "Literarisches und Künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram während des frühen und hohen MA," StMGBO 51 (1933), 102–142, esp. 118; Kurt Reindel, "Petrus Damiani bei Dante," *Deutsches Dante-Jb.* 34/35 (1957), 153–176, esp. 157ff. Elsewhere Damian plays with this nickname chosen for himself: "Unknown to David,

(2) I give thanks to Christ, the King of Kings, most reverend lord, that I who am aflame with thirst to hear nothing but good things of the apostolic see, should now in the company of many well-wishers drink a generous toast to your great deeds. To be sure, the imbibing of such sweet news has restored my mental digestion so that my spirit within rejoices and my tongue straightway proclaims this song of praise: "Glory to God in the highest heaven and on earth peace to men of good will."[4] Truly, as it is written, it is he who "controls the procession of times and makes and unmakes kings."[5] Indeed, he now marvelously fulfills for all the world to see that which long ago he foretold by his prophet, "that the Most High rules over the kingship of men and confers it on whom he pleases."[6] Therefore, "let the heavens be glad, let the earth rejoice,"[7] and let holy church exult that she has recovered her ancient charter of liberties.[8] May the head of the poisonous, deceptive serpent now be crushed, let trafficking in this wicked business be ended, let the counterfeiting Simon now quit his minting of money in the Church,[9] and in the present absence of the circumspect master, may Gehazi carry away no clandestine gifts.[10] May the dove presently return to the ark and with fresh olive leaves announce the recovery of peace on earth.[11] May we now restore the golden age of the apostles[12] and under your discreet leadership may ecclesiastical discipline be revived.[13] Repress the avarice of those as-

---

Saul was slain; and the 'sinful monk' also, not through any effort of his own, but by the will of God alone, was freed from the snares of the bishop of Fossombrone" (Letter 34).

4. Lk 2.14. 5. Dan 2.21.
6. Dan 4.14. 7. 1 Chr 16.31.
8. It is not clear whether under "her ancient charter of liberties" Damian would also include the canonical right to papal elections. Cf. Letter 16.
9. Note the relationship of Simon the Magician, the buyer, to Gehazi, the seller of spiritual consecrations as the active and passive elements of simony.
10. Cf. Acts 8.18–23; 2 Kgs 5.19–26. 11. Cf. Gen 8.10–11.
12. In Letter 20, addressed to Emperor Henry III, Damian speaks of the golden age of David; on a golden age of the apostles, see M.-H. Vicaire, *L'imitation des Apôtres. Moines, chanoines, mendiants IVe–XIIIe siècles* (1963); Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana* 257f.; Laqua, *Traditionen* 268ff.
13. See H. P. Laqua, "Refloreat disciplina: ein Erneurungsmotiv bei Pe-

piring to episcopal dignity and overthrow the seats of the money-brokers selling doves.[14]

(3) Yet, whether the world may rightly expect to enjoy the delights I have just described, the church of Pesaro[15] will give the first clear indication of our well-founded hope. For unless that see be torn from the hands of its adulterous, incestuous, and perjured plunderer, every hope that the people had entertained for the world's renewal will be cast to the ground. Everyone focuses on this one objective, all eagerly await the news of this event. But let this man, so burdened with crimes, be restored to the episcopal dignity, and all will deny that anything worthwhile can be achieved by the apostolic see. For my part, there are three who will testify,[16] the sees of Castello,[17] Fano,[18] and Pesaro, "so that all facts may be duly es-

---

trus Damiani," *San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072–1972)* 2 (1972), 279–290.

14. Cf. Mt 21.12; Mk 11.15; Lk 19.45; John 2.14–16.

15. The name of the bishop of Pesaro is unknown, always referred to as anonymous; see Bartoccetti, *Serie* 15, 115. Vernarecci, *Fossombrone* 186 n. 1 calls him Peter, but his name appears only in 1047 (Bartoccetti, *Serie* 15, 115); in support of his proceeding against the bishops of Fano and Pesaro, Damian had sought help from Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi as early as 1043 (cf. Letter 4, n. 6–7).

16. Cf. John 4.7.

17. It is likely that he here refers to the bishopric of Città di Castello on the Tiber, directly subject to Rome (*It Pont.* 4, 98ff.); R. Van Doren, "Città di Castello," DHGE 12 (1953), 1001f.; on Bishop Peter, who is probably the person of whom Damian disapproves, see Schwartz, *Bistümer* 279. G. Muzi, *Memorie ecclesiastiche e civili di Città di Castello* 2 (1842), 24, falsely reports on another "anonymous" bishop referred to in Damian's letter. This error was adopted by P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* 1 (1873), 683.

18. On the bishop of Fano, see Letter 4, n. 6. Whether Gregory VI took up Damian's request is not quite clear. In a letter to Clement II Damian speaks of a deposition: "But when we see the thief of Fano, cursed and excommunicated even by those who were called apostolic, but were not . . ." (Letter 26); according to *It Pont* 4, 185 Gregory VI was included among "these apostolic" men. Schwartz, *Bistümer* 243 thinks that both Gregory VI and Sylvester II were meant. Borino, *L'elezione* 251 involves Benedict IX and Gregory VI, while Prete, *S. Pier Damiani* 122 understands Damian's "cursed and excommunicated" to mean that the bishop was expelled by the people. In any case, as far as the letter to Clement II is concerned, the bishop of Fano remained in office; only in 1048 does one hear of his successor, Harduin (cf. Bartoccetti, *Serie* 13, 69), with whom Damian corresponded. Gibelli, *Monografia* 96 n. 5 refers to an entry for "Arduinus the bishop," in the necrology of Fonte Avellana on 14 January.

tablished on the evidence of two or three witnesses."[19] In these three cases it will become apparent what hope one may entertain for the rest.

(4) May almighty God guard you, exalted father, in maintaining the laws of his church and allow his people, not undeservedly, to rejoice under the tutelage of such a pontiff as you.

19. Mt 18.16; Deut 19.15.

LETTER 14

Peter Damian to an unnamed neighboring bishop. Writing away from his monastery while on a journey, he admonishes his friend, whom he has frequently met, to refrain from accepting gifts from unworthy men. He fortifies his advice with marvelous tales told to him by Gerard, a canon of the cathedral of Florence.

(Before 1045)[1]

TO THE LORD BISHOP[2] of estimable holiness, the monk Peter the Sinner sends greetings.

(2) My dear sir, although I am travelling[3] and cannot write anything elaborate, I still think it more proper to point out to you, in one way or another, something that is urgent, than to pass over it in utter silence. That which I frequently warned you of face to face, I now repeat in writing, utterly enjoining you not to defile yourself with gifts from any unworthy men. For it is written: "Offering a sacrifice from a godless man is a blemished sacrifice and the mockery of the wicked is not pleasing."[4] Why are we not ashamed to accept things that we know God rejects? Hence it is again written: "The Most High does not approve the offerings of the godless, neither does he look with favor on the sacrifices of the wicked, nor do their endless sacrifices win forgiveness for their sins."[5] And elsewhere it is said: "Wicked men's sacrifices are abominable to the Lord."[6] And the psalmist writes: "He will not give God an appeasing gift nor the

1. For the dating here used, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 151.

2. The symbol N, used for this bishop by Neukirch 11, and also by Lucchesi, *Clavis* 37 and *Vita* 2, 151, is not found in the MSS.

3. On Damian's travel, see Lucchesi, *I viaggi*. Is it, one may ask, because this letter was written while Damian was on the road, that it is found only in one Monte Cassino MS?

4. Sir 34.21.

5. Sir 34.23.

6. Prov 15.8.

price of redeeming his own soul."[7] Why do we not also call to mind that Gehazi was covered with the scabs of lifelong leprosy when he lusted for the gifts of Naaman, the Syrian?[8] But that you might avoid this mischief, let me add yet another case.

(3) Gerard[9] it was, the religious canon of the church of Florence, who recently told me what I now relate. Hildebrand,[10] count of Tuscany, who was known as the count of Capua, was so rich and powerful that he boasted of having more manors and fortified towns than there are days in the year. He had a certain priest, a religious and upright man as his spiritual father, to whom it was his custom to go to confession. Another priest by the name of Rainerius[11] saw this vision of the other priest, in which a loud voice was heard calling him to come up: "Peter,"[12] it cried, for if I recall correctly that was his name, "priest, come up here." The voice was said to be so loud that at its sound others were roused from their sleep. At the command of this voice the priest climbed to a certain promontory that was hard to reach. Now, the person who had called, appeared to be St. Benedict.[13]

7. Ps 48.8–9. 8. Cf. 2 Kgs 5.27.

9. Even though Mittarelli-Costadoni (*Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 96) admit that several canons in Florence bore the name Gerard, they nevertheless identify this man with the later Bishop Gerard of Florence. Neukirch 111, however, states that there is no certainty in the matter. Yet Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 151 accepts the identification.

10. Hildebrand, who belonged to the Gherardesca family, can be traced in the records for the years 989–1015: G. Ciacci, *Gli Aldobrandeschi nella storia e nella 'Divina Commedia,'* 2 vols. (Biblioteca storica di fonti e documenti 1, 1935) 2, nos. 105, 118, 121, 125. For a genealogy of the family, see Repetti, *Appendice* 46–54 and in Ciacci, *Aldobrandeschi* 1, 24; his father Rudolf had married Willa, the daughter of Landulf of Capua and Benevento. For further coverage of the Gherardesca family, cf. E. Cristiani, "Per l'accertamento dei più antichi documenti riguardanti i conti della Gherardesca (secolo XI—1347)," *Bollettino storico Pisano 24/25* (1955–1956), 8–21; Schwarzmaier, *Lucca* 210ff.

11. The priest, Rainerius, cannot be found in the records.

12. Also the priest, Peter, is otherwise unknown. The cry to him is from Rev 4.1.

13. On the appearance of St. Benedict on this occasion, see W. Goez, "Reformpapsttum, Adel und monastische Erneurung in der Toscana," *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung,* ed. J. Fleckenstein (Vorträge und Forschungen 17, 1973), 205–239, esp. 214f. n. 54; on this vision see also Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana* 58f.

After climbing up the mountain, the priest suddenly noticed that his whole body was covered with leprosy, and he at once cried out: "Alas," he said, "why have I been blasted by this terrible plague?" St. Benedict said to him: "The mantle that you got as alms from count Hildebrand"—for this Hildebrand had just recently died[14]—"has been converted into leprosy for you. Wherefore return this impermanent garment if you wish to get rid of the itching of this enduring leprosy. As you can see, this hateful and pernicious cloak has done you harm, but to him it was of no use at all." So why do we seek the gifts of any of these evil men, since any offering of theirs is unable to wash away their sins, and for us is turned into leprosy?

(4) But to continue with the rest of the vision, St. Benedict brought him directly down from the mountain and led him into the depths of a valley that lay below. In the meantime the priest saw a horrible river that was foul, pitch-black, and filled with sulphur, and as he walked along with the saint as his guide, a voice spoke from the river calling him. At once he stood still and asked who it was that called him. "I am that most unhappy count Hildebrand," it said, "on whom you used to impose a penance, even though it proved to be useless." Then the priest said to him: "How can you be count Hildebrand since your body is so wasted away and mutilated that you seem not to have human form, but rather the appearance of a deadly tree?" To whom the count replied: "I am subjected to such torture and daily afflicted with such new and exquisite punishments that it is no wonder that my body has lost its appearance, and yet my essential quality endures. I was so cruel while I was alive, that now all the saints loathe me, and in their righteous severity so unanimously despise me that none of them will still pray God to have pity on me."

(5) A vast number of birds[15] could be seen in this river.

14. Count Guido, mentioned later in this account, was already dead in 1034 (see n. 17), so that Hildebrand must have died even earlier.

15. For souls of the dead appearing in the form of birds, cf. also Letter 72; on which see A. H. Krappe, "An Italian Legend in Pierre Damian," *The Romantic Review* 15 (1924), 94–99, esp. 96f., with reference to G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst* (1902).

They looked like doves with various kinds of feathers, so that they seemed to be partly white and partly black, and all of them appeared very sad and dejected and out of sorrow turned their bills back upon their wings. When I asked my companion what these birds were, he replied: "They are souls assigned to various stages of purgatory in these waters. Since they are not totally white, but bear here and there various shades of black, they are now partly purified, while in part they are still liable for their sins." I was led to believe that the more whiteness appeared in the variety of their feathers, the greater had been the remission of their sins; but in the measure that blackness was seen to remain, to that degree they were still considered covered with the stains of sin.

(6) After a while as the priest walked along, he saw count Lothar[16] who had died a short time before. He was still tortured in the waters almost waist high, almost half way exposed. When the priest asked him how he fared, he answered that at first he was totally submerged in the sulphurous stream, but that gradually his condition improved and day by day his great punishment had lessened. "But I beg you," he said, "tell my people to return the land of St. Mary's which I stole, so that I might perhaps be freed from these torments in which I find myself." But the priest was not aware of the church of St. Mary to which he referred, and so could not be specific in describing it to the man's survivors. Moreover, the priest turning his attention to the nearby scene, saw a terrible and dreadful house and many servants attached to it, all of whom were equally fierce and savage and formidable in appearance, who rushed about in a great hurry, panting in their

16. A Count Lothar of Pistoia appears in the records in 1006: see C. Manaresi, *I Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 96, 1957–58), nos. 270, 491–494. For his inclusion in the genealogy of the Kadolingian counts, see Repetti, *Appendice* 34–37, with corrections in L. Chiappelli, "I conti Cadolingi, i conti Guidi ed il comitatus Pistoriensis," *Bullettino storico Pistoiese* 34 (1932), 117–134, esp. 132 and Schwarzmaier, *Lucca* 209. For a general coverage of this family, see R. Davidsohn, "Die Kadolinger-Erbschaft" in: *Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte von Florenz* 1 (1896), 83–91; E. Coturri, "Ricerche e note d'archivio intorno di Conti Cadolingi di Fucecchio," *Bollettino della accademia degli Euteleti della città di San Miniato* 36 (1964), 109–145.

effort to prepare for some great and distinguished guest, unknown to me, whom they expected. When the priest I spoke of asked in stunned surprise what was going on, they replied that on the following Wednesday they were awaiting count Guido.[17] For as one prepares a rich supply of excellent food for arriving guests, these evil spirits were providing nothing but a banquet of suffering and torture for this poor man. After this vision, the priest Rainerius awoke and told what he had seen. As predicted, the count died the next Wednesday.

(7) But to get back to what I was saying, brother, do not be accessible to gifts. Do not open your doors to everything that is offered, but accept some that they might provide for you in your necessity, and refuse others lest they burden you with another's guilt. When we accept presents, we must first decide on the character of the donors.[18] Our hand should not be open to accept indiscriminately everything that is given, and by careful examination beforehand we should be aware not so much of what is offered, but rather of him who grants the gift. For Scripture says: "If you offer properly, but do not rightly distribute, you have sinned."[19] And I say, what is likewise necessary for us, if you accept what is offered and do not take note of the quality of the giftgivers, your offense is still more serious.

(8) Would you care to hear what recently happened to me over a gift that was offered? A certain nobleman named Rodulfus,[20] a quite powerful and prudent man, while I was at his monastery reverently gave me a liturgical vestment, which because of its appearance was known as a *triblathon.*[21] It is

17. On Count Guido II, of the Guidi family, see Repetti, *Appendice* 38ff.; Chiappelli, "I Conti"; Schwarzmaier, *Lucca* 197ff. Guido II, who was expected in these preparations, must have died by 1034, since in this year his two sons, Guido III and Teudegrimus III made an offering for the repose of the soul of their father; cf. Reppetti, *Appendice* 39.

18. See H. de Lubac, "Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture," 1 *Théologie* 41 (1959), 90.

19. Gen 4.7. For this variant from the Vulgate, see Sabatier 1, 21.

20. This nobleman, Rodulfus, cannot be identified.

21. On this vestment, see H. M. Willard, "Abbot Desiderius and the Ties between Monte Cassino and Amalfi in the Eleventh Century," *Miscellanea Cassinese* 37 (1973), 43 n. 61.

tricolored, and the vestment is called a *blathon,* and so it is known as a *triblathon* because it has three colors. Now this man while offering it to me, went on his knees and prostrate on the ground requested with all the humility he could muster: "My lord, take this little gift to your holy brothers, of whom I ask only that they earnestly beg the merciful God that he take from my heart the darkness with which it is afflicted. Love of the world has blinded my heart and heaped darkness upon me, which through their blessed prayers may God expel, so that I may be worthy of enlightenment, at least by a spark of divine light." But when I promised him our prayers, yet by word and gesture refused the gift he offered, such a flood of words emerged from both of us, that I think best to leave to your imagination and will not put it in writing. What further can I say? I brought the gift to my brothers, but found them displeased; I served as ambassador, but was not graciously received. They assailed me rather than thank me, they found fault rather than flatter me, and thought that the offering from such a man was not a gift but a pollution and infection of the soul. In no way could they be quieted until I at once returned the gift so inconsiderately received to him who gave it, and was to promise him our prayers gratis, using such words of excuse, however, as if I were not returning the gift. I confess that I was much pleased at my reprimand, at being corrected, and at being sprayed with biting words.

(9) My brother, be on your guard against gifts from evil men, so that while avoiding sin yourself, you recoil also from association with the sin of another. For according to Paul's words: "Do not become responsible for other people's misdeeds;"[22] and free from such things, you can say with him in good conscience: "No man's fate can be laid at my door."[23]

22. 1 Tim 5.22.

23. Acts 20.26.

LETTER 15

Peter Damian to senator Amelric and his wife Ermilina. A letter of condolence on the recent death of their infant son. He consoles them with the reminder that their child has gone to heaven, spared the spiritual combat and fatiguing labor that are the common lot of other mortals. The good God who loved their son so much as to take him to himself, is able also to give them more children in the place of him they have lost. So let their tears be turned into spiritual joy.

(After 1045)[1]

TO SIR AMELRIC,[2] a gentleman of senatorial rank,[3] and to his noble wife Ermilina, the monk Peter the Sinner sends greetings in the Lord.

(2) You should be aware,[4] my dear friends, that when I learned that your son had departed this world at almighty God's command, I was overcome with instant sorrow, and bitter pangs of compassion pierced my heart. But when after some consideration I began to think over the situation, I found that I was at fault, and with humble prayer I urge your excellencies to lay aside your grief. For how precious was your

1. On the date here assigned, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 156.

2. In the editions of Gaetani and Migne the addressee is named Alberic, but this finds no support in the MSS. Yet the name Amelricus was subjected to various MS corrections, so that some doubt still persists about the name. If the letter is addressed to Alberic of the house of Tusculum, there are chronological difficulties, and Neukirch 117 rejects this ascription. But no trace is found of a senator Amelric.

3. On the Roman senate in the MA, see O. Gerstenberg, *Die politische Entwicklung des römischen Adels im 10. und 11. Jh*, Ph.D. dissertation, Berlin (1933), 47–52; A. Solmi, "Il senato romano nell'alto medio evo (757–1143)," *Miscellanea della reale deputazione Romana di storia patria* 15 (1944), 151ff.; P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (1962), 359 and *passim*.

4. On the genre of condolence letters in the MA, see P. von Moos, *Consolatio. Studien zur mittellateinischen Trostliteratur über den Tod und zum Problem der christlichen Trauer*, 4 vols. (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 3, 1971–72), 1, 190f. and 2, 124f.

devotion in the sight of the omnipotent God that in his justice he should grant you such a favor? He has brought a child of your flesh to the kingdom of heaven, placed him among the angels, clothed him with a garment of immortality, and crowned him with a diadem of everlasting glory. He has gathered him into his own arms, kissed him like a loving father, and as his own son took him with joy into his own eternally restful bedchamber.

(3) How unhappy and miserable we are, and I speak not only for myself but for fellow-sinners like me, for that which we can hardly hope to attain by fasting and constant, unremitting engagement in battle against the evil spirits, he received freely without the slightest sweat or labor, arriving at the wedding feast of those blessed souls in the city of God without any fatigue or effort in battle. To this I may add that he who took your son from your midst, loved him more for his own sake than for yours, and made him his adopted son, is powerful enough to grant you something much better, and in the place of one child cause you to bear many others.

(4) Remember that Hannah the wife of Elkanah brought her only son to the tabernacle where he would constantly serve in performing the ceremonies God had commanded, and, as Scripture attests, lent him to the Lord as if on interest.[5] And so it was that this holy woman said to the high priest Eli: "I prayed and the Lord has given me what I asked. And now I lend him to the Lord for his whole life during which he is lent to the Lord."[6] And the high priest Eli said to Elkanah: "The Lord grant you children by this woman in place of the one which you lent to the Lord."[7] But in return for what one lends at interest, one receives not merely the exact sum, but the increment as well. And so Scripture at once continues: "The Lord showed his care for Hannah, and she conceived and gave birth to three sons and two daughters."[8]

(5) If he, therefore, granted such a wealth of children in place of one son, how much more able is he to bless you with

5. Cf. 1 Sam 2.20.
6. 1 Sam 1.27–28.
7. 1 Sam 2.20.
8. 1 Sam 2.21.

children born of your conjugal love, he who did not press your son into the service of an earthly tabernacle, but rather assigned him to reign forever in the heavenly Jerusalem in the presence of his majesty?

(6) And so, my dear friends, away with tears, restrain your groans and sighing. May every sign of sorrow vanish from your face, and may festive joy totally replace the dejection you once experienced. Let your blessed good sense prompt you to say with king David: "While the boy was still alive I fasted and wept for him, thinking, 'It may be that the Lord will be gracious to me and the boy may live.' But now that he is dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him; he will not come back to me."[9]

(7) Wherefore, my dear friends, put aside all signs of sorrow and bereavement, restore to your home the accustomed gayness of spiritual joy, lift your spirit in the hope of celestial consolation, and bear the blows of the Lord not only patiently and calmly, but even with eagerness. May almighty God who deigned to take your son from your embrace, and with a father's love removed him to his own beloved arms, grant you many children to replace this child, offspring, moreover, who because of their good works will never die.

9. 2 Sam 12.22–23.

LETTER 16

Peter Damian to Pope Gregory VI. He here nominates one of the archpriests, chosen by himself and the clergy of the diocese, and presents him to the Pope for appointment to the see of Fossombrone.

(Winter 1045–1046)[1]

TO HIS HOLINESS, the lord Pope Gregory,[2] the monk Peter the Sinner offers the homage of devoted service.

(2) Your blessedness should know, my devout lord, that because of our sins clerics worthy of the episcopal office are not to be found in our sector. "All are bent on their own ends, not on the cause of Christ Jesus."[3] Kindled by avarice and pride, they campaign for the office of bishop but are not concerned with being worthy of the episcopate. They crave preeminence, but care nothing for service. Yet because time is pressing and the supply of candidates is short, it seems to me that this archpriest might be promoted to the episcopal dignity if your holiness should authoritatively so decide, except that he is avaricious for preferment and is overeager to ascend the heights of the pastoral office. But this should be your decision. However, if this be not considered out of place, as I mull over the roll of clerics in the diocese of Fossombrone,[4] this man appears to be somewhat better than the oth-

1. Date: in any case, Letter 16, addressed to Gregory VI, was written after Letter 13. Whether it was sent shortly afterwards, as Neukirch 91 would have it, dating it for August 1045, is not certain. Lucchesi corrects his previous dating for August 1045 (Lucchesi, *Clavis* 31) by using the more likely date of 1045–1046. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 69.

2. See F. J. Schmale, "'Die Absetzung' Gregors VI. in Sutri und die synodale Tradition," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 11 (1979), 55–103, esp. 57.

3. Phil 2.21.

4. On Fossombrone, see Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 826–840; G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia della loro origine sino nostri giorni* 3 (1845), 265–283; *It Pont* 4, 214–217; M. Sensi, "Fossombrone," DHGE 17 (1971), 1228–1235.

ers.[5] Wherefore, if it should please your holiness in your discretion, following his election by the clergy and people, and after many others have somehow judged him fit for this office, let him do penance for his ambition and receive the benefit of consecration.[6] Nevertheless, may almighty God make known by the grace of his spirit what you should do in this matter, and may he pronounce clearly in your heart the ordinances of his will. There is one thing, however, for which I make earnest request of your mercy, that if you should not consecrate this man, you not bestow the honor of this see on anyone until you have consulted me, your servant.

5. Damian had visited the dying Bishop Adam in Fossombrone (Letter 70), who was still able to participate in a synod held by Benedict IX in April 1044 (JL 4114); cf. Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 164ff. That the successor, recommended by Damian, is the same as Benedict who held the office beginning on 22 April 1049 (JL 4163), is assumed by Vernarecci, *Fossombrone* 191ff., Bartoccetti, *Serie* 14, 136, Schwarz, *Bistümer* 243, and Capitani, *Immunità* 139. Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 827, has yet another bishop N preceding Benedict, recommended by Peter the Deacon [*sic*] to Pope Gregory IX [*sic*]. In any event, Benedict later was an opponent of Damian (cf. Letter 34).

6. The reference to the canonical right of election is obvious; see, e.g., the decree of Pope Leo I to Rusticus, the bishop of Narbonne: "No consideration would allow anyone to become a bishop, who was not chosen by the clergy, presented by the people, and consecrated by the consent of the bishops of the province together with their metropolitan" (JK 544), taken up by Burchard, *Decretum* 1.11 (PL 140, 552D). Damian introduces another proof of aptitude, in addition to a penance for his ambition, viz., "that the candidate be judged worthy," a notion that reflects Gratian, *Decretum* D.23 cc.2,3 or D.63 c.36; cf. Benson, *Bishop-Elect* 37.

LETTER 17

Peter Damian to T., a nobleman of Ravenna. With the purpose of recommending the daily recitation of the canonical hours to all Christian faithful, Damian explains the origin and mystical significance of each hour. He notes the differences between clerical and monastic offices, and exhorts his correspondent by citing examples of lay devotion to the divine office. He further recommends the daily recitation of the office of the Blessed Virgin.

(1045–1046)[1]

TO SIR T.[2], the illustrious gentleman,[3] the monk Peter the Sinner sends his prayers in Christ.

(2) While speaking with you in the bishop's residence in Ravenna,[4] my dear friend, I suggested to you a number of rules of life and exhorted you a bit to religious devotion. Finally our conversation came around to this, that I asserted that the canonical office, consisting of seven hours, should be performed by all Christian faithful as a daily task

1. For the dating of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 158.

2. Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 158 resolves the symbol T. by reading Tetgrimus, whom he considers one of the Counts Guidi, benefactors of the congregation. A member of that family had been personally associated with Romuald (cf. Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi,* c. 38, 78), and the family had also been credited with the founding of the monastery of S. Giovanni di Acereta (Letter 63); see F. Lanzoni, *San Pier Damiano e Faenza* (1898), 5–27, reprinted in F. Lanzoni, *Storia ecclesiastica e agiografia Faentina dal XI al XV secolo* (Studi e testi 252, 1969), 1–97, esp. 15–33; Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 134ff. The family also held properties in Ravenna as Lucchesi (*Vita* 1, 172–73) demonstrates by a record dated for 963. They were certainly involved in a suit in 967, in which under Otto I they were charged with being supporters of Kings Berengar and Adalbert, and forfeited many of their holdings. See Schwarzmaier, *Lucca* 200f. It should also be recalled that Damian assigned a member of this family to hell (Letter 14).

3. Tetgrimus was called *inlustrissimus* in the document referred to above.

4. The possibility of meeting him in the episcopal residence in Ravenna, presented itself during the winter 1044–1045, when Damian was present at the command of the new bishop Widger (see Letter 7).

of service to God. But I decided that it was necessary to put down in writing what then we spoke about, so that what you heard as simply passing speech might not easily slip away, but might remain more firmly in your memory if placed before you in written form.

(3) As we know, there are seven principal vices from which all other infectious forms of vice derive, namely: pride, avarice, vainglory, anger, envy, lust, spiritual torpor. These, moreover, since they are the cause and origin of all evils, are known to have the same number of effects, namely, the seven mortal sins, that is, adultery, murder, theft, perjury, false witness, plunder, and blasphemy.[5] In each of these the death of the soul is so clear and certain that if anyone should die guilty of any of them, he could not possibly avoid the sentence of eternal damnation. There are also seven slight or minor sins into which not only the sinner but also every upright man falls daily, even though he might appear to stand at the very peak of perfection. These, accordingly, are sins of thought, ignorance, inconstancy, necessity, infirmity, forgetfulness, surprise. Because of these, surely, we always fail in our everyday living, and so against the wounds of sin we need some daily remedy for their cure. Hence it is written: "The virtuous man

5. On the distinction between the principal vices and the criminal sins encountered here, see M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (1952), 83, 364 n. 135. In general, see S. Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum* 43 (1968), 1–22; L. K. Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *The American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 16–49. In other works also, Damian speaks of the deadly sins but at times changes their number and evaluation. He comes close to stating that avarice is the foundation of all other sins; cf. his Letters 96 and 97. In Letter 86 he perceives the animal kingdom, both in the mythical world as well as in reality as providing a prototype for the various sins. He alludes to the number seven in Sermon 74 (Lucchesi, *S. Petri Damiani sermones,* CC CM 57 [1983], 442–448), where he compares the number of sins with the number of nations the Israelites were instructed to destroy (cf. Deut 7.1–2). For further insight into these problems, see Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 81ff.; on the use of the number seven, see G. Fornasari, "Celibato sacerdotale e 'autocoscienza' ecclesiale," *Università degli studi di Trieste, Facultà di Magistero* (3ª serie 7, 1981), 30f. n. 64.

falls seven times and stands up again."[6] He falls seven times and is still described as virtuous, because in sinning he does not cease to be virtuous since he fails, not from intention but out of human frailty.

(4) Therefore, because of these seven slight and small sins which we cannot avoid because of the weakness of human frailty, the kindly doctors of the Church under instruction of the Holy Spirit arranged that every day we offer our prayers to God seven times.[7] Like seven baptismal baths these seven sessions of the canonical hours were established at the center of Holy Church, so that by the same number of daily floods of prayer, so to speak, we might take pains to purify the seven stains of our failings contracted in the course of our daily life. In so doing, the breeze of reparation scatters the ever present dust of this corruptible life, and the frequent waves of our abundant prayer wash away the filth of earthly living.

(5) The hours[8] of which I speak are the following: morning Lauds, which should be started between daybreak and dawn; then Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. We must now tell how many psalms make up the office for each hour and why each has no more or no less than the prescribed number. The morning Lauds consists of five prayers of praise, namely, four psalms and one canticle. It is proper that we give praise to God as daylight breaks, because under the figure of external light we expect Christ, the sun of justice,[9] to dawn in our hearts, and the whole Church celebrates with joy as she goes to meet her approaching bridegroom. And thus with five songs of praise, as if adorned with as many

6. Prov 24.16; cf. Lk 17.4.

7. On the seven slight sins, see Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 88; on their relation to the canonical hours, see ibid. 153f.

8. On the canonical hours in general, see Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, 1986); R. Biron, *Histoire du bréviaire,* 2 vols. (1905); on the monastic office, see *Benedicti Regula,* c. 8–18, 58–81; Laqua, *Traditionen* 176ff.

9. On Christ as the sun of justice, see F. J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie zum Taufgelöbnis* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 14, 1971), 100–110.

lamps, and hearing with her heart, so to speak, the sound of that last call: "The bridegroom is here! Go out to meet him,"[10] she then figuratively fulfills the Gospel precept: "At this, all those bridesmaids arose and trimmed their lamps."[11]

(6) That a canticle is daily added to the psalms in the office of Lauds, seems to be redolent with mystery, namely, the mystery of both the contemplative and the active life. For the psaltery, an instrument made in the shape of a delta, vibrates through its ten strings when struck by the plectrum; a song, however, is produced only by the voice.[12] Wherefore, the former, because it needs the use of the hands, denotes work and hence the active life, while the latter, because it relates to a song of joy, indicates the contemplative life.[13] And because we are able to experience contemplation only briefly and interruptedly, and that, scarcely for a moment, but are always engaged in the business of the active life, it is proper that we employ several psalms but only one canticle. Just as we rise from the exercise of good works to the heights of contemplation, and after the briefest moment of interior insight descend to the affairs of the active life—for our contemplation begins with the active life and necessarily ends with it; so too, we do not place the canticle before the psalms, nor completely after them, but with psalms on both sides, we always place it second to last.

(7) Moreover, because by active work throughout the four seasons[14] of the year we tire our bodies, composed also of four elements, we therefore sing four psalms in celebrating the morning office. But since in the rapture of contemplation we seek only one thing, which undoubtedly is God, we like-

10. Mt 25.6. 11. Mt 25.7.

12. On the delta shape of the psaltery, see T. Gérold, *La musique au moyen âge* (Les classiques français du moyen âge 73, 1932), 376.

13. For Damian's distinction between the active and the contemplative life, viewed under new and changing symbols, see A. Giabbani, "Il desiderio della contemplazione in San Pier Damiano," *Vita Christiana. Rivista ascetico-mistica* 10 (1938), 290–307; Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 164ff.

14. On the relationship between the four seasons and the human body composed of four elements, see Jerome, *Ezekiel* 12f.; Julianus Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa* 3.18 (PL 59, 501B).

wise properly chant one canticle. The canticle of Zechariah[15] is also added at the end of the service, because, as we know it was composed as the Old Covenant was ending and the New beginning, it also bears mystical witness, by the very time at which it is sung, that, as the Apostle relates, the night of the vices has passed and the day of the virtues is drawing near.[16] This, then, in a few words will suffice as an introduction to Lauds.

(8) The offices of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None each contain three psalms, but in recent times an addition was made to the hour of Prime, namely, the Catholic creed, which is known to be the genuine work of Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, done at the prompting of the Holy Spirit.[17] For since faith is the foundation and origin of all virtues, it is right that a canticle of faith, joined to the hour of prime, somehow preside over the whole day. We know, moreover, that the three hours of Terce, Sext, and None come down to us from the teaching of the prophet Daniel who, as his sacred history relates, turned to Jerusalem in his room and prayed to the Lord three times a day.[18]

(9) Regarding the hour of Terce there is an additional feature which is much more important, that at that hour, as we read in Mark, our Redeemer was crucified,[19] and at the same hour of the day the coming of the Holy Spirit wonderfully refreshed the hearts of the Apostles.[20] We know that the sixth hour has this distinction that then Peter prayed on the housetop and in the symbol of various animals and reptiles recognized by a mystic revelation that all nations are to be saved.[21] And at the same hour, as the other evangelists testify, our Savior hung on the cross for the salvation of all men.[22]

15. Cf. Lk 1.68–79.

16. Cf. Rom 13.12.

17. The creed, known as the *Quicumque,* was considered to be the work of Athanasius until the seventeenth century. Since then, however, it has been variously attributed to other prominent authors; see G. Owens, "Athanasian Creed," NCE 1 (1967), 995f.; B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie* (1978), 253f., 599.

18. Cf. Dan 6.11.

19. Cf. Mk 15.25.

20. Cf. Acts 2.15.

21. Cf. Acts 10.9–17.

22. Cf. Mt 27.45; Lk 23.44.

(10) But lest someone suspect that the holy evangelists are in disagreement in what they mean, as they seem to be in what they say, I will briefly explain. Mark asserts that at the third hour the Lord was crucified amid the shouts of the Jews,[23] while the other evangelists report that at the sixth hour he was hung, with the nails put in place. At the third hour, indeed, they cried: "Crucify him! Crucify him!"[24] And so the Jews passed judgment of crucifixion, but afterwards the soldiers nailed and hung him on the cross. The ninth hour, moreover, is distinguished in its own right in that at that hour the Lord is described as having completed the mystery of his passion, and died.[25]

(11) Now these three hours, among the others of the day, are considered special, each with its own privilege and like nobles in a crowd adorned, as it were, with signs of special dignity, are separated from one another by the interval of three hours. And so, as in each of them we perform our prayers of praise, we show by this passage of time that we worship him who remains one in Trinity. But in these four hours identical psalms are not said by various orders in the Church. Among clerics, Psalm 118 is said, divided into its several parts, while in monasteries they observe the custom of reciting the gradual psalms.[26] If we look carefully into this matter we find that both practices are apt. For while the aforementioned long psalm not only gives the direction for travelers in a special mysterious and sacramental manner, but often points the way by its very words, the gradual psalms by their very name propose the same route, with all due respect to their profound mystery. And thus each practice seems to be in harmony with the performance of the daily office instituted by the Church. And because one does not vary from the other in having a different significance, neither, as it is

23. Cf. Mk 15.25; John 19.14. 24. Lk 23.21; John 19.6.

25. Cf. Mt 27.46–50; Mk 15.34–37; Lk 23.44–46; John 19.30. For the symbolic meaning of the canonical hours, see P. Salmon, "Das Stundengebet," *Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft* 2, ed. A. G. Martimort (1965), 324–422, esp. 333; Laqua, *Traditionen* 176ff.

26. The fifteen psalms from Ps 119 through Ps 133.

chanted, departs from the correct and harmonious path. Except on Sunday, monks' Prime suitably starts at the beginning of the psalter so that the evening of the new day may aptly agree with the beginning of the book.

(12) Vespers, however, does not have the same number of psalms among the various groups; for with the clerics five psalms are here included, but among the monks the office is made up of only four. Neither lacks a good reason, if only we make an effort to find it. Concerning the five psalms of Vespers we may, without speaking incongruously, give the same reason as that stated above for Lauds. For, from his own words we are aware that the Judge of the human race will come at night,[27] but whether it will be in the middle of the night, at cockcrow, or near morning, we do not know, since he says that he will come like a thief. Therefore, it is proper that also at Vespers, as in the office of Lauds, the holy Church of the elect, which is rightly symbolized by the number of the five prudent bridesmaids, should await its bridegroom, while adorned with good works, singing the five psalms to him, hastening gladly to meet him as if with the same number of lamps. But he who established four psalms can be thought to have had in mind, if I am not mistaken, that as there are four military watches, so also we recognize that there are four principal virtues, namely, justice, fortitude, temperance, and prudence.[28] With these, indeed, we must constantly keep watch throughout the dark night of this mortal life, to be ready for action in the spiritual soldiery in which we have sworn to take up arms, and to stand without rest and bravely fight for our camp. Therefore, in the office of Vespers the four psalms that we chant teach us to keep watch in guarding these four virtues.

27. Cf. 1 Thess 5.2.

28. On the cardinal virtues, see P. Schulze, *Die Entwicklung der Hauptlaster- und Haupttugendlehre von Gregor dem Großen bis Petrus Lombardus und ihr Einfluß auf die frühdeutsche Literatur,* Ph.D. Diss. Greifswald (1914). On the number four, see Mähl, *Quadriga virtutum.* In his Letter 49 Damian compares the four cardinal virtues to the four rivers of paradise. This figure, first used by Ambrose, *De paradiso,* ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 (1897), 272ff., was taken from Philo; cf. Mähl, *Quadriga virtutum* 11, 48.

(13) Quite fittingly, moreover, we add the canticle of the Blessed Mother of God[29] to the office of Vespers. For when the long day of ages past was coming to a close, just as the evening of the world was falling,[30] as soon as she conceived the Light of the eternal Word in the flowering of her fertile womb, she suddenly cried out in a voice filled with praise of God: "My soul magnifies the Lord."[31] Therefore, like her who is the mother of Christ, the whole universal Church, who is indeed the mother of Christians, who bears the same Light in her soul that Mary once bore in her womb, as day draws to its close, proclaims God's greatness with proper praise and with thanks for favors received, her spirit joyfully exults in God her Savior.

(14) Compline also has this difference that with the monks it is made up of three psalms, while among clerics it has four. Concerning the four psalms we may propose the same reason that we gave for the office of Vespers, namely, that by the fourfold number of psalms we are taught to arm ourselves with a like number of virtues. Thus equipped, we are able to pierce the backs of marauding vices and to repulse the attack of wily spirits. Scripture tells us of this sort of watch, when it says: "See, it is the litter of Solomon. Around it are sixty champions, the flower of the warriors of Israel. Each man has his sword at his side, against alarms by night."[32] The Holy Trinity helps us give a proper reason for the three psalms, for under its protection Compline brings the day to a close. For just as Prime, as indicated above, is dedicated to faith in the Blessed Trinity, so Compline, too, concludes with an assertion of belief in the Trinity. And as the course of the whole day is dedicated to serving in its honor, so too with reverence to the Trinity we close the day when light has fled.

(15) Thus we have succinctly put together some ideas on the daytime service of the hours that it might become clearer why they were instituted and why they are said with their

29. On which, see P. Palazzini, "San Pier Damiani s. Mariae virginis camerarius," *Tabor. Revista di vita spirituale* 24 (1958), 900–918, esp. 913 n. 35.
30. For Damian's thought on the end of the world, see his Letter 20.
31. Lk 1.46.
32. Cant 3.7–8.

fixed number of psalms. Therefore, whoever daily devoutly offers to God these seven offices of the canonical hours, if he be altogether free from grave sin and, so far as human frailty allows, has with the help of God's grace abstained from the seven slight sins mentioned above, he will, I am sure, be absolved in the scrutiny of the dread Judge from those which he cannot avoid. And because he has not now neglected to offer his Creator the service enjoined on him, he will then be able with a clear conscience and a ready plea to sing along with the blessed David: "Seven times daily I praised you, O Lord my God, do not destroy me."[33]

(16) Since the trumpet of the Gospel calls us to perseverance in continual prayer with the words: "We should pray continually and never lose heart";[34] and since the apostle says: "Pray constantly";[35] so that ecclesiastical discipline might fulfill this command not only by day but also throughout the night, it was carefully provided that nightly Vigils be kept with 12 psalms. It would have been difficult for the sick or the pregnant, or for everyone of various ages or sexes to rise at stated hours of the night and hasten to the Church, as is done during the day. Therefore, that the Church in her prudent teaching might temper the burden, she carefully decreed by a dispensation of high wisdom that the recitation of the psalms during Vigils should run to twelve in keeping with the number of hours in the night. So, after a fashion, the whole night seems to be spent in prayer as we recite the same number of psalms as the night has hours. The prophet referred to the night office when he said: "At midnight I arise to praise you."[36] And still, all of these eight offices which we have described may be distributed equally well so that four seem nicely adapted to the night and four to the day. In this sense Vespers, Compline, the night office, and Lauds are appropriately referred to nighttime, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None agree to daytime. The very names of Vespers and Prime seem to agree with this statement, since Vespers is

33. Cf. Ps 119.164; Ps 28.3.
34. Lk 18.1.
35. 2 Thess 5.17.
36. Ps 119.62.

named for the evening star that shines at the beginning of nighttime,[37] while Prime, by the very fact that it is so entitled, means the first hour of the day. And since Vespers signals the beginning of night, and Prime the day, it follows that the one serves as the start of the night offices and the other, the offices of daytime.

(17) This, then, is the double chariot in which holy Church now rides as she speeds toward the heavenly kingdom. In this chariot she pursues her journey by night and by day, joined now in the praise of God with those who are called: "The chariots of God, more than ten thousand."[38] Later, she will see him face to face and enjoy the society of those of whom the prophet speaks: "For they never stop day and night in singing: Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Hosts; he who is, who was, and who is to come, the almighty."[39]

(18) Therefore, although the whole life of the virtuous man may reasonably be called a prayer; still, even we who are weak are rightfully confident that we fulfill the command of always praying if we daily perform these canonical offices instituted by the Church. In France, as I learned from a certain man's report, it happened that certain zealous fathers among the monks, seeing that many of the brethren were exceeding the rule of eating set down by St. Benedict,[40] and were not able to confine themselves to the daily measure prescribed by the *Rule,* took care to provide that additional psalms were added to the established hours of the office, so that by increasing the number of psalms, the monks might compensate for being remiss in their excessive eating.[41]

(19) But here, perhaps, you will say with some irritation: "What have I to do with the *Rule* of the monks? How does it benefit me to learn of things that are not worth knowing?" Yet he who undertakes to examine a certain subject must sat-

37. Isidore, *Etym.* 3.71.19. 38. Ps 68.18.

39. Rev 4.8; Is 6.3. For the several variants from the Vulgate in Rev, see Sabatier 3, 1000.

40. *Benedicti Regula* 39.108. On Damian's critical remarks about the practice of fasting at Cluny, see PL 145, 859A. For Damian's awareness of monastic practices in France, see Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico* 128.

41. Such provision is not found in the *Regula Benedicti.*

isfy not only the individual to whom he is writing, but must explain the matter by examining all its parts, lest while one finds the food he desires, another, in frustration, leaves the table with an empty stomach. Therefore, my noble and prudent man, never allow yourself to forget these offices instituted by the Church, and do not in your preoccupation with any of the affairs of this world pass up this certain remedy for your soul. For if you can attend the office in church, or when chanted by a priest, all is well; otherwise, if you are riding on horseback, or perhaps are engaged in work in the fields or in any other enterprise, while you work, in your travel, pay in kind your dues to the Lord with that commodity which is at hand. Thus, if there are psalms to say, say them; if only one, repeat it as the law prescribes. But if you are illiterate, you can satisfy your desire by merely reciting the Lord's prayer.[42] Therefore, my dear friend, do not consider these offices of Christian service as an onus, but as a duty, and do not judge them as something voluntary, but as completely necessary. And as you profess to be a Christian, sign yourself with the cross and do not cease from daily calling on the name of the Lord, do not dare to omit these practices even though obstacles should stand in the way.

(20) But that you might more readily comply with this helpful advice, I will tell you briefly what I heard while recently on my way to visit you. A certain man was living in the outskirts of Fano, at the third mile stone from the walls, a man of middle class fortune. Hearing by chance that I was in the vicinity, he hurried over and, among other things, privately told me that he and his wife were living in chastity. Now a certain monk, indeed it was his uncle, told him that his wife had once belonged to him. The monk, however, in his utter simplicity used also to call many strangers his relatives. At that, the man gladly received this news and said thoughtfully: "It is really better to shine with the brightness of chastity than to be always trembling in fear of doubtful incest." And so,

42. Perhaps an anticipation of the norm for lay brothers in the *Regula bullata S. Francisci* 3, ed. H. Boehmer (1961), 21.

this man, whenever possible, never readily omitted the canonical hours and the Church's services. For many years it was his custom on the principal feasts to visit the monastery of St. Paternianus which was located near the city walls, and there to attend the night offices.[43] He is so constant in this practice that neither heavy rainstorms would hold him back nor would harsh winters restrain him. Often, moreover, evil spirits shout at him when he is on his way, trying to terrify him, and they bellow forth horrible sounds, but never appear in any bodily form.

(21) But about a year ago, one night as he was walking to the monastery I mentioned, wolves and dogs and various monstrous wild animals suddenly came at him in a pack, and howling and barking all around him, tried to seize him with their rabid mouths. But finally, just able to avoid their teeth, he escaped without his coat and hat. The bells for the night Vigils had not yet sounded, and when he arrived and found the door of the monastery still locked, he threw himself at the entrance and prayed. After quite some time in prayer, he at length got up and was greatly surprised to find his coat and hat he had lost lying there beside him. Whether this was done by the angels, or whether that cruel robber, the devil, had been forced to return what he had taken, is not certain. But I believe, and not without reason, that the evil enemy was compelled to restore what he had taken and, to add to his chagrin and confusion, was forced to serve him whom he had harmed.

(22) Another time, this same man of whom I speak, was going to the same monastery in the dead of night, and coming to a stream that intersected his way, called the Argilla, could not cross because the river was then in flood. At once he began to pray, and when he was finished a marvelous thing

43. On this exemplum, see G. Miccoli, "Per la storia della pataria milanese," *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 70 (1958), 43–123, esp. 109f. n. 5; Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 169f.; Laqua, *Traditionen* 186. It is generally thought that the monastery of St. Paternianus was erected in 1047, but since Damian states that for years this layman had visited the monastery, its founding must have been earlier than 1047.

happened: he found himself transported to the opposite bank. I have related these events in turn, my prudent friend, that it might be quite evident how provident Almighty God is to those who reverently attend the Church's offices. Your prudence should be ashamed to neglect saying the canonical hours after hearing how this holy rustic took part in them with such honor. Moreover, he whose spirit burns a little more fervently with the love of God will also go so far as to find time daily to attend the hours of the Blessed Mother of God. And since this seems to be the right occasion, I will not be adverse to writing what I also learned from the account of one of my brethren, if it does not displease you to listen.

(23) There was a certain clerk who was guilty of many sins, having especially defiled himself with sins of the flesh. At length, overcome by sickness and being near death, he began to be afraid as he suffered from fits of trembling, and as his conscience accused him, was filled with fear of God's judgment. Finding no hope for himself from any good works, he suddenly turned to the Blessed ever-virgin Mary and begged for help, taking refuge under her protection, and begging her with an anxious soul in words something like the following: "I know very well, O blessed Queen of Heaven" he said, "that in many ways I have offended you, and in my body have violated the seal of chastity and virginity, of which you are the mother. I have also involved myself in countless kinds of sin, and am not worthy to call on you, the sovereign of all purity, with my polluted lips. But, O gate of heaven, window of paradise, and true Mother of God and man, you are my witness that 'seven times a day I praised you,'[44] and although I am a sinner, although I am unworthy, I did not cheat you of any of the canonical hours in your honor.[45]

44. Ps 119.164.

45. On the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, see Letter 166. Its beginnings reach back to the middle of the tenth century; see E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica* (1918), 225, 230–237; J. Stadlhuber, "Das Laienstundengebet vom Leiden Christi in seinem ma. Fortleben," *Zs. für katholische Theologie* 72 (1950), 282–325; Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 158, with additional literature. Damian himself composed hymns and prayers for this office: *Carmina*

(24) Just as the cleric had finished his prayer, the loving Mother of God appeared as he lay there, and gently comforting him, declared that through the generosity of God's mercy his sins had been forgiven. I tell this story with some trepidation because I am not sure from my source that it really happened. But of this I am certain, that whoever strives to recite these hours daily in her honor will have the mother of the Judge as his helper and advocate in his day of need.

(25) And so, my dear friend, often read through this awkward and unlettered little piece, and observe its message rather than how it was delivered. Or, rather, if I might put it so, do not look for pleasure in the stem or the leaves of my words, but look rather to their pithy meaning. Always demonstrate your devotion to God by reciting these hours and strive to be diligent as you try in other ways to lead a holy life. If now you bend the neck of your heart like a slave bearing God's light yoke, you will later in glory enjoy your share of the heavenly inheritance among God's sons. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

48–60 (PL 145, 935ff.); without the readings, the office is edited also in Lokrantz, *L'opera* n. 37–42, 124ff. See also J. Leclercq, "Fragmenta Mariana," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 72 (1958), 292–305; Roschini, *La Mariologia.*

LETTER 18

Peter Damian to the members of his community at Fonte Avellana. With a fine historical sense, Damian records for later generations of his monks the rules and customs in vogue while he was prior. He thereby stimulates the present community to continue their fervor and attempts to forestall future laxity which ignorance of former observance might engender. He appends a valuable list of improvements in the physical plant of the hermitage, especially the enlargement of the holdings of the library.

(1045–ca. 1050)[1]

AS I CAREFULLY NOTE the fervor of your way of life,[2] dear brothers, I attribute it to no amount of human effort, but rather I give thanks to him, who for his own loving purpose, "provides both the will and the action within you."[3] He, indeed, is the source and origin of virtue, it is he who inspires good will. And who should wonder that he gives strength to the frail vessels of your bodies that you might bravely carry the cross after him, since it is he who wondrously balances the contents of all the world's granaries in fragile ears or stalks? See how mighty buildings made of weighty stone often fall to the ground, and yet the winged sheaths that hold each grain, supported on their fine stems,

1. On the date, see Neukirch 94; Woody, *Damiani* 197, dates this work for ca. 1058.

2. A study of this work, especially comparing it with the later Letter 50, was undertaken by Della Santa, *Idea monastica*. For a critical review of this work, see S. Boesch Gajano, *Studi medievali* 3ª serie 3 (1962): 626–632 and Pierucci, *La vita eremitica* 108–122. In general, see Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 104ff.; Leclercq, *Pierre Damien* 43ff.; also Petrocchi, *Note*; Miccoli, *Théologie*; A. Giabbani, "L'insegnamento monastico di s. Pier Damiano," *Vita monastica* 64 (1961), 3–18; G. Zimmermann, *Ordensleben und Lebensstandard* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benedictinerordens 32, 1973), 563.

3. Cf. Phil 2.13.

do not succumb. Why should we marvel, I say, that he gives stamina to the limbs of his servants, since it is he who suspends the wines of every region in the world within the thin skin of grapes? And that which often overflows after much hard labor had confined it in casks, is held without loss in a very thin membrane like some trustworthy container. And what is more, the juice that often escapes drop by drop from the cask is preserved in the grape and does not diminish, but rather increases through daily growth.

(2) Who can properly describe the greatness of God's work, when in both a stand of grain and a cluster of grapes he seems to hide the granaries of the great and the storehouses of kings? Notice the leaf on the tree, trembling in the winter cold, and having consumed all the green it once had during the fine days of autumn, is now about to fall.[4] It is scarcely attached to the branch on which it hangs and shows all the signs of its gentle downfall. The winds howl, gusting this way and that, and the winter cold grows deeper under the pressure of the dense air. And to add to our wonder, the ground is strewn with all the other fallen leaves, and the tree, having lost its foliage, stands shorn of its beauty. But this leaf alone remains with all its companions gone, and like a last heir succeeds to the fraternal inheritance. What are we to understand from this meditation, but that not even a leaf on a tree dares fall to the ground but that God wills it so?

(3) So why should we marvel that while most of the monastic order is decaying,[5] Almighty God, who fixes the leaves of his choice to the tree while others are falling, should strengthen some of his servants to bear the burden of various afflictions? And so blessed Job, that observer of divine power, had every right to say: "His works are great, beyond all reckoning, his marvels, past all counting."[6] Wherefore, I give

4. On Damian's reference here to the "eschatological foundations" of the monastic and eremitical life, see Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico* 129.

5. On Damian's lament over the decay of monastic life, see Palazzini, *S. Pier Damiani eremita* 72; the same work appeared somewhat earlier under a slightly different title: "Spiritualità eremitica di S. Pier Damiani e dei suoi discepoli a Fonte Avellana," *Divinitas* 16 (1972), 358–388, esp. 354.

6. Job 9.10.

boundless thanks to my Creator who wished me to have this office of unworthy service in a community small in number but one that counts good men.[7] It is not necessary that I lead the way for such men in returning to our fatherland, but only to rejoice if I am able to keep up with the footsteps of my brethren. Thus does the fruit of a straitened abundance seem to repay me with a harvest that I could not gather anywhere else in this wide world.

(4) But now, my brothers, I should like to relate briefly a few things about the type of life you lead, so that what one can now[8] read in your living deeds may also be handed down in writing for the information of those who will come after us in this place. If it should not be that they will climb to higher things, they may at least learn the rule of life that you observed and may faithfully strive to follow it. Indeed, those who will come after us in this home of ours will also be heirs of our way of life. What a shame it would be if what they see written down in detail about the regular observance of their home should at some time be lost through their failure to imitate it. Now in this place that is called Hazelnut Spring,[9] there are usually twenty of us monks, more or less,[10] dwelling in cells or in livings assigned to each, so that altogether, counting the lay brothers and servants,[11] the number comes to about thirty-five. The way of life in our time is the following.

(5) From the octave of Easter until Pentecost you fast[12] four days a week, except Sunday, about whose dignity no one doubts, and Tuesday and Thursday, when two meals a day are taken. As you know, at that time monks are not forbidden

7. On this observation, see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 9; Palazzini, *S. Pier Damiani eremita* 76.

8. On the significance of the word "now," used here, see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 10 n. 41.

9. The place name given by Damian is Fons Avellani, having the literal meaning used in the text. The modern place name is Fonte Avellana.

10. On this number, see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 65ff.

11. See K. Hallinger, "Woher kommen die Laienbrüder?" *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* 12 (1956), 1–104, esp. 32–37; Tabacco, *Vita beati Romualdi* 16 n. 1.

12. See Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico* 160.

to fast by authority of the sacred canons. From the octave of Pentecost to the feast of St. John,[13] the fast is observed on five days with this arrangement: on Tuesdays at 3:00 P.M. you have a warm meal, and on Thursdays you take a second meal. But from the feast of St. John to 13 September two meals a day are had on Tuesdays and Thursdays, but on the other four days the fast is observed in the usual way. From the middle of September, however, until Easter the fast is observed five days a week without interruption, except that, when necessary, compassionate relief is always provided for brothers who are sick and suffer from irregular humors. No one should rashly accuse me of lying, for he should bear in mind that I am not speaking to strangers, but relate these things to those who are present and know the facts first-hand. I would certainly be properly ashamed were I, with their knowledge, devoted to the fabrication of deceit in the midst of the disciples of truth.

(6) For even though I must tell the whole story and not cheat those who will later hear of these things, I would rather, with due regard for the truth, leave them an account of what actually is, than boast with idle persuasion about things nonexistent. So now, regarding the two 40 day fasts that precede both the birthday of the Lord and the holy feast of Easter, even though I say nothing about them, you know, however, that there are some here who, except on Sundays, are accustomed to pass the period of these two Lents[14] in total fast, excluding the three solemnities, namely, of St. Andrew,[15] St. Benedict,[16] and the Annunciation of the Lord.[17] On other feasts, however, that are great but are not so important, whether they occur in Lent or during the rest of the year, the cellarer may, with some discretion and the approval of the prior, dispense extra food to those who live near the church, on feasts that have twelve lessons. Otherwise, those who live

13. 24 June.
14. Cf. Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 83.
15. 30 November.
16. 21 March.
17. 25 March.

in cells and recite only three lessons, since they never go out, observe the usual fast.

(7) We consider those to be fasting[18] who take bread with salt and water; when something beside these is added, the fast is not thought to be complete. Formerly[19] there were some here who would not eat a warm meal even on Sundays during both Lents, but out of reverence for the holy day I decided to forbid this practice. The servants[20] who live with us, however, usually observe the fast three days a week throughout the year. But during the two Lents they normally fast on four days, except for those who are sent on rather long trips. As you know, for some time we abstained from wine,[21] so that neither the lay brothers nor those who came here as guests drank anything but water, even on Easter. We had wine here only for Mass. But when those who were here began to grow weak from illness and some who wished to enter the hermitage were wholly deterred by this rigorous practice, I agreed to yield and granted relief to the brothers', or to be more truthful, to our common weakness, and allowed wine to be drunk here in moderation. Thus, since we could not totally abstain along with John, we might at least strive with Paul's disciple Timothy to minister soberly and humbly to a sick stomach;[22] and since we are unable to practice total abstinence, we should at least try to be sober. Still, during the two Lents I mentioned it remained the custom[23] that neither monks nor lay brothers are permitted to drink wine or eat fish. During these same Lents, moreover, only one warm meal[24] is allowed, excepting these four feasts, that is, St. Andrew's and St. Benedict's Day, Palm Sunday, and Maundy

18. See Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 52; Tabacco, *Vita beati Romualdi* 28 n. 1, 29 n. 6.

19. See Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 118; Capitani, *L'Istituto eremitico* 142.

20. Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 66f.

21. On the use of wine, see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 117f.; Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico* 140f.

22. Cf. Lk 1.15; 1 Tim 5.23.

23. See Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 69.

24. Cf. Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico* 160, where he compares these remarks with Letter 50.

Thursday, on which sacred days fish and wine are gratefully taken.

(8) On Holy Saturday, however, and on the vigil of Christmas, that the burden of liturgical duties might be lightened, those who wish may eat the full measure of bread;[25] but both lay brothers and monks abstain totally from all other food. Only three octaves in the year are celebrated during which no one is compelled to fast, namely, those of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. But some, since they are not accustomed to it and find it difficult to eat twice a day during the entire week, often humbly request and are granted permission to fast a little at their discretion. It is customary, however, for the brethren on all Sundays, except during the two Lents, to have two warm meals,[26] but on other days only one. And now this will suffice on matters of fasting.

(9) In the practice of other spiritual exercises, I fear to speak of the ever constant fervor, of the solicitude, and of the alert and laborious frequency, lest I appear irksome to those who, like me, are slothful and negligent, and incite them to some resentment against me. But this much I can say, that such diligence is displayed in genuflections, in blows with the discipline, and in other such practices, that when any penitent is enjoined out of fear of an untimely death to perform a given penance in this fashion, he finishes a long penance in a brief time with this customary proviso, that if he lives on for many years he is not to abandon the fast. For one year of penance we usually prescribe three thousand blows of the discipline, or twenty-five psalters, or twenty-five Masses.

(10) Concerning the recitation of psalms, it is the custom here that when two of the brethren live together in a cell, they recite two psalters daily, one for the living and the other for the dead. The psalter said for the living is accompanied by additional prayers which blessed Romuald prescribed;[27]

25. One pound, as noted in *Benedicti regula*, c. 39.
26. Cf. Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 23, 120.
27. See Tabacco, *Vita beati Romualdi* 20 n. 5; and generally on the dependence of Damian on Romuald, see Pierucci, *La vita eremitica* 99ff. and G. Tabacco, "Privilegium amoris. Aspetti della spiritualità romualdina," *Il Saggiatore* 4 (1954), 324–343.

but that for the dead is recited together with nine lessons, namely, three for each fifty psalms. But when one lives alone, he daily recites the entire psalter for the living and a half or whole psalter for the dead as his strength will allow. The psalmody of the canonical hours is also recited here in its entirety just as in the monastery.

(11) Among other things, this should not be omitted: that it is our custom to observe continual silence[28] in the cells just as in the chapel. Nor is anyone allowed to speak there, even for confession, except it seem good to the prior, that the novices and their directors be allowed some little time for talk. But if the monks need to speak, they can make known their necessity on the way to the church.

(12) This too is a significant part of the penitential life:[29] that all year round, both in summer and winter, neither shoes nor stockings are worn in the cells; but it is the custom to go with bare feet and legs, except for those who suffer from more serious illness.

(13) In the monasteries[30] it is the rule that those who are commissioned to travel do not eat on the way if they hope to return the same day. To this observance we have added the following: if one should be out for one or two days, he is always to return fasting to the hermitage.

(14) In regard to other monastic practices, however, whatever is done in monasteries of strict and regular observance is also observed with careful attention and facility here: namely, the promptest obedience, that whatever is commanded is done most eagerly; of not giving or receiving anything without permission of the prior; not owning personal property; that when they are in the cloister near the church the monks observe silence, both on feast days and at all unsuitable hours; that in the chapter room, in the chapel, and in the

28. On the rule of silence, see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 88ff.

29. On which, see Palazzini, *S. Pier Damiani eremita* 79.

30. Cf. Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 87; on this agreement with the precepts of the *Benedicti Regula,* c. 51, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (1977), 133f., see Capitani, *L'istituto eremitico* 138 n. 32; also Giabbani, *Lo spirito*; Pierucci, *La vita eremitica* 102ff.

refectory they should not neglect regular custom; that they not speak with guests; that when going or coming from their cells to the church they do not violate the rule of silence; and many other such items which I omit lest I bore you with redundant detail. I will, moreover, pass over in silence the voluntary poverty, the rough clothing, the rigorous austerity of the cells, the strict rule of silence, and the love of perpetual claustration.

(15) One item that seems to exceed all the rest, one thing that may be said to surpass all the virtues of those who live here in holiness, is that there is such love among the brethren, such unanimity of will forged by the fire of mutual charity, that everyone considers himself born to serve all and not himself. What another has, is his possession; and what is his, he lovingly shares with all. This too, my brothers, is the source of no little joy for me, that if one of you appears to be ill, all will at once inquire about his condition so that he will not delay giving up his accustomed rigor, not only prompt in furnishing all his necessities, but also taking joy in offering yourselves as willing nurses.

(16) This too I should not pass over in silence,[31] that when one of our brothers dies, everyone fasts seven days for him, takes the discipline seven times, each with a thousand blows, performs seven hundred prostrations, chants thirty psalters in the usual manner, and celebrates Mass for him in particular for thirty days running. This regulation of our hermitage is never subject to any suggested variation, and this custom for the dead is always strictly observed as something that cannot be changed. Moreover, if any novice is perhaps prevented by death from completing a penance howsoever enjoined, as soon as this comes to the attention of the brothers, with great fervor they accept the whole penance and equally divide it among themselves, and no matter how large it may be, gladly finish it in a short time, using various methods of mortification. Blessed, indeed, are the riches of charity which they

31. See Palazzini, *S. Pier Damiani eremita* 91; on the notion of *metanea* = *genuflexio*, see Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 115 n. 31 and 157 n. 79.

freely offer not only for the living, but which they also expend for the dead. Blessed, I say, are the deeds by which we are here assisted through the bountiful generosity of others when our own efforts are insufficient; and when we are strictly required to discharge a debt without the means of doing so, the balance is paid from the abundance of fraternal charity.

(17) So let these few remarks suffice on the way of life that now prevails at this hermitage, so that one may gather from the things I have briefly discussed what should be thought of those that I passed over in silence. But now, my dear brothers, as I speak somewhat of your virtues while you are present, I am in fact fearful and at the same time I blush. I fear certainly to offend you; I blush lest I seem to have engaged in flattery. But by my conscience, I was led to write these things with every good intention and out of loving concern for the welfare of my brethren, writing what I did not only out of regard for you, but that I might also provide beforehand for those who will come after you. It was done that when you read these remarks you might strive to persevere in the good work you once began, and that the latter might learn from my writing what they must retain in imitating your example. For since, unless Divine Providence should think otherwise, I do not hope to have a grave for long in this place, I am no less solicitous for the future religious life of this hermitage than I am concerned for those who live here now. Wherefore, O prior, however many there may be of you who succeed me in the governance of this house, with tears I beseech you, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the terror of divine judgment I beg you in the name of God's majesty, that with those who are your subjects you do not deviate from the rule here now observed nor wander from the high road we now walk in this place. You should be ashamed to live degenerate lives and depart from the nobility of those whose successors you have become in this hermitage. God forbid that the wealth of divine service which was formerly paid from the revenue of this place appear reduced in your time, for he who at the ancient rate of payment leases his land to new farmers will demand an equal amount of work as his due.

(18) Therefore, take no delight in following the wide and spacious road, since you were commanded to enter by the narrow gate that leads to life.[32] The way that leads to heaven is indeed confined, but broad the road that plunges into hell. Do not choose to sink from the strict eremitic life into the laxity of the monasteries,[33] and abandoning the law of the spirit, give in to the enticements of bodily pleasure. The one, indeed, is good, but the other is better. To descend from better things to those that are good is to turn away from something higher in favor of that which is lowly, to retreat from the right road, to cool down from the ardor of one's spirit to a harmful tepidity, and thus little by little to fall from the heights into the depths of ruin.

(19) You who succeed me, should carefully inspect these few things that I have written here as a seal with which to stamp your manner of life and that of those that follow you. In your hands may its image never be defaced,[34] may its salutary form never wear away in your time from lack of care, lest, which God forbid, it issue in worthless counterfeit in place of proper coins. Certainly you are not unaware that a forging monnier,[35] convicted of producing false coins, is usually sentenced in court to the amputation of his hand.[36]

(20) But that there be no opportunity for excuse[37] in not observing these rules, I attempted, in keeping with the narrow limits of this little place, to acquire property that you

32. Cf. Mt 7.13.

33. On which, see Petrocchi, *Note* 248; Pierucci, *La vita eremitica* 71; G. Tabacco, "Eremo e cenobio," in: *Spiritualità Cluniacense* (Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spirtualità medievale 2, 1960), 326–335.

34. On an *image* serving as a *model,* see Laqua, *Traditionen* 17.

35. On the concept of the "forging monnier," see Woody, *Damiani* 264ff., with reference to the pejorative use of the word in Damian, whose usage is found in only one dictionary, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 8 (1936–1966), 1416, and in John Cassian, *Conlationes viginti quattuor,* ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (1886), 33, as Woody (270) has shown; see also Laqua, *Traditionen* 274 n. 31.

36. See H. Fuhrmann, "Konstantinische Schenkung und abendländisches Kaisertum," DA 22 (1966), 63–178, esp. 132 n. 187, with reference to the appropriate provisions of penal law in force in Italy.

37. Cf. Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 104; Palazzini, *S. Pier Damiani eremita* 95.

might be able to support the number of brothers I previously mentioned, unless you fail to care for its administration. I have also left behind a goodly number of books[38] so that our brothers, who I hope will pray for me, will have ample matter for meditation. In some haste, and therefore not too exactly, I strove to correct for you all the books of the Old and New Testament. By God's good pleasure and through our efforts there are many volumes for your free time, the Acts of the blessed martyrs, homilies of the holy Fathers, commentaries of those allegorically explaining passages of Sacred Scripture, namely, of Gregory, Ambrose, and Augustine, Jerome, Prosper, and Bede, Remigius and Amalarius, Haimo and Paschasius, that your holy spirits may grow not only by prayer but may also be enriched by reading. I corrected a number of these codices, according to my capacity, that I might open up for you the way to an understanding of the study of sacred theology.

(21) I also had a cloister[39] built by the church with this purpose, that if anyone is still delighted with the deep-rooted customs of the monastic order, he might have a place for the usual solemn processions on the principal feasts; and I also obtained a fine silver cross for processions there. With the same idea in mind, bowing to the weakness of the frail, I acquired bells,[40] and lavers, and various utensils for the house of God. I provided you with two silver chalices, beautifully gilded, that when you wished to receive the sacred mysteries of the Lord's body and blood it would never be necessary to put pewter or some baser metal to your lips. I also procured attractive coverings for the sacred altar[41] and precious vestments for celebrating solemn masses.

(22) All of these things I sought, my brothers, not without

38. See Vitaletti, *Inventario* 21 (1920), 119; Pierucci, *Struttura* 137; idem, *Inventari* 163f.

39. The reference here is not to a monastery; on which see Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 70ff.; see also Pierucci, *Struttura* 139.

40. On the sacristy at Fonte Avellana, see Pierucci, *Struttura* 136.

41. Pierucci, *Struttura* 136 notes that there had been only one altar in the church throughout its existence.

some effort,[42] that I might save you laborious exertion, and that your souls might be the freer to rise to greater heights, not burdened by a want of necessities and the need of providing for lowly things. Thus it is, dear brothers, whoever you may be who succeed me in living in this holy place, that I implore you as one who has provided for you even before you gained entry to this way of life; that in loving exchange you also assist me with your prayers after I am dead; and as I prepared for you a place suited to the religious life, may you supply me with the means of obtaining generous forgiveness. See, my brothers, I was once what you are now; I have completed the journey through which you are passing. What I have left behind is now at hand for you; you are now near to where I have come. Therefore, run through the short space of your mortal life, so that after frivolous things that are passing have disappeared, you may arrive at the good that follows and will last forever.

42. See Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 78.

LETTER 19

Peter Damian to John, the bishop of Cesena, and to Amelric, the archdeacon of Ravenna. He argues against the opinion of the civil lawyers who contend that marriage between relatives in the fourth degree of consanguinity is legitimate. Citing Roman law and conciliar decrees, he inveighs against their opinion as one that encourages incest.[1]

(Early 1046)[2]

The disputation of the humble monk, Peter Damian, on the degrees of relationship.

TO THE MOST REVEREND GENTLEMAN in Christ, John the bishop of Cesena,[3] and Amelric, the archdeacon of Ravenna,[4] the monk Peter the Sinner sends the homage of his proper service.

(2) As you know, I was recently a visitor in Ravenna,[5] which, I learned, was just then much disturbed by a scruple born of a dangerous error. There was, it seems, a great dispute over degrees of consanguinity, and the argument had gone so far

1. Later Damian somewhat modified his views in Letter 36.

2. On this date, see Neukirch 92. The dating for 1063, relying on R. Foglietti, *Sancti Petri Damiani ecclesiae doctoris autobiographia* (1899), 101f. n. 1, was accepted by Gaudenzi, *Svolgimento* 75f., and later by A. von Hove, *Prolegomena ad codicem iuris canonici* (Commentarium Lovaniense in codicem iuris canonici 1.1, 1943), 419, who depends on a document of Pope Alexander II, sent to the bishops and judges of Italy in 1063 (JL 4500). But this opinion must be rejected because the addressee, John of Cesena, held office only till 1053, and his successor, Desiderius, had already been appointed in 1057; see Schwartz, *Bistümer* 167f. Mittarelli-Costadone, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 128ff. date this letter for 1052, but there is no record of Damian's visits to Ravenna at that time.

3. On John of Cesena, see Letter 12.

4. The symbols D.D., used by Gaetani for the second addressee, are not found in the MSS. The name Amelric appears in MS Ch2 (Chigi) and could refer to the archdeacon Amelric, to whom Letter 77 was addressed.

5. On Damian's visit to Ravenna in 1044, see Letter 7, n. 6 and Letter 8, n. 5; also Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 67.

that the learned men of the city[6] came together and collectively replied to the request of couriers from the people of Florence,[7] stating that the seventh degree prescribed by the authority of the canons should so be understood, that marriage might now legally be contracted by counting four degrees in one descending line and three in the other. In bringing forward this preposterous and absurd allegation, they produced in evidence this statement that Justinian included in his *Institutes*: "A man may not marry his brother's or his sister's granddaughter, though she is in the fourth degree."[8] Now from these words they construe certain misleading arguments by saying: If my brother's granddaughter is separated from me in the fourth degree, it follows also that my son can be said to be in the fifth degree of relationship to her, my grandson in the sixth, and my great-grandson in the seventh degree. I argued verbally with those who were pontificating in these matters, and so far as I was able to make my point, demolished what I consider to be a budding heresy, using arguments from canonical authorities.[9] But since you were not quite satisfied with my effort, you thought it wise that I should set down in writing what I had orally stated, and that in a convenient abridgement I should answer, not just a few, but all of those who were swayed by this error.

That among those who are bound by the law of inheritance there exists no right to marry.

(3) As in all other affairs, so also in this case I happily comply with your wishes. But it seems to me that in this dis-

6. To this apparent reference to the law school in Ravenna, see Gaudenzi, *Svolgimento* 75ff.; for Damian's competence in canon and civil law, see Conrat, *Geschichte* 601ff.; N. Tamassia, "Le opere di Pier Damiano. Note per la storia giuridica del secolo undecimo," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 62 (1902–1903), 881–908; reprint in idem, *Scritti di storia giuridica* 2 (1967), 649–670; Palazzini, *Note* 248ff.

7. Conrat, *Geschichte* 601 supports the opinion that the jurists of Ravenna actually replied in writing to the request of the Florentines.

8. Iustinianus, *Institutiones* 1.10.3.

9. According to Conrat, *Geschichte* 602 n. 2, Damian first presented his arguments from Roman Law in this letter; see also J. Gaudemet, "Le droit romain dans la pratique et chez les docteurs aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 8 (1965), 365–380, esp. 370; Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 505ff.

pute nothing further need be added but what I consider to have been handed down by the elders. To all intents they have handled the issue so satisfactorily that if one look at the matter humbly, he need not investigate it any further. For what could be more clear than the statement made by Pope Calixtus: "We consider those related by blood whom the laws of God and of the state call blood relations, and accept them as heirs, who cannot be rejected."[10] Let us now inquire of judges who sit in court, who adjust affairs at law, and who devote themselves to scrutinizing legal decrees, whether failing closer relations, relatives in the seventh degree are admitted as heirs, or whether they are granted a guardian?[11] How do you allow the marriage with this presumed non-blood relative whose inheritance, however, you will admit by right of blood relationship? Why, moreover, is such an elaborate diagram described in the sacred canons,[12] in which not only above and below, but also from either side it ends at the sixth degree, if, as my opponents assert, the seventh degree is arrived at by enumerating three degrees in one line and four in the other? For it was not the framers of the canons who forbade that a great-grandfather's great-grandfather be joined in marriage with a grandmother, who would be his female descendant in the fifth degree; nor the son to such a female descendant, to whom he would be a great-grandfather's great-grandfather. Indeed, the very nature of things does not allow the most distant person to be married with the lowest, even if it were not forbidden.

(4) But the holy doctors number the lineage of human blood relationship to so many degrees, in an effort to prevent

10. Burchard, *Decretum* 7.1: *Ex epist. Calist. papae* (PL 140, 779C); cf. Fuhrmann, *Fälschungen* 808. Ryan, *Sources* 24, no. 4 refers also to Regino, *De synodalibus causis* 3.60, 490f.; Berschin, *Bonizo* 87, n. 393.

11. Palazzini, *Note* 242 sees this reference to a legal guardian directed to Damian's own situation, when as a baby he was taken from his own mother.

12. Burchard, *Decretum* 7.28 (784f.); see Isidore, *Etym.* 9.6.28 Stemma II; on which see E. Champeaux, "La parenté fraternelle at la 'prima stemma" d'Isidore," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4, série 16 (1937), 1–19; idem, "Jus sanguinis: trois façons de calculer la parenté au moyen âge," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4, série 12 (1933), 241–290; Ryan, *Sources* 25, no. 5.

persons collaterally related from marrying within a predetermined degree. Otherwise, after one has in an orderly fashion reached the great-great-grandson, who indeed is the fourth person down from the son, and the great-grandson, who is the third, why does the list vainly proceed to enumerate further degrees if the authorities were aware that they were not related among themselves? Moreover, it would have been a waste of time and quite superfluous while describing the degrees of genealogy to include these extraneous persons who are not generally affected by the consequences arising from their close relationship. But since we notice that the lower degrees are named from the same point from which the higher degrees also obtain their names, namely, that the former are called son, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson, while the latter are named great-grandson's grandson and great-grandson's great-grandson; just as it is not permitted to detach generations from their progenitor, so also we consider it unlawful to separate blood descendants from one or the other side. For example, just as a great-grandson's great-grandson cannot be called a non-relative of the father, who is his great-grandfather's great-grandfather, neither also is he a non-relative to his great-granddaughter's great-granddaughter, who is a descendant in the same degree.

That after the example of the human body, consanguinity ends at the sixth degree.

(5) Now, all these degrees are related to their ancient origin so that they do not lose the new kinship with those who come from them in either direction, but that the process not go on *ad infinitum*, the holy fathers set an appropriate limit, namely, that so long as there are titles of succession, relationship should still endure. Hence, it became customary that the portrayal of consanguinity follow the form of the human body.[13] For as the body of man is endowed with six members below

13. According to Champeaux, *Jus sanguinis* 251 n. 1, 275, the lack of clarity in Damian's description is explained by his dependence on a picture of the human body.

and the same number above,[14] both of which are also named after their sides [sc., right and left]; hence also the sex, which is on neither side, is as it were the sixth, which indeed can easily be determined from the second fingers of the hands or from the second toes of the feet; so likewise this diagram of human succession comes to an end with six degrees, both above and below, and with those that are related, although for the sake of greater precaution a seventh generation is added to them. Hence, whoever would wish to abrogate the rights of those who descend from one on either side down to the last degree of relationship, must also admit that the members on the righthand side of a man do not belong to the members on his lefthand side.

(6) To illustrate more clearly what we have just said, whoever decides that a grandson in the fifth degree is free of the bonds of relationship with a granddaughter in the fifth degree, claims also that no common bond exists between the fingers with which I now write and the fingers of my left hand.[15] But the Apostle cries out against this false assertion, when he says: "For just as the body is one and has many members, nevertheless all the members of the body, though many, are one body."[16] Therefore, just as many members combine by participation in their total being, so that without blame they may be called one body; so also divers persons, who in common descend from a single progenitor, are without doubt of one stock.

Why in the beginning God created only one man.

(7) Under the direction of the Church, matrimonial law[17] was composed with such technical skill that the essential bond of mutual love among men might be preserved, that is, so that to whatever length the order of descent might be ex-

14. This observation on the diagram and on sex determination seems to be Damian's personal opinion. It is not based on Isidore.

15. Damian was right-handed, and contrary to his custom wrote this treatise without dictation.

16. 1 Cor 12.12.

17. Damian speaks of "matrimonial law" also in *Sermon* 17.1 (Lucchesi, CC CM 57 [1983], 92).

tended, a mutual love of neighbor should be provided from the very connection of relationship. But since in the absence of technical terms it is impossible to determine the nature of relationship, the laws of matrimony immediately step in and call back the one who has gone afar as if he were a fugitive and restores the rights of ancient love between new men.[18] Nor should we marvel that love be brought into the discussion of begetting men,[19] since at creation God, the maker of all things, seems to have provided for this. For at the very dawn of nature's beginning when of each living thing he created not one but many, as it is written: "God created the great sea monsters;"[20] and a little later it says: "Let the earth bring forth cattle, crawling creatures, and beasts of the earth according to their kinds;"[21] he then made man, not many of them but only one, and from his side took a rib from which he formed a woman.[22]

(8) But why was almighty God content while creating several of other kinds of living things, to make only one man from whom, indeed, like a potter in want of clay, he decided to generate the female sex, except to demonstrate the value of love and to join them in the bond of mutual love, so that in keeping with their very origin, they who are demonstrably from one and the same body should never go their separate ways. And to this point Paul says: "There is one body and one spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call."[23] But as the race was extended and the bonds of relationship grew weaker, the flame of love, deprived, as it were, of its kindling, grew cold as the result of human depravity. Therefore, to restore the flickering fire of mutual love, the contract of marriage was thereupon introduced. For since earthly time evolves through six ages and the life of

18. Burchard, *Decretum* 7.10 (781CD): *Ex dictis sancti Isidori,* using the *Poenitantiale Martenianum,* c. 29: *Dicta Isidori,* ed. F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abenländischen Kirche* (1851), 288. The source is Isidore, *Etym.* 9.6.29; see Ryan, *Sources* 25, no. 6.

19. Damian here gives evidence that his theology considered mutual love to be one of the primary purposes of marriage.

20. Gen 1.21.

21. Gen 1.24.

22. Cf. Gen 2.21–22.

23. Eph 4.4.

man is also so bound, the very force of nature provides that familial love asserts itself up to the sixth degree of kinship and gives forth, as it were, an odor of an innate association among them.[24] But where the power of blood relationship which drew the captive it had taken fails, the grappling-hook of marriage is at once at hand to retrieve the fugitive.

That those who possess the rights of inheritance are also the subjects of blood relationship.

(9) Passing over other topics in silence, I marvel that lawyers can be so foolish that, with the diagram before them, they should seem half blind in counting degrees of kinship. Indeed, while construing the fourth degree of relationship into the eighth, they are not aware of what their own laws dictate in this matter. But that we might more readily conclude what we have been saying, let us compare the sacred canons with these same secular laws. The council of Meaux has this to say: "We decree concerning kinship by blood that it be observed throughout the degrees of relationship down to the seventh generation. For the inheritance of property also has been declared by law to extend to the seventh degree in the succession of heirs. They would not indeed succeed unless it was due them by reason of their descendance by blood."[25]

(10) Therefore, according to the express decree of this synod, to him who has the rights of inheritance belongs also close relationship by blood. They would not, as it is said, succeed to inheritance unless they belonged to the blood line. But here, perhaps, someone might respond that what is commanded in these words concerning the observance of the seven degrees pertains in no way to those who are in collateral

24. For a comparison of the six degrees of kinship with the six ages of the world, see Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 15.16; Isidore, *Etym.* 5.38 and 11.2.

25. Burchard, *Decretum* 7.16: *Ex concilio Meldensi,* c. 7 (782BC). Also in Gratian, *Decretum* C 35 qq. 2, 3 c.1: Gregorius papa in concilio Meldensi (but actually of unknown origin); P. Fournier, "Études critiques sur le décret de Burchard de Worms," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit Français et étranger* 3 (1910), 41–112, 213–221, 289–331, 564–585, esp. 322; JE 1977; Ryan, *Sources* 26, no. 7.

relation, but rather to those who descend by direct line from the original progenitor. But if in advance written law were to fix the limits of inheritance or of marriage for such persons, it would surely be defining an infinite process within its narrow limits, according to the testimony of Justinian, who says: "Marriage cannot be contracted by persons related as ascendants and descendants; for instance, father and daughter, grandmother and grandson, and so on *ad infinitum*."[26] Therefore, it remains for us to understand that for persons who derive collaterally, we must observe seven generations.

An assault on the lawyers whom he sues at their own law.

(11) So now[27] let us inquire about the descendants from two full brothers. At what degree can they succeed one another as heirs? Judges, I again address you and sue you at your own law. And now I speak to you lawyers and inquire of you who scrutinize the laws and plead at court: can one who is a descendant of one brother in the sixth degree rightly succeed to the inheritance of him who is related to the other brother also in the sixth degree? Surely, to this question it is impossible to reply in the negative, since in our case, if one of the two dies intestate and no closer relative is living, the other by law is declared his heir. And that you yourselves may be compelled to approve what I say, may I again produce evidence from your *Institutes*. For there it says: "Male agnates have reciprocal rights of succession, however remote the degree of relationship."[28] And a little further on: "Males, however, could succeed to their female agnates, however distant the connection."[29] If, therefore, reciprocal rights obtain, no matter how remote the degree not only linearly but also collaterally; and, as was said before, since one cannot succeed to a deceased person unless it be evident that he is related, it is

26. *Institutiones* 1.10.1, 4.

27. Palazzini, *Note* 248f., makes the point that Damian in this discussion confuses cognates and agnates.

28. *Institutiones* 3.2.3, 30; on this and the following references to the *Institutiones*, see Palazzini, *Note* 259.

29. *Institutiones* 3.2.3, 30.

quite absurd and disconcerting to state that those who are related to true brothers in the fourth degree may marry, since those who come after them do not as yet lose their rights of inheritance. One right cancels out the other; so that it would be illegal for a man to marry her whom he can succeed as heir, and on the other hand, one ceases to be an heir to her whom he may legally marry.

(12) But perhaps you are maintaining that even the fourth degree, which in your calculation is the eighth, can properly be termed a very distant degree. On this point, please go back to your books and refresh your memory on whether descent is bound by this limitation because, perhaps, you have forgotten. For in the above mentioned work the same Justinian says: "In this place too we should observe that a person who claims as an agnate can be admitted to the inheritance, even though ten degrees removed from the deceased."[30] Since, therefore, it is obvious that no one is admitted to succeed to an intestate unless he is legally related, how does one ten degrees removed rightly succeed to the inheritance of an agnate since, as you say, even one in the fourth degree may legally marry a person of like degree, just as if a person in the tenth degree were a close relative, while one in the fourth were a stranger? Even though it is evident from what was said above that those who are collaterally in the fourth degree are related by blood and are close relatives, let us also hear what a Roman council has decreed on relationship: "If a person marries one of his own relatives or one whom his relative has had as wife, let him be anathema."[31]

That generations which proceed from a person in both directions must be counted only once.

(13) These few remarks, I hope, ought to have been enough, if those with whom I am dealing, men accustomed to legal actions, knew how to be brief in debate. Therefore, let us review what we have reported above concerning the

30. *Institutiones* 3.5.5, 32.
31. Burchard, *Decretum* 7. 24 (783D); Regino, *De synodalibus causis* 2.187, 286f.; JE ante 2159; Ryan, *Sources* 26, no. 8.

lawyers' allegation from their laws against us, namely, that one may not marry his brother's or sister's granddaughter, even though he is related in the fourth degree. While heaping up their arguments they often repeated these words and then by the process of deduction, assumption, and inference constructed various arguments that were pure sophistry. Being pressed, I replied with what at the moment came to mind. As you so often insist, I said, public law may allow this reckoning, which places a brother's or a sister's granddaughter in the fourth degree from her uncle or great-uncle, or a son of this uncle or great-uncle, as you claim, in the fifth, and a grandson in the sixth, while his great-grandson is reckoned to be in the seventh degree from the aforesaid granddaughter. But the sacred canons do not allow this. Indeed, divine law never counts twice those offspring that come from one progenitor in the family by different lines. But even though many descendants issue in various directions, if they are to be considered together, they are to be included in a single generation.

(14) But since our elegantly urbane contention is with lawyers, let us also bring forward a lawyer to testify for us. I call on Moses, who is an irreproachable legal specialist and one uncommonly learned, whether in arriving at judicial decisions or even in promulgating the law itself. From the master, indeed, we learn what we should think about not despising the talents of the student. Let him come forward, therefore, and decide the dispute in which we are engaged. He says of Joseph: "He lived one hundred years," and then adds: "He saw Ephraim's children to the third generation."[32] If in reckoning generations he had agreed with our judges, with respect to Manasse, he would have counted Ephraim's descendants, not as the third but rather as the sixth generation. For this statement follows immediately: "The sons of Machir too, the sons of Manasse, were born on Joseph's knees."[33] Therefore, since the third generation of Ephraim and also the third generation of Manasse is not extended because of their relationship

32. Gen 50.22–23.

33. Gen 50.23.

to one another, but on the authority of Sacred Scripture each is simply called the third, by what authority and by what innovation in doctrine is modern affinity so divided that one may maintain that the great-grandsons of two brothers are eight degrees removed from one another? Also on the evidence of Moses, the Lord says to Abraham about his sons who would later depart for Egypt: "In the fourth generation they shall return here."[34] But if after the fashion of our judges the word of God had counted all the generations which returned under Moses' leadership from Egypt to the land of Chanaan, it would have spoken, not of the fourth generation, but rather of the thousandth, or certainly of some higher figure. This statement, moreover, taken from the Psalmist: "He has been mindful of the covenant of his holy one, which he made binding for a thousand generations,"[35] does not refer to the vast number of generations which live at the same time, but rather to those which succeed one another down the long ages. For if the prophet in this text meant us to understand the generations of one set of parents, there would be no day on which a thousand generations of the people of God could be found; and thus making his covenant binding for a thousand generations would be nothing more than giving the law to that people in which there were a thousand fathers.

(15) Of blessed Job, moreover, we read that "he saw his sons and his sons' sons to the fourth generation."[36] Now since Scripture does not say that Job saw his son's sons, that is, a single line descending from one progenitor, but his sons' sons, and that while he yet lived, all of them reached not to four generations but in the singular, to the fourth generation; it is perfectly clear that, by the authority of the Word of God the generations which derive from brothers are not to be divided but are counted as one. Similarly of Tobias it is also said: "And Tobias saw his sons' sons to the fifth generation."[37]

(16) Take note therefore, you judges, of what is said,

34. Gen 15.16.
35. Ps 104.8.
36. Job 42.16.
37. Tob 14.15.

namely, of the words "generation" and "his sons' sons." And observe, in consequence, that from sons' sons there are several descending lines, and in what is called a generation of which we speak, all are enumerated as if they were in just one line of descendants. It is clearly in accord with the idiom of Sacred Scripture that the offspring of several brothers are included together in this manner, as if the sequence of succession were composed of those descending from one man. But if I should wish to collect every reference here that can be found in the Sacred Books, it would be sundown before I ran out of examples. Take note, therefore, judges, that in counting incorrectly you oppose numerous witnesses from Sacred Scripture that file a counterclaim against you; and that in the process of introducing the filth of incest under the title of marriage, you are attempting to defile the stainless chastity of the Church. The vanity of worldly wisdom should blush and stop spreading the nettles of error in the pastureland of the Church; but by checking the arrogance of an evil disposition, you should humbly subject it to sacred authority. Nor should one forthwith believe that whatever the mind in its wanton desire for pleasure might suggest should in all circumstances be considered as sound interpretation, but rather what has been determined by the holy doctors.

In which he refutes his opponents with inevitable arguments.

(17) But after that inextricable statement of Justinian, by which a brother's granddaughter is said to be in the fourth degree,[38] a certain quick fellow, hot-tempered and glib, one keen of wit, cutting speech and fierce in argument, a Florentine, I think, insolently pressed me with the words of St. Gregory in which he ordered that the Angles be allowed to marry precisely in the fourth or fifth degree.[39] Even though,

38. *Institutiones* 1.10.3.

39. Greg. I, *Reg.* 11.56a, vol. 2, 335 (JE 1843); on the question of the authenticity of the so-called *Responsiones Gregorii I,* see H. Fuhrmann, *Fälschungen* 190 with further literature; Burchard, *Decretum* 7.19 (782f.); Hrabanus Maurus, *De consanguineorum nuptiis* (PL 110, 1093C); John the Deacon, *Sancti Gregorii magni vita* (PL 75, 101C); Regino, *De synodalibus causis,* Appen-

he said, the saint allowed this as a dispensing concession to a recently converted people, still if it were so very important to avoid consanguinity in marriage, the permission for such a union would never have been granted to such close relatives. It is obvious, therefore, that in this aspect of marriage he was of moderate opinion, for he did not deny these uncultured people permission to marry in the fourth generation. But let us compare both statements, that of Justinian with that of Gregory, and let us strike them together like two stones hurled at us from the enemy battle-line, so that from their impact a small flame may be ignited that might give light, I will not say, to our blind adversaries, but, with deference to the judges, to our dim-sighted and misty-eyed opponents.

(18) Listen, therefore, judges, and pay close attention to the words of both doctors and here in the church forbid the noise of the crowd to which you are accustomed in the public square or in the courts. Let the disordered chatter of factions not increase our dispute, rather, let it be resolved by the rational mediation of the attentive heart. Let us together call upon the Lord and let both parties say to him: "Arise, O God, judge your cause."[40] And now to proceed. Your authority Justinian states, as was frequently said above: "Your brother's granddaughter is four degrees removed from you,"[41] that is, you are first, your brother is second, his son is third, and his granddaughter is removed from you in the fourth degree. Therefore if this is the way it is, let us not weary ourselves any longer, in that we can find more closely at hand what we judge to be necessary in this instance.

(19) Consequently, as was said, since you are related to your brother's son in the third degree, it follows also that your daughter is related in the fourth degree to the same brother's son, with this proviso, as you insist, that degree and genera-

---

dix 2.2, 424; Ryan, *Sources* 26f. no. 9; on the source tradition in Bonizo, cf. Berchin, *Bonizo* 84 n. 363. Damian and Burchard vary from all other texts, which have third or fourth degree; only Regino has fourth or sixth generation.

40. Ps 73.22.

41. *Institutiones* 1.10.3, 4; 6.4, 32.

tion are one and the same. If this, indeed, be true, the whole matter of Gregory's permitting marriage in the fourth degree is nothing more than saying that the sons and daughters of two full brothers or two full sisters can marry. But where is it stated, which Gregory totally forbids, that a son and daughter of two brothers or sisters cannot marry? Or should we think that he contradicted himself by at once giving his permission for something he had just forbidden? Yet who but a madman would believe such a thing of Gregory? But let Gregory's style itself come before the court so that from his very words it may become clear whether he is consistent. "A certain law of the Roman republic," he says, "permits the union of the son and daughter of either a brother and sister, or of two full brothers or sisters. But by experience we are aware that offspring cannot issue from such a marriage. Whence it is necessary that the faithful may be lawfully married only in the fourth or fifth generation."[42] Notice that the very word order proves that the sons of full brothers are not in the fourth generation at the same time that they are legally forbidden to marry; and that by the same law they who are in the fourth generation are permitted to enter the bonds of matrimony. For if the sons of full brothers were in the fourth degree, what difference would there be in saying that children of full brothers should not marry, and on the other hand, people should come together in the fourth degree, except to say that cousins may marry one another and not marry one another? Indeed, this would be ridiculous rather than true to the original author's words. And so, after the venerable doctor states: "It is necessary that the faithful be given permission to marry only in the fourth or fifth generation," he added at once: "For one must absolutely abstain from marriage in the second degree, as we said above."[43]

(20) So now we have caused the stones hurled at us by an

42. See *supra*, n. 39.

43. This text is found in all the sources cited in n. 39, with the exception of Burchard. Ryan, *Sources* 27, no. 10 conjectures that Damian is here using John the Deacon, *Sancti Gregorii magni vita* 2.37 (PL 75, 101C).

enemy hand to strike one another, we have drawn sparks, and now have light. Let us go on our way by the light of the Lord so that darkness may not overtake us.[44] But if you should perhaps ask me how this statement of Justinian can be dismissed, it is of no interest to me. I leave you with your problems, for I do not presume to possess another's official skill.[45] But this much at least, as it pertains to me, I will not hesitate to say, that lower things do not always agree with higher, nor worldly affairs with those that are sacred, nor the human with the divine. For while Justinian asserts that a brother's granddaughter is related in the fourth degree, St. Gregory, as in the citation before us, calls the sons and daughters of two brothers or sisters, which indeed is a more distant and further removed relationship, the second generation.

That the seventh generation is not had in great-grandchildren.

(21) This also is of no little force, that the seventh and eighth generation is not attained, as you assert, by great-grandchildren of full brothers, because the sacred canons forbid "that so long as the line of blood relationship is known, or is remembered, no one may presume to take a wife from his own relationship."[46] And indeed we see some still living today who rejoice at being blessed with offspring from their grandchildren. You are of the opinion, therefore, that the old man whose offspring now run to great-grandchildren, may negotiate a marriage agreement with his full brother, also a great-grandfather, and give the latter's great-granddaughter in marriage to his great-grandson. Surely there is no need to exaggerate the absurdity of an idea that is so horrible and so contrary to nature itself. What line of descent lurks in such obscurity that at least among their kinsmen memory does not go back to the great-grandfathers, especially if the father of both brothers is still alive, the very circumstance we have

44. Cf. John 12.35.
45. See Palazzini, *Note* 236.
46. Burchard, *Decretum* 7.2; Regino, *De synodalibus causis* 2.263; Ryan, *Sources* 27 no. 11.

seen, he can have power over all these persons and by right can call them all his sons?

(22) Who ever heard of such a thing, that a father, no matter how far removed, should arrange a marriage among his children, and should join in matrimony those who are related to one another by brothers of whom he is the father? You should now take note that although you are children of the Church, you injure your mother by introducing rites of the synagogue; and while professing to be Christians, you anticipate the heresy of Antichrist. For it is known that when Antichrist comes he will teach men to observe Jewish rites and to prefer the ceremonies of the old man to the new laws of the gospel dispensation.[47] But you should not act in this way, and though the darkness of ignorance for a time surprised you, hasten back at once to the word of Sacred Scripture as a shining light, humbly divest yourself of the error of your opinion and as quickly as possible return to the road of correct understanding; that you who brandish the rod amid the multitude of pupils at school should not be ashamed to subject yourselves to ecclesiastical discipline; and that you, who as learned men argue cases in court, should be satisfied, as students, to listen to wisdom in the lecture hall of Christ. It is, indeed, an honorable thing for men who are accustomed to preside as judges in human affairs to appear unpretentious in mystical and spiritual cases. Wherefore, whoever you may be who wishes to reckon the degrees of relationship, do not add line to line lengthwise, as if you were joining warp to warp, but add persons descending in various lines in one count only; that is, you should not say that the four generations on this side and the four on that make eight generations, but rather that these persons are related to one another in the fourth degree.

47. On this reference to Antichrist's use of Jewish rites, see the passages in Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi,* ed. D. Verhelst, CC CM 45 (1976), 24 and 27; see also E. Lohmeyer, "Antichrist," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1 (1950), 450–457; J. van Ess, "Antichrist," *Lexikon des MA* 1 (1980), 705.

That common relationship is to be computed according to the degree of the preceding person.

(23) If, however, the lines are unequal, that is, if he is in the sixth degree and she in the seventh, and so forth, it seems to me that we must immediately go back to the preceding degree and by this examination determine that such persons cannot be married. For although one may himself exceed the limits of relationship, he does not seem to be free to marry her who is still bound by the degree-count in her own line. First, indeed, fulfill by all means the whole system of relationship and then we can talk about marriage contracts. But if someone should question this opinion, let him consult the Apostolic See. For I consider it more suitable by inquiry to learn along with others, rather than to teach in isolation from my own ignorance. In these matters, moreover, of which I am not sure, I judge it rash to encourage others. However, that we are to number a generation according to the preceding degree in the lines, is hinted at by the statement referred to above where the Lord promised to Abraham that in the fourth generation his sons were to be freed from Egyptian slavery.[48] If we are to consider the outstanding lines of the Israelites, namely, the royal and the priestly lines, the line of Levi was the fourth, while that of Juda was reckoned as the fifth. But since the word of God ordained the shorter line and not the longer, in my opinion he established, as it were, by his authority a rule for us in calculating generations; so that one should consider himself to stand with another in the degree in which the elder of his line is found.

That in counting degrees there must be more than one person.

(24) It should also be noted that in counting generations of relatives there must always be more than one person, for a generation cannot consist of one person. Only then can one speak of a generation when a child proceeds from its parent.

48. Cf. Gen 15.16.

And so that we may not have to seek further, that which we have at hand will suffice. Now Levi was the father of Caath; Caath of Amram, Amra of Aaron; Aaron was the father of Eleazar, Eleazar of Phinees.[49] With his father Levi, Caath went into Egypt, whereas Phinees entered the promised land. So, if you count from Caath to Phinees, you will find five persons. Yet, on the evidence of Sacred Scripture, we must say that there were four generations.

(25) Moreover, since Moses states in *Exodus* that the children of Israel departed from Egypt in the fifth generation, we may note the order of the Jewish tribe: "Juda was the father of Phares, Phares of Esron, Esron of Aram, Ara of Aminadab, Aminadab of Naason, and Naason was the father of Salmon."[50] Phares went to Egypt with his father, Juda, but Naason is described as the head of the tribe of Juda in the desert; his son Salmon entered the promised land. If we should therefore count back from Phares to Salmon, we notice that there are six persons, but according to Moses we count out only five generations. However, if one should object that the Mosaic number does not agree with that of which the Lord spoke because it refers to another matter, unless some higher mystery is involved, it suffices for the moment to know that both may be said to be true in reference to the various tribes spoken of above.

(26) Moreover, what we have said, namely, that persons exceed the degree, is clearly indicated in the diagram found in the canons, where it is stated that father and mother are contained in the first degree of the ascending line, son and daughter of the descending line.[51] Therefore, since father and son are placed in one degree, it undoubtedly follows that in the table of relationship persons exceed degrees. Since in this statement it is also said that "to these persons none others may be added,"[52] it is the same as stating: they do not derive from a collateral line. For to the grandfather and grandson,

49. Cf. Num 26.57–58.
50. Mt 1.3–4.
51. See *supra*, n. 12.
52. See *supra*, n. 39.

who are in the second degree, they are indirectly or collaterally related. Brother and sister are similarly not directly related to the great-grandfather and great-grandson, son and daughter of brother and sister, and in this way, all others. To these persons, namely father and son, others are not to be joined, since both form one degree and because of this no other persons like them can be found. The Psalmist also testifies to this when he says: "May his posterity meet with destruction; in one generation may their name be blotted out."[53] For him whose children he curses with destruction, he dooms their name to destruction in one generation. In these words he clearly stated that father and son are not two, but one generation and one degree. After these, however, there are certainly as many degrees as there are persons. Wherefore, in contracting marriage whoever wishes completely to avoid the seventh generation, must, I think, at the same time count nine persons on both sides: the eight namely who constitute the seven generations, and the ninth, the person who is to be married.

(27) But if, according to another plan, one chose to be satisfied with the sixth generation, we do not judge that a new authority be introduced into the ancient canons. But since some learned men[54] indicate that the sixth, while others state that the seventh generation is to be observed, this distinction in such matters is to be observed: if one begins with the sons, the count ends in the sixth generation; if from grandsons, it continues to the seventh. And thus the opinions of several are reduced to one, which, because of their literary form, seem to be in opposition.

53. Ps 108.13.

54. Burchard, *Decretum* 7.10; Isidore, *Etym.* 9.6.29; on Burchard's alteration of Isidore's text, see P. Fournier, "Le décret de Burchard de Worms," RHE 12 (1911), 451–473, 670–701, esp. 681; P. Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'église, Saint Isidore de Seville, son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (1929), 457f.; cf. *supra,* n. 18. Damian later changed his view on the notion that parents and children represent only one generation; see Letter 36. On his agreement with Bonizo, see Berschin, *Bonizo* 89 n. 390.

That at times the degree may differ from the generation.

(28) This moreover should not be left out, that in writings that discuss relationship, degree is not always the same as generation. Otherwise, Justinian would never have stated, as was said above, that a grandson of a brother is related in the fourth degree, especially since four generations can absolutely not be had when there are only four persons. A brother to brother relationship, moreover, does not constitute a generation since neither of them is born of the other. Hence it seems to me that the disputants whom we noted above are deceived by the ambiguity of the term, which at some times is found to mean generation, and at other times means only the place of a person. For it is just the same to say that a grandson of a brother is related in the fourth degree as to say that he is in the fourth place. Now these disputants of mine, as if even then they did not know how to calm down, were not ashamed to repeat with renewed invective the objection they were undertaking to make (not without a certain pompous spirit of contention), saying: You who draw such lengthy lines of relationship, tell us also whether a great-grandson's great-grandson has, as you assert, the right of kinship to a great-granddaughter's great-granddaughter by direct descent and are thus thought to be closely related. Are they cousins on the mother's side, or are they descended from a father's brother or from a father's sister? But if they are not to be joined by any such name, how are they relations at all if they are apparently not related to one another in name? To which I answered: If it is a matter of names, I said, it is often found that in some cases there is both closeness of relationship and a lack of a term for it.

(29) Now that we may prove what we say by the evidence of sacred authority, it is commanded in Leviticus: "You shall not have intercourse," it says, "with your wife's sister or with her daughter. Nor shall you take her son's daughter or her daughter's daughter, because they are her flesh, and such intercourse is incest."[55] Note that a step-father is restrained by

55. Lev 18.17; cf. *Biblia sacra* 2, 424.

divine law from having relations with the daughter of a stepchild of either sex, and still we do not have a name for the relationship they bear to one another. Do you think, therefore, that such persons should be allowed to marry contrary to divine law just because we cannot find a name to describe their relationship? Notice, moreover, that at the end of the sentence it is said that such intercourse is incest. Also in the decree of Pope Innocent we read the following: "No one may marry the widow of his wife's father, the widow of his wife's brother, the widow of his wife's son, or the widow of his wife's blood relatives through the third generation."[56] In all of these persons, moreover, titles of relationship are wanting, and still marriage with them is forbidden.

(30) But if you are still not satisfied with these arguments and are yet in a mood to oppose, from your own debating chambers I will snatch a defense to oppose your charges. Your Justinian again, after enumerating all six degrees of relationship, then added: "From what has been said it is easy to understand how we ought to calculate the remoter degrees also, namely, that as each person is born a degree is added; so that it is far easier to say in what degree anyone is related to some one else than to indicate his relationship by the proper specific term."[57] If, therefore, the lawgiver himself in this text reckons degrees of relationship while stating that proper titles are wanting, who should wonder that we do the same and assert that a bond of kinship exists between those for whom, nevertheless, terms descriptive of relationships are not available. But now let these remarks of mine about relationship suffice, so that my impoverished pen not exceed the limits of due brevity. Even so, I think, if one reads this carefully, the whole dispute which recently arose over this matter has now been laid to rest.

56. The same position is taken by Pope Julius: Burchard, *Decretum* 7.7: *Ex decretis Julii papae* (781A); also found in Gratian, *Decretum* C. 35 qq. 2, 3 c.12, Julius papa; JK 206; Ryan, *Sources* 28, no. 14, citing Anselm, *Collectio canonum* 10.35, ed. F. Thaner (1915), 503 n. 3, where Innocent's statement is found; see also Bonizo, *Liber de vita christiana* 9.24, ed. E. Perels (Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts in MA 1, 1930), 286.

57. *Institutiones* 3.6.7, 32.

An apology for the length of this little treatise.

(31) Someone might charge me with an undue extension of remarks, but the salvation of my neighbor is of such concern to me that I do not consider it wasteful to light a mighty bonfire to kill even a tiny venomous lizard if that were necessary for the people's safety. Nor do I think it useless to lavish water to extinguish a glowing ember by which a city might be burned to the ground. It may be inexpensive, to be sure, to pierce a warrior's chest with an arrow, but it is a difficult matter to extract it. Moreover, he who would accuse me of composing a redundant work should take into account those with whom I am engaged in dispute, and he will at once attribute to necessity what previously he ascribed to verbosity. Obviously I judged it imperative to write these things so that the cancer which daily grows larger as it creeps along may not spread its contagion through the vitals of the Church.

(32) But you, most worthy and venerable gentlemen in Christ, the very ones who commanded me to undertake this work, resist this stubborn error with all the authority at your command. Withstand this deadly disease like men lest its deadly leprosy spread through the body of the Church. Chastity, indeed, is a kind of special virtue that flourished among those faithful to God at the very beginning of the world, and with the passage of time always gradually expanded. Now, however, with the divine judgment close at hand, when men should be persuaded wholly to renounce the pleasures of the flesh, they are wantonly encouraged to enter incestuous marriages. Let episcopal authority, therefore, rouse itself against plagues of this kind and may the force of ecclesiastical discipline oppose this heinous temerity. Do not encourage the sinner, and allow no daring to remain to his pride. May the serpent of Moses[58] still continue to live in the Church of Christ, that it may swallow up the serpents of the sorcerers. Long live that prudence of the spirit that consumes the poison of carnal ingenuity, so that the severe judgment of the

58. Cf. Exod 7.9–12.

canons may restrain those whom an unbridled use of freedom has indulged; that the weight of the arguments presented may overwhelm those whom the vanity of reputation has exalted; that the breach in doctrine may not scatter those united in the faith. And so, indeed, by your effort may they return to the harmony of sound understanding, and after showing proper humility, may they make their peace with the Church in the spirit of unity. That done, may the old serpent forbear from spewing forth his poisonous doctrine that the Church of Christ may be able in the future to live intact in the splendor of her purity.

LETTER 20

Peter Damian to the emperor, Henry III. He praises the emperor for having deprived Widger, the former archbishop of Ravenna, of his see. The emperor should not heed the petitions emanating from Ravenna, inspired by Widger, asking for a restoration of the latter to his prelacy.
(After Pentecost 1046)[1]

WE GIVE BOUNDLESS PRAISE to Christ, the King of kings, because of your royal majesty's holiness and virtuous gifts,[2] of which we were aware from many reports and of which we have proof as evidenced not only in words but also in living deeds. Truly, in reference to the expulsion of Widger,[3] everyone lifts his voice in praise of his

1. For this date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 70. Pentecost in 1046 was on 18 May.

2. The opinions expressed by Capitani, *Immunità* 20ff. n. 44, suggested by Damiani's use of "invincible emperor" in elsewhere addressing Henry III before he was crowned, are unsupported because no MS contains an address for this letter. In the conclusion, however, Damian calls him "king."

3. Widger was deposed on 18 May 1046 at an imperial diet in Aachen. According to the excellent report of the judicial process by Anselm, a canon of St. Lambert in Liège, this action followed because Widger had for two years functioned as archbishop without having been consecrated; see *Ex Anselmi gestorum episcoporum Leodiensium recensione altera* c. 54, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 14 (1883), 115; G B. Borino, "Invitus ultra montes cum domno papa Gregorio abii," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 3–46, esp. 11 n. 20, tries to weaken the evidence of Anselm by referring to the present letter, a view opposed by F. J. Schmale, "Die Absetzung Gregors VI. in Sutri und die synodale Tradition," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 11 (1978), 55–103, esp. 62 n. 32. Borino, *L'elezione* 333ff. conjectures that Gregory VI had not consecrated Widger because the latter had been placed in office by Henry III. But opposing this position, see C. Violante, "La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica," 1 (*Studi storici* 11, 1955), 47f. and Capitani, *Immunità* 20 n. 44. In addition, Hermann v. Reichenau (*Chron.* 126) cites Widger's wretched administration, an opinion supported also by Damian in Letter 7. That this was a deposition and not a free decision to retire, is held by the *Annales Augustani*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 3 (1839), 126. That the king's action,

creator, the church is rescued from the clutches of a wild plunderer, and your well-being is hailed as the salvation of all the world.[4] "Let the heavens therefore be glad, let earth rejoice"[5] that Christ is recognized as truly reigning through his king[6] and that the golden age of David is restored just as the world is coming to an end.[7] It was he, indeed, I say, and no other, who, after making a whip of cords drove the dove-sellers from the temple,[8] and in the person of his king overturned the chair of Widger who was trafficking in the church. He, moreover, who once rejected the arrogance of the willful Saul,[9] has now crushed malice not unlike that of that ac-

---

about which Damian had no qualms, was not unopposed by contemporaries, is evident in the reaction of Wazo of Liège; on which see P. Funk, "Pseudo-Isidor gegen Heinrich III. Kirchenhoheit," HJb 56 (1936), 305–330, esp. 316ff., G. Tellenbach, *Libertas. Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 7, 1936), 124ff., and H. Hoffmann, "Von Cluny zum Investiturstreit," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 45 (1963), 165–209, esp. 182ff. See also Steindorff, *Heinrich III.* 1,295ff. and P. Kehr, "Vier Kapitel aus der Geschichte Heinrichs III.," *Abh. Berlin* 3 (1930), 31f. On the process involved, see Benson, *Bishop-Elect* 206ff. and Schmale, *Absetzung* 61ff.

4. On Damian's "laudatio" of the reforming initiative of this "imperial king," see Laqua, *Traditionen* 134ff., 277ff.

5. Ps 96.11; cf. Capitani, *Immunità* 22 n. 45.

6. On this engaging relationship of the king with Christ, see C. Schneider, *Prophetisches Sacerdotium und heilgeschichtliches Regnum in Dialog 1073–1077* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 9, 1972), 47 n. 132.

7. Damian also speaks of the end of the world in Letters 12 and 128. On applying the David-figure to a reigning prince, see H. Steger, *David Rex et Propheta. König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im MA, nach Bilddarstellungen des achten bis zwölften Jh.* (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach-und Kunstwissenschaft 6, 1961), 121ff., with extensive literature. On the golden age, see Laqua, *Traditionen* 269f.; on David's kingship, ibid. 277ff. The application of the David-model to Henry III is also found in a letter of Bern of Reichenau to Henry III at the end of 1044 or early 1045: *Brief* 27, ed. F. J. Schmale, *Die Briefe des Abtes Bern von Reichenau* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg A 6, 1961), 58. The association of the golden age with David seems to be unusual; see P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (1962), 236. Repeatedly in revisions of the sibylline prophecies that look to the end of the 11th century for fulfillment, Henry III is represented as the Reformer who will appear at the end of the world; see C. Erdmann, "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jh.," ZKG 51 (1932), 384–414, esp. 400.

8. Cf. Mt 21.12; Mk 11.15; Lk 19.45; John 2.15.

9. Cf. 1 Sam 13.14; 1 Chr 10.13–14.

cursed man. Even so, I would not wish my lord King to be unaware that this pernicious man has forwarded his pretentious letters to Ravenna; some, indeed, sent secretly to individuals, and others addressed to the whole church, in which he pledged himself to do everything they wished regarding church property. If they were disinclined to believe his words, he instructed his messenger to swear that his words were true. Consequently, I have no doubt that certain citizens of Ravenna will suggest to your majesty that he be permitted to return to his former see. Obviously, secular spoilers who seek to plunder the goods of the church wish for a bishop of a type that cannot stand in the way of their plundering.

(2) Most excellent lord, turn a deaf ear to their venomous advice and do not, for the sake of one man, tarnish the splendor of your reputation that is known throughout the world. If this man were again to function as a bishop, all hope that the people had built up will collapse, the joy of God's servants will be dissipated, and the wickedness of evil men that had begun to be afraid will gain confidence to dare still viler deeds. And so, invincible king, conclude what you began for the glory of God and the salvation of men, and in removing this thief promote a pastor in whom the church will rejoice.[10] May Almighty God, who granted you the governance of an earthly empire, guard you in promoting his justice all your days, and after the course of this mortal life bring you to the heavenly kingdom. Amen.

10. Hunfried, Widger's successor, had been a canon in Strassburg and chancellor for Italy. He was made archbishop by Henry III on the occasion of his coronation as emperor (Hermann v. Reichenau, *Chron.* 126), and was consecrated by Pope Clement II on 25 December 1046; see Schwarz, *Bistümer* 156f.

LETTER 21

Petrus Damiani to B⟨onushomo⟩ of Cesena, a judge. He exhorts the judge not to be overwhelmed by the good things of this world, but to meditate on eternal realities that will follow his death. Of special value is the thought of the last judgment with all its terrors, which he discusses with full reference to Sacred Scripture. His concern for the sentence of the divine judge will be a remedy for the faults he may have committed in this life.

(Before 1047)[1]

TO SIR B⟨ONUSHOMO⟩,[2] the most prudent judge,[3] from the monk Peter the Sinner, the bond of fraternal love.

(2) I am quite aware that when my letter gets into the hands of secular grammarians, they at once try to discover whether it contains the grace of an artistic style or the lustre of rhetorical elegance, and they search carefully for a necessarily deceptive chain of syllogisms and enthymemes.[4] Indeed, they look for the knowledge that breeds conceit and do not admire the love that builds,[5] yet according to Solomon: "The sayings of the servants of God must be like goads, and

1. On the dating of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 157.

2. The name of the recipient appears in the superscription of MS V1, but not in the address. Lucchesi, *Clavis* 45f. and 90f., believes this recipient to be the same person addressed in Letter 23, in that the beginning of both letters is similar. Cantin, *Sciences sécluières* 118 and 512, however, thinks that this similarity suggests rather the opposite. MS G1 identifies the B. in the address as Benedict. The *Collectanea* of John of Lodi identifies him as Bonushomo, and calls him a judge or advocate (*causidicus*). The content of this letter is similar to the unfinished Letter 22 that follows, addressed to a Bishop G. That Letters 21, 22, and 23 bear some relationship to one another is noted by Bultot, *Pierre Damien* 128 with n. 321.

3. On the title "judge," see Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 71 n. 62.

4. On Damian's attitude toward rhetoric and dialectic, see J. Gonsette, *Pierre Damien et la culture profane* (Essais philosophiques 7, 1956): 11f.; Cantin, *Pierre Damien* 188ff., and idem, *Sciences séculières* 70ff., 216f.

5. Cf. 1 Cor 8.1.

like nails driven home."[6] And hence these sayings are properly compared to nails and goads, because they usually prick the life of carnal men with sharp invective, and do not caress it improperly with the seductive ointment of soothing adulation. And so Christ[7] is my literature, he who for men's sake became man, and thus my letter is able to exude only that fragrance which promotes the edification of my brothers.

(3) Wherefore, my dear brother, while the world still smiles on you and you are still in good health, while earthly prosperity favors you, think about those things that will follow all this, and, as if the present were already past, this is what your prudence ought carefully to ponder, namely, what things are to succeed the present in time to come. With your closest attention consider all things transitory as having already passed away, and regard them as you would a deceptive and illusive dream. Your thoughts should revert to this point and should be carefully focused on the fact that whatever will happen later cannot pass away. What is more, you should now place before your eyes the terrible day of the last judgment, and consider in fear and trembling the suddenness of the coming of God's great majesty. Nor should you think that this day will be long in coming, since the prophet proclaimed it to be already at hand for an age long before ours, as if it were already at the door: "The great day of the Lord is near, it is near and comes with speed; the voice of the day of the Lord is bitter, there the warrior will be afflicted. That day is a day of wrath, a day of anguish and affliction, a day of calamity and misery, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of fog and whirlwind, a day of trumpet and battlecry."[8]

(4) Weigh carefully, my dear friend, with what severity the prophet sees this last day of judgment, growing in bitterness

6. Eccl 12.11. The Vulgate here has "the wise."

7. On the meaning of this usage, see Blum, *St. Peter Damian* 132 and Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 176. The Latin text has *grammatica*, but it is surely used here in a wider sense. See also Leclercq, *Pierre Damien* 176. Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 117 states that Damian's use of the word "grammar" would include the whole trivium. Similarly, Augustine, *De ordine* 2.12, ed. W. M. Green, CC 29 (1970), 127f., identifies literature and grammar.

8. Zeph 1.14–16.

about the hearts of the damned, an event he was hardly able to express with all his descriptive terms. For even if we were now to be silent regarding the pains of eternal damnation that will never end, and were only to examine the terror and the horror of this last day, the entire false and deceitful happiness of this world would be seen as mud and worthless seaweed lying on the shore. Who is not terrified, who is not shaken to his very roots by that statement of the Lord himself in the Gospel: "Like lightning flashing from the east as far as the west, so will the coming of the Son of Man be."[9] Who, I say, does not experience great fear when Truth itself again says: "The sun will be darkened, the moon will not give her light, the stars will fall from the sky, and the celestial powers will be shaken."[10] Of this day Peter also speaks: "But the Day of the Lord will come unexpectedly, as a thief. On that day the heavens will disappear with a great rushing sound, the elements will disintegrate in flames."[11] And again he says: "The present heavens and earth, again by God's word, have been kept in store for burning; they are being reserved until the day of judgment when the godless will be destroyed."[12] And so the apostle Jude also says: "Behold, the Lord will come with his myriads of angels, to bring all men to judgment and to convict all the godless of all the impious deeds they have committed, and of all the defiant words which wicked sinners have spoken against him."[13]

(5) O, if only our heart could savor the bitterness found in those words of John: "Behold, he is coming with the clouds! Every eye shall see him, and those also who pierced him; and all the peoples of the world shall lament in remorse."[14] Then will those who now live fearlessly shake with fear, then will those who now rest peacefully in the luxury of carnal pleasures find their whole being filled with bitterness. Shedding bloody tears, they will then start saying to the mountains, "Fall on us," and to the hills, "cover us."[15]

9. Mt 24.27.
10. Mt 24.29.
11. 2 Pet 3.10.
12. 2 Pet 3.7.
13. Jude 1.14–15.
14. Rev 1.7.
15. Lk 23.30; cf. Rev 6.16.

(6) There will then be no place to which one can flee, there will be no refuge where one can hide, for then the gates of hell will be thrown open, our enemy death will be destroyed, and dust that had decayed, namely, human flesh will come to life as it hears the sound of the trumpet. Now will all those whom the earth has received, whom the waters have swallowed, whom devouring flames have consumed, all will be given up by that to which they were consigned, and will be restored to life without any reduction of their former selves. For then will the earth be shaken, the air will be disturbed by sudden storms, thunder will crash and lightning flashes will terrify the hearts of men. "Our God will come and reveal himself; our God will not keep silence. Before him fires will burn, and round about a mighty storm will wreathe him. He will summon heaven on high and earth to the judgment of his people."[16]

(7) On that dreadful day he will appear with the angels and archangels, with thrones and dominations, with principalities and powers,[17] with the heavens flashing and the earth aflame, and with all the elements moved with terror in obedience to him. Isaiah, the most celebrated of the prophets, well describes this day when he says: "Behold, this hopeless Day of the Lord is coming, this day of wrath and fury, to make the land a desolation and exterminate sinners from it. The stars of heaven shall give no light, the sun shall be darkened at its rising, and the moon will not give forth its light. I will bring disaster upon the world and upon the wicked for their sins, and I will destroy the violence of the wicked and will bring low the haughtiness of the proud. And those who are left will be more precious than gold assayed by fire, and man will be more precious than a sapphire. Then the heavens will shudder, and the earth will be shaken to its foundations at the furious anger of the Lord of Hosts, on the day his anger will fall upon it."[18] The prophet Malachi also speaks in similar words: "Behold, the Lord almighty will come, and who will

16. Ps 49.3–4.
17. Cf. Col 1.16.
18. Is 13.9–13.

endure the day of his coming? Or who can bear the sight of him? For he will enter like the refiner's fire, and the chaff of the winnowers, and he will sit, refining and purifying gold and silver."[19] And again he says: "Behold, the Day of the Lord is coming, glowing like a furnace to cure them, and all will be strangers and all who work iniquity he shall burn like stubble on that day when it comes, says the Lord almighty, and neither root nor branch will remain."[20]

(8) Elsewhere, moreover, the man of desires has this to say: "And I kept looking, and thrones were set in place and the Ancient of Days took his seat, his robe was white as snow and the hair of his head like cleanest wool. Flames of fire were his throne, a flowing river of fire streamed out before him. The court sat, and the books were opened."[21] And a bit further on he said: "And I beheld in visions of the night, and behold the Son of Man came amid the clouds of heaven; he approached the Ancient of Days and was presented to him. Sovereignty and glory and kingly power have been given to him, all peoples and nations of every language shall serve him; his sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty which shall not pass away, and his kingly power will never be impaired. My spirit within me was troubled, and I, Daniel, was dismayed by my dulness and by the visions which came into my head."[22]

(9) When, therefore, these events begin to happen, the gates of the heavens will certainly be opened, or rather, the heavens themselves will be removed as if the flaps of a tent were being drawn, so that they might be restored or transformed into something better. Then fear and apprehension will grip all things, all will begin to tremble when he comes in judgment who needs no witnesses, who seeks no evidence, who requires no attorneys. But with all these put aside, he judges deeds and words and thoughts and places them before

19. Mal 3.1–3.
20. Mal 4.1–2.
21. Dan 7.9–10.
22. Dan 7.13–15. In both citations from Daniel, Damian wanders away from the Vulgate, at times using the *versio antiqua,* reported in Sabatier 2, 870–871, or texts found in Cyprian, *Ad Novatianum,* Augustine, *De trinitate* and *De civitate Dei,* or in Rufinus, *Expositio symboli.* However, the variants affect the English rendering only minimally.

us, and, as if they were displayed in writing, holds them up in the sight of those who committed them and of others who are present. How deeply will every creature then be shaken and be afraid? Hence Isaiah says: "For the Lord has a day of vengeance, Zion a year when it will requite, and its torrents shall be turned into blazing pitch, which night and day shall never be quenched."[23] All of this blessed Job also describes when he says: "A land of gloom, a land shrouded in the darkness of death, a land of misery and obscurity and the shadow of death, a place of disorder where everlasting horror dwells."[24] And the prophet also adds: "And they shall come out," he says, "and see the dead bodies of those who have rebelled against me; their worms shall not die nor their fire be quenched."[25]

(10) What can be said or imagined that is more horrible than to be subjected to the wounds of damnation, and the pain from these wounds that will never end? And so the prophet says: "They have gone down to hell with their weapons."[26] The weapons of sinners are those parts of the body by which the evil desires that they have conjured up are carried out. So, to go down to hell with their weapons means to suffer the torments of eternal fire together with their bodily members by which they fulfilled the desires of the flesh. Paul also adds: "When our Lord Jesus Christ is revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in blazing fire, then he will do justice upon those who refuse to acknowledge God and upon those who will not obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. They will suffer the punishment of eternal ruin, cut off from the presence of the Lord and the splendor of his might."[27] And again: "A kind of terrifying expectation of judgment and a fierce fire which will consume God's enemies."[28]

(11) Now then, when we arrive at that last judgment to be hauled before the bench of the judge who cannot be deceived by the concealment of crimes, nor corrupted by some bribe to win impunity; when he begins to reveal all secrets and dis-

23. Is 34.8–10.
24. Job 10.21.
25. Is 66.24.
26. Ezek 32.27.
27. 2 Thess 1.7–9.
28. Heb 10.27.

play not only our deeds and our words, but also our very thoughts, what will we do in the presence of the majesty of such a judge? What excuse can we offer? With what kind of defense can we clear ourselves? What sort of repentance can assist us, since when we were still in the flesh we held repentance in contempt? Which good works will protect us, since there were none in this life that we performed? To which apostles or to which other saints can we turn for protection, whose words and example we despised? Perhaps some bodily weakness will excuse them. But the example of all the saints will cry out against such an excuse, who while alive conquered the weakness of the flesh, demonstrating that what they did we also could do, especially since it was not by their own strength that they resisted sin, but by the help of a merciful God. For God both showed himself to those who were not seeking him that he might be sought and believed, and defended with his invincible protection those who believed in him that they would not be overwhelmed by sin. What answer will they give if the Lord should say to them: "If you were able, why did you not resist the allurements of sin? If you were not able, why did you not seek my help against sin? Or, when you were wounded, why did you not use the remedy for your wound by doing penance?" Will they not be silent at these objections? Whatever excuse they may give, he will say to those who are found wanting: "Bind them hand and foot; turn them out into the dark, the place of wailing and grinding of teeth."[29] It follows, then, that they who here rejoiced in gluttony will there be grinding their teeth.

(12) One must therefore carefully weigh and with the greatest diligence consider from all sides what sort of terror this day will bring, when even in punishment there will be no relief. What confusion for him who, because of his guilt, will be shamed in the presence of all men and angels. What dread to behold God angry, whom the human mind cannot comprehend even when he is benign. In speaking of him, Isaiah puts it well: "The Lord alone shall be exalted on that day. For the

29. Mt 22.13.

Day of the Lord of Hosts is above everyone who is proud and lofty and above everyone who is arrogant, and he will be brought low; above all the cedars of Lebanon, lofty and high, and above all the oaks of Bashan, and above all lofty mountains and above all high hills, above every high tower and above every fortified wall, and above all the ships of Tarshish, and above all that is beautiful to behold. Then man's pride will be brought low, and the loftiness of man shall be humbled, and the Lord alone shall be exalted on that day, while the idols pass away. They shall go into caves in the rocks and crevices of the ground from the dread of the Lord and the splendor of his majesty, when he rises to smite the earth."[30] Now he observes the sins of transgressors and keeps silence, "but then he will rebuke them in anger, and will threaten them in his wrath."[31] as he said through the prophet: "I kept silence," he said, "I always kept my peace, I was patient, but I shall cry out like a woman in labor."[32]

(13) It follows that whoever now longs for earthly pleasures, whoever feasts on the desires of lustful flesh will then be consumed by eternal fire and wasted by the sword of divine fury. And as the prophet says: "By the fire of God's jealousy the whole land shall be consumed, and all flesh shall be destroyed by his sword."[33] There he will no longer be able to obtain from the Lord what he asks, if here he was unwilling to listen to his commands. For they who in this life despised the word of God, will then not be heard when in false humility they come to the door with their requests. But he will say to them: "I do not know you. Depart from me, you cursed, to the eternal fire that has been prepared for the devil and his angels."[34] And the Lord speaks again through Solomon: "When I called, you refused to listen, when I stretched out my hand no one attended. You spurned all my advice and would have nothing to do with my reproof. I in my turn will laugh at

30. Is 2.11–19.
31. Ps 2.5.
32. Is 42.14.
33. Zeph 1.18. The end of this text, "and all flesh, etc." is not in the Vulgate. It might reflect Ezek 21.4.
34. Mt 25.12, 41.

your doom and deride you when what you feared comes to pass, when sudden calamity strikes you, when destruction bears down on you like a hurricane, when anguish and distress come upon you. They will then call upon me and I will not hear them; they will rise at dawn and shall not find me."[35]

(14) In whom, therefore, can we trust, in what can we hope to attain salvation? Can it be in the hoard of money we have hidden in a safe? Can it be in affluence which is empty within, and which outwardly we possessed improperly? But listen to the apostle James, telling us how much riches profit a man, and what value he attaches to the possession of worldly things. "Well then, you who have great possessions," he says, "weep and wail over the miserable fate descending on you. Your riches have rotted; your fine clothes are moth-eaten; your silver and gold have rusted away, and their very rust will be evidence against you and consume your flesh like fire. You have piled up wrath for yourselves in the final days."[36] And a little further on: "You have feasted wantonly on the earth, and in luxury you have nourished yourselves to your heart's desire."[37]

(15) Let this unhappy man go on now, weakly yielding to the current of carnal desires, and later the fiery pit of hell-fire like the plague will swallow him; let him now arrogantly exalt himself with the symbols of pride, that he may then live undying, confined by eternal death. What will it profit him if today he belches after stuffing himself in feasting, and tomorrow he decays disgustingly in the grave? How will it benefit him if today he is clothed in purple, and tomorrow goes down to hell, poor and naked? Alas, alas, what will these wretched men say when they see that they have irreparably lost their temporal goods and when everlasting evils unavoidably await them? What will they then think when they become aware that the acceptable time and the day of salvation[38] have vanished, and the time is at hand when they cannot perform good deeds, and they are unable to find a remedy for their

35. Prov 1.24–28.
36. Jas 5.1–3.
37. Jas 5.5.
38. Cf. 2 Cor 6.2.

damnation? How bitter will be their conscience, how tearful will be their lament! "For then," as Solomon acknowledges, "weeping,[39] groaning, and filled with remorse they will say: 'How far we have strayed from the road of truth! The lamp of justice never gave us light, the sun of understanding never rose upon us. We exhausted ourselves along the paths of wickedness and ruin, wandering on wretched roads and ignoring the Lord's highway. What good has our pride done us? What can we show for all our wealth and arrogance? All those things have passed by like a shadow, like a messenger galloping by; like a ship that runs through the surging sea, and when she has passed, not a trace is to be found, no track of her keel among the waves; or as when a bird flies through the air, there is no sign of its passing, but there is only the sound of its pinions as it lashes the insubstantial breeze and parts it with the whirr and the rush of its beating wings and so passes through it, and thereafter it bears no mark of its journey; or as when an arrow is shot at a target, the air is parted and instantly closes up again and no one can tell where it passed through. So we too ceased to be, as soon as we were born; we left no token of virtue behind, and in our wickedness we consumed our lives.' Such things were said in hell by those who had sinned, for the hope of a godless man is like down borne on the wind, like spindrift swept before a storm and smoke which the wind whirls away, like the memory of a guest who stayed for one day and passed on."[40]

(16) My dear friend, I place before you not my own words, but selections from Sacred Scripture for this reason: so that even though in your judgment you rightly disdain my rustic speech, you would not deem it improper to listen to the divinely inspired testimony of the saints. Therefore, my dear brother, treasure up in your mind these and many other statements of Holy Scripture, which, among the false riches of the world, are able to produce in you a salutary fear. For as Solomon says: "Happy the man who is always accompanied

39. The Vulgate text does not contain this word.
40. Wis 5.3, 6–15.

by fear, but he who hardens his heart falls into misfortune."[41] For, as we read, no one can correct him whom God has despised.[42] Man, indeed, speaks to another to no effect if God through himself does not inwardly speak to him. But you, my dear brother, in keeping with the talent for prudence which God has given you, examine your life with great subtleness, always hold up your deeds before your eyes, fear the judgment of God, and with full precaution look about you in all directions, so that when the judge arrives he will not find you asleep but on guard, not among the foolish but among the wise virgins.[43] As you are now the judge of your own deeds, may you later not need to be judged, and then you will never need to be afraid, since now you have never ceased to fear.

(17) But since I can perhaps be of greater assistance to you by my prayers to God than by preaching to you, may almighty God in his mercy direct you now, dear brother, on the way to justice, and on his fearful day of judgment grant that you may be among the elect who stand at his right side. Amen.

41. Prov 28.14.
42. Cf. Eccl 7.14.
43. Cf. 1 Cor 11.31–32; Mt 25.1–13.

LETTER 22

Peter Damian to G. He exhorts the bishop not to be overwhelmed by the good things of this world, but to meditate on the eternal realities that will follow his death. Of special value is the thought of the last judgment. This letter is incomplete, suggesting, perhaps, that it was never sent.

(Before 1047)[1]

TO SIR G.,[2] the most reverend bishop, Peter sends the allegiance of the service that is his due.[3]

(2) Dear father and lord, while the world still smiles on you and while you are in robust health, while earthly prosperity caresses you, think about those things that will follow all this. As if the present were already past, you should prudently ponder the things that are to succeed them in the time to come. With your closest attention consider all things transitory as having already passed away, and regard them as a deceptive and illusive dream. Your thoughts should revert to this point and should be carefully focused on the fact that whatever will happen later cannot pass away. What is more, you should now place before your eyes the terrible day of the last judgment, and consider in fear and trembling the sudden appearance of God's great majesty. Nor should you think that this day will be long in coming, since the prophet in an age long before ours proclaimed it to be already at hand, as if it were already at the door: "The great day of the Lord is near,

1. The date is suggested by Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 40 and 2, 151. Even if the recipient is not certainly Gislerius of Osimo, the letter derives from the early career of Damian because of the unmodified use of his name.

2. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 40 and 2, 151, and cautiously also in idem, *Clavis* 37, agrees with Prete, *S. Pier Damiani* 124 that the recipient was Bishop Gislerius of Osimo, but there is not further evidence for this identification.

3. Except for a few omissions and for the absence of a conclusion, this letter is much like Letter 21, and uses the same Scripture citations.

it is near and comes with speed; the voice of the day of the Lord is bitter, there the warrior will be afflicted. That day is a day of wrath, a day of anguish and affliction, a day of calamity and misery, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of fog and whirlwind, a day of trumpet and battlecry."[4]

(3) Weigh carefully, my dear friend, with what severity the prophet sees this last day of judgment, growing in bitterness about the hearts of the damned, an event he was hardly able to express with all his descriptive terms. For even if we were now to be silent regarding the pains of eternal damnation that will never end, and were only to examine the terror and the horror of this last day, the entire false and deceitful happiness of this world would be seen as mud and worthless seaweed lying on the shore. Who is not terrified, who is not shaken to his very roots by that statement of the Lord himself in the Gospel: "Like lightning, flashing from the east as far as the west, so will the coming of the Son of Man be."[5] Who, I say, does not experience great fear when Truth itself again says: "The sun will be darkened, the moon will not give her light, the stars will fall from the sky, and the celestial powers will be shaken."[6] Of this day Peter also speaks: "But the Day of the Lord will come unexpectedly, as a thief. On that day the heavens will disappear with a great rushing sound, the elements will disintegrate in flames."[7] And again he says: "The present heavens and earth, again by God's word, have been kept in store for burning; they are being reserved until the day of judgment when the godless will be destroyed."[8] And so the apostle Jude also says: "Behold, the Lord will come with his myriads of angels, to bring all men to judgment and to convict all the godless of all the impious deeds they have committed, and of all the defiant words which wicked sinners have spoken against him."[9]

(4) O, if only our heart could savor the bitterness found in those words of John: "Behold, he is coming with the clouds! Every eye shall see him, and those also who pierced him; and

4. Zeph 1.14–16.
5. Mt 24.27.
6. Mt 24.29.
7. 2 Pet 3.10.
8. 2 Pet 3.7.
9. Jude 1.14–15.

all the peoples of the world shall lament in remorse."[10] Then will those who now live fearlessly shake with fear, then will those who now rest peacefully in the luxury of carnal pleasures find their whole being filled with bitterness. Shedding bloody tears, they will then start saying to the mountains, "Fall on us," and to the hills, "cover us."[11]

(5) There will then be no place to which one can flee, there will be no refuge where one can hide, for then the gates of hell will be thrown open, our enemy death will be destroyed, and dust that had decayed, namely, human flesh will come to life as it hears the sound of the trumpet. Now will all those whom the earth has received, whom the waters have swallowed, whom devouring flames have consumed, all will be given up by that to which they were consigned, and will be restored to life without any reduction of their former selves. For then will the earth be shaken, the air will be disturbed by sudden storms, thunder will crash and lightning flashes will terrify the hearts of men. "Our God will come and reveal himself, our God will not keep silence. Before him fires will burn, and round about a mighty storm will wreathe him. He will summon heaven on high and earth to the judgment of his people."[12]

(7) On that dreadful day he will appear with the angels and archangels, with thrones and dominations, with principalities and powers,[13] with the heavens flashing and the earth aflame, and with all the elements moved with terror in obedience to him. Isaiah, the most celebrated of the prophets, well describes this day when he says: "Behold, this hopeless Day of the Lord is coming, this day of wrath and fury, to make the land a desolation and exterminate sinners from it. The stars of heaven shall give no light, the sun shall be darkened at its rising, and the moon will not give forth its light. I will bring disaster upon the world and upon the wicked for their sins, and I will destroy the violence of the wicked and will bring low the haughtiness of the proud. And those who are left will

10. Rev 1.7.
11. Lk 23.30; cf. Rev 6.16.
12. Ps 49.3–4.
13. Cf. Col 1.16.

be more precious than gold assayed by fire, and man will be more precious than a sapphire. Then the heavens will shudder, and the earth will be shaken to its foundations at the furious anger of the Lord of Hosts, on the day his anger will fall upon it."[14] The prophet Malachi also speaks in similar words: "Behold, the Lord almighty will come, and who will endure the day of his coming? Or who can bear the sight of him? For he will enter like refiner's fire, and like the chaff of the winnowers, and he will sit, refining and purifying gold and silver."[15] And again he says: "Behold, the Day of the Lord is coming, glowing like a furnace to cure them, and all will be strangers and all who work iniquity he shall burn like stubble on that day when it comes, says the Lord almighty, and neither root nor branch will remain."[16]

(8) Elsewhere, moreover, the man of desires has this to say: "And I kept looking, and thrones were set in place and the Ancient of Days took his seat, his robe was white as snow and the hair of his head like cleanest wool. Flames of fire were his throne, a flowing river of fire streamed out before him. The court sat, and the books were opened."[17] And a bit further on he said: "And I beheld in visions of the night, and behold the Son of Man came amid the clouds of heaven; he approached the Ancient of Days and was presented to him. Sovereignty and glory and kingly power have been given to him, and all peoples and nations of every language shall serve him; his sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty which shall not pass away, and his kingly power will never be impaired. My spirit within me was troubled, and I, Daniel, was dismayed by my dulness and by the visions which came into my head."[18]

(9) When, therefore, these events begin to happen, the gates of the heavens will certainly be opened, or rather, the heavens themselves will be removed as if the flies of a tent were being drawn, so that they might be restored or transformed into something better. Then fear and apprehension will grip all things, all will begin to tremble when he comes

14. Is 13.9–13.
15. Mal 3.1–3.
16. Mal 4.1–2.
17. Dan 7.9–10.
18. Dan 7.13–15.

in judgment who needs no witnesses, who seeks no evidence, who requires no attorneys. But with all these put aside, he judges deeds and words and thoughts and places them before us, and, as if they were displayed in writing, holds them up in the sight of those who committed them and of others who are present. How deeply will every creature then be shaken and be afraid?

(10) Now then, when we arrive at that singular judgment to be hauled before the bench of the judge who cannot be deceived by the concealment of crimes, nor corrupted by some bribe to win impunity; when he begins to reveal all secrets and display not only our deeds and our words, but also our very thoughts, what will we do in the presence of the majesty of such a judge? What excuse can we offer? With what kind of defense can we clear ourselves? What sort of repentance can assist us, since when we were still in the flesh we held repentance in contempt? Which good works will protect us, since there were none in this life that we performed? To which apostles or to which other saints can we turn for protection, whose words and example we despised? Perhaps some bodily weakness will excuse them. But the example of all the saints will cry out against such an excuse, who while alive conquered the weakness of the flesh, demonstrating that what they did we also could do, especially since it was not by their own strength that they resisted sin, but by the help of a merciful God. For God both showed himself to those who were not seeking him that he might be sought and believed, and defended with his invincible protection those who believed in him, that they would not be overwhelmed by sin. What answer will they give if the Lord should say to them: "If you were able, why did you not resist the allurements of sin? If you were not able, why did you not seek my help against sin? Or, when you were wounded, why did you not use the remedy for your wound by doing penance?" Will they not be silent at these objections? Whatever excuse they may give, he will say to those who are found wanting: "Bind them hand and foot; turn them out into the dark, the place of

wailing and grinding of teeth,"[19] "where the worm shall not die nor their fire be quenched."[20]

(11) One must therefore carefully weigh and with the greatest diligence consider from all sides what sort of terror this day will bring, when even in punishment there will be no relief. What confusion for him who, because of his guilt, will be shamed in the presence of all men and angels. What dread to behold God angry, whom the human mind cannot comprehend even when he is benign. In speaking of him, Isaiah puts it well: "The Lord alone shall be exalted on that day. For the Day of the Lord of Hosts is above everyone who is proud and lofty and above everyone who is arrogant, and he will be brought low; above all the cedars of Lebanon, lofty and high, and above all the oaks of Bashan, and above all lofty mountains and above all high hills, above every high tower and above every fortified wall, and above all the ships of Tarshish, and above all that is beautiful to behold. Then man's pride will be brought low, and the loftiness of man shall be humbled, and the Lord alone shall be exalted on that day, while the idols pass away. They shall go into caves in the rocks and crevices of the ground from the dread of the Lord and the splendor of his majesty, when he rises to smite the earth."[21] Now the Lord observes the sins of transgressors and keeps silence, "but then he will rebuke them in anger, and will threaten them in his wrath,"[22] as he said through the prophet: "I kept silence," he said, "I always kept my peace, I was patient, but I shall cry out like a woman in labor."[23]

(12) It follows that whoever now longs for earthly pleasures, whoever feasts on the desires of lustful flesh will then be consumed by eternal fire and wasted by the sword of divine fury. And as the prophet says: "By the fire of God's jealousy the whole land shall be consumed, and all flesh shall be destroyed by his sword."[24] There he will no longer be able to obtain from the Lord what he asks, if here he was unwilling to listen

19. Mt 22.13.
20. Is 66.24.
21. Is 2.11–19.
22. Ps 2.5.
23. Is 42.14.
24. Zeph 1.18.

to his commands. For they who in this life despised the word of God, will then not be heard when in false humility they come to the door with their requests. But he will say to them: "I do not know you. Depart from me, you cursed, to the eternal fire that has been prepared for the devil and his angels."[25] And the Lord speaks again through Solomon: "When I called, you refused to listen, when I stretched out my hand no one attended. You spurned all my advice and would have nothing to do with my reproof. I, in my turn, will laugh at your doom and deride you when what you feared comes to pass, when sudden calamity strikes you, when destruction bears down on you like a hurricane, when anguish and distress come upon you. They will then call upon me and I will not hear them; they will rise at dawn and shall not find me."[26]

(13) In whom, therefore, can we trust, in what can we hope to attain salvation? Can it be in the hoard of money we have hidden in a safe? Can it be in affluence which is empty within, and which outwardly we possessed improperly? But listen to the apostle James, telling us how much riches profit a man, and what value he attaches to the possession of worldly things. "Well then, you who have great possessions," he says, "weep and wail over the miserable fate descending on you. Your riches have rotted; your fine clothes are moth-eaten; your silver and gold have rusted away, and their very rust will be evidence against you and consume your flesh like fire. You have piled up wrath for yourselves in the final days."[27] And a little further on: "You have feasted wantonly on the earth, and in luxury you have nourished yourselves, leading your hearts to the day of slaughter."[28]

(14) Alas, alas, what will these wretched men say when they see that they have irreparably lost their temporal goods and when everlasting evils unavoidably await them? What will they then think when they become aware that the acceptable time and the day of salvation[29] have vanished, and the time is at hand when they cannot perform good deeds, and they are

25. Mt 25.12, 41.
26. Prov 1.24–28.
27. Jas 5.1–3.
28. Jas 5.5.
29. Cf. 2 Cor 6.2.

unable to find a remedy for their damnation? How bitter will be their conscience, how tearful will be their lament! "For then," as Solomon acknowledges, "weeping, groaning, and filled with remorse they will say: 'How far we have strayed from the road of truth! The lamp of justice never gave us light, the sun of understanding never rose upon us. We exhausted ourselves along the paths of wickedness and ruin, wandering on wretched roads and ignoring the Lord's highway. What good has our pride done us? What can we show for all our wealth and arrogance? All those things have passed by like a shadow, like a messenger galloping by; like a ship that runs through the surging sea, and when she has passed, not a trace is to be found, no track of her keel among the waves; or as when a bird flies through the air, there is no sign of its passing, but there is only the sound of its pinions as it lashes the insubstantial breeze and parts it with the whirr and the rush of its beating wings and so passes through it, and thereafter it bears no mark of its journey; or as when an arrow is shot at a target, the air is parted and instantly closes up again and no one can tell where it passed through. So we too ceased to be, as soon as we were born; we left no token of virtue behind, and in our wickedness we consumed our lives.' Such things were said in hell by those who had sinned, for the hope of a godless man. . . ."[30]

30. Wis 5.3, 6–15. Here the MS suddenly ends.

LETTER 23

Peter Damian to the judge Bonushomo: he distinguishes between spiritual and worldly wisdom, and warns him against placing too high a value on earthly knowledge; he should use the latter only in the service of spiritual wisdom.

(Before 1047)[1]

TO THE WISE MAN,[2] B⟨onushomo⟩,[3] the monk Peter the Sinner expresses the unbreakable bond of his affection.

(2) I am not unaware,[4] brother, that when one of my letters is delivered to laymen, it is at once carefully searched for elegance of speech. The logic of the arrangement of subjects is investigated, whether it gives evidence of rhetorical color, whether the contents involve propositions of dialectical subtlety, or whether, finally, categorical or other hypothetical syllogisms demonstrate the propositions with incontestable arguments.

(3) But those who live in the spirit of God, despise these and similar elegant buffooneries as something truly frivolous and vain, and as the Apostle says, count them as so much garbage.[5] Paul also asserted that he had not spoken to his disciples in the language of worldly wisdom, so that the fact of Christ on his cross might have its full weight.[6] How fine, indeed, how useful, how honorable is the discourse that, while pretentiously inflating its author's ego with long-winded vain-

1. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Clavis* 90f. and *Vita* 2, 157, 159.
2. In the superscriptions to this letter in the MSS, Bonushomo is called "a philosopher of the world." On which see Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 71 n. 62.
3. On the recipient of this letter, see Letter 21, n. 2. MS G1 arbitrarily calls him Boniface.
4. This letter begins much the same as Letter 21.
5. Cf. Phil 3.8.
6. Cf. 1 Cor 1.17.

glory, annuls the value of the cross of Christ, which is the salvation of the world!

(4) Now, my friend, you should not expect to find in my letters the frequent bite of wanton sarcasm, nor should you look for the graces of studied style. May you rather take pleasure in the simplicity of the lamb that leads one to God, than in the cunning of the serpent whose venom deals death. "The serpent," says Scripture, "was more cunning than any beast of the field."[7] For the Lord who had placed implacable enmity between the woman's seed and that of the serpent, claimed to be the shepherd, not of serpents, but of sheep, and did not say: "My serpents," but "My own sheep listen to my voice, and I know them and give them eternal life."[8]

(5) The wise of this world, moreover, consider the simplicity of the servants of God to be something despicable. And to this point Moses said: "The Egyptians may not eat with the Hebrews, and think such feasting an abomination."[9] But why is this so? He explains it elsewhere when he says: "All shepherds are an abomination to the Egyptians."[10] For as Truth itself says: "The worldly are more astute than the otherworldly in dealing with their own kind."[11] And so, the cleverness of the serpent pleases them, but they abhor the guileless simplicity of sheep. But the Lord said to Peter: "If you love me, feed my sheep, feed my lambs."[12] Do you think he said: "Feed my little foxes, feed my dragons"?

(6) I wished to tell you this, my good friend, so that you too might be on your guard against the raw cunning of the serpent, and that your holy prudence might steer a middle course between folly and craftiness. So it was that the apostle James, when precluding the wisdom of the serpent by saying: "This is not the wisdom that comes from above; it is earthbound, sensual, demonic,"[13] shortly after pointed out the kind of wisdom we must possess: "But the wisdom from above," he said, "is in the first place pure; and then peace-loving,

7. Gen 3.1.
8. John 10.27–28.
9. Gen 43.32.
10. Gen 46.34.
11. Lk 16.8.
12. John 21.16–17.
13. Jas 3.15.

considerate, and open to reason; it is in harmony with good things, rich in mercy and good fruits, judging without dissimulation."[14] Therefore, also Paul says: "You should not think of yourself more highly than you ought to think, but to think with sober judgment."[15] Indeed, in speaking of intemperate wisdom Isaiah says: "The wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the discernment of their prudent men shall be hid. Woe to you who are profound of heart and would hide your plans from the Lord! Woe to those who work in the dark, saying: 'Who sees us, or who knows of us?' "[16] Again, the same prophet ridicules this kind of knowledge: "Where is the man of letters? Where is he who ponders the words of the law? Where is the teacher of the little ones? No more will you see the insolent ones, the people of obscure speech, so that you cannot understand the learning of their language, in which there is no wisdom."[17]

(7) How great the gulf, moreover, between spiritual wisdom and earthly prudence was indicated elsewhere when he says: "Because the world failed to find God by its wisdom, God chose to save those who have faith by the folly of our preaching."[18] And again: "The prudence of this world is hostile to God: it does not submit to God's law, indeed it cannot."[19] For this reason, as was said in the book of Genesis, the five kings who refused to submit to Kedorlaomer were conquered by four kings.[20] And where? In a wooded valley which is now the Salt Sea. What, indeed, is meant by the four kings[21] if not the four virtues, which Sacred Scripture considers the principal ones? What is here meant by the five kings, but the same number of bodily senses, and by them secular knowledge?

14. Jas 3.17.
15. Rom 12.3.
16. Is 29.14–15.
17. Is 33.18–19.
18. 1 Cor 1.21.

19. Rom 8.7. The Vulgate here has "the wisdom of the flesh." Cf. Sabatier 3, 620. See also Augustine, *In Ioh.* 74.4.514 and Augustine, *De diversis questionibus octoginta tribus* 66.6, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CC 44A (1975), 160. His reading is "prudence of the flesh."

20. Cf. Gen 14.

21. Cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim libri quattuor* 2.15 (PL 107, 539A) for a similar interpretation.

But as these four virtues proceed, as it were, from the same source, namely, from reason which is their mother, so the senses tarry in the vanity of earthly knowledge, as in the valley of brackish waters, and there are felled by their enemies. This takes place because it is proper that all spiritual wisdom should have the upper hand in the soul, and that the cunning of carnal prudence should perish.

(8) And so we read of David, that "he made a great name for himself when he returned after taking Syria in the Valley of Salt and killing twelve thousand men."[22] For Christ was the true David, strong and forceful and handsome to behold, as he slew twelve thousand men in the Valley of Salt when, through his apostles, he triumphed over the facetious, indeed the fictitious wisdom of this world. By having these twelve warriors in the spiritual combat at his side, he destroyed with their help just as many thousands of men by persuading wise fools to abandon the vanity of frivolous wisdom. One such warrior said to the Corinthians: "For we live in the flesh, but not according to the flesh are we soldiers. The weapons we wield are not those of the flesh, but are divinely potent to demolish strongholds and destroy the devices of the flesh; we lay low sophistries and all that rears its proud head against the knowledge of God; we compel every human thought to surrender in obedience to Christ."[23]

(9) Moreover, just as heavenly wisdom causes the sons of the Church to become heavenly and legitimate, so also earthly prudence makes them earthbound and bastards. Jeremiah says of them: "The sons of Hagar who sought earthly knowledge from the merchants of the earth and of Teman, from the mythmakers and the seekers after knowledge, these have not known the way to wisdom, nor have they remembered her paths."[24] Therefore, they who are eager to acquire secular

22. 2 Sam 8.14. For Damian's use of "twelve thousand" as against the "eighteen thousand" of the Vulgate, see Jerome, *Commentarioli in psalmos,* ed. G. Morin, CC 72 (1959), 212; also *Biblia sacra* 5, 269.

23. 2 Cor 10.3–5. "The devices of the flesh" in this passage cannot be found elsewhere.

24. Bar 3.23. Baruch was the secretary of Jeremiah, and so frequently his

knowledge and despise the wisdom of the spirit, are the sons of Hagar, and not of Sarah. And since they are bastards, they should rightly be considered Ishmaelites, and not Israelites. And since Hagar means foreigner,[25] they are not sons of wisdom, but foreigners and strangers; nor do they belong to those, to whom the Apostle spoke: "Thus you are no longer aliens in a foreign land, but fellow citizens with the saints, members of God's household."[26]

(10) Now you, my dear friend, if I may speak to you in the words of the same prophet, "learn where wisdom and power and prudence reside."[27] They are found essentially in God, and certainly one must ask him for them.[28] But since you fill a position of some importance in the world, and cannot completely avoid using the language of the world in your contact with your associates, or at times devoting yourself in some degree to literary studies, you should follow this norm, that is, make yourself rather listless about your secular studies. But in your studies regarding the spirit you should exert all the vigor of your mind; in the former you should appear indifferent, but in the latter full of vitality. Therefore, because on your own it is not possible to be totally lacking in the adroitness of the serpent regarding the affairs of this world, see to it at least that the wisdom of the spirit totally swallow up your earthly talents, that is, convert it, so to speak, into the hidden parts of its own body, as Scripture relates of the Pharoah's magicians: "Each one threw down his staff and it was changed into a snake; but Aaron's staff swallowed their staffs."[29] The staff of Aaron, in fact, swallowed the staffs of

---

work appears under his master's name; see H. H. Mallau, "Baruch/Baruchschriften," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 5 (1980), 269–276. Damian cites "the merchants of the earth," instead of Merran, on which cf. Sabatier 2, 744.

25. Cf. Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* 61, 155.

26. Eph 2.19.

27. Bar 3.14. For variants from the Vulgate text, see Sabatier 2, 743.

28. For Damian's outspoken belittling of secular knowledge in this letter, see Bultot, *Pierre Damien* 90f. and 124–131; idem, "Quelques réflexions à propos de l'historiographie de S. Pierre Damien," RHE 70 (1975), 743–749; but for his attitude toward lay scholarship, see J. Gonsette, *Pierre Damien et la culture profane* (Essais philosophiques 7, 1956), 35ff.

29. Exod 7.12.

the magicians, because the wisdom of Christ which it prefigured, annulled all the learning of this world and united its scholars with the flesh of his body, which is the Church.

(11) It is absurd and completely improper, moreover, to use the same prudence and the same exactness in human affairs as one might expend on those which are spiritual and divine. Consequently, the Lord said to Moses: "Take fragrant spices: gum resin, aromatic shell, sweet-smelling galbanum, and pure frankincense. Make it into incense blended by the art of the perfumer, expertly prepared and pure."[30] We, indeed, make incense composed of aromatic substances every time we diffuse the odor of many virtues on the altar of good works. It is prepared and pure, because the more virtue is joined to virtue, the more authentically one displays the incense of good works. And so, he continues to the point: "And when you have beaten all into very fine powder, put part of it before the testimony of the tabernacle."[31] We crush all the aromatic substances into very fine powder when, as it were, by a secret inquiry we grind all that is good in us in the mortar of our heart, and accurately determine whether it is truly good. Therefore, by reducing the aromatics to dust is meant that we rub our virtue to bits by reflection, and subject it repeatedly to a detailed examination of conscience.

(12) You should further note what is said of the aforementioned power: "Put part of it before the testimony of the tabernacle": because only then are our good deeds truly pleasing in the sight of the heavenly Judge, if the mind by reflection grinds them fine and, as it were, turns the aromatic substances into powder. Nor should the good, of which we speak, be coarse and hard; for if the firm hand of correction does not crush it, it will not give forth its subtle odor. Such care, to be sure, and such attention to details are not to be applied to earthly affairs, but are to be adopted only in satisfying the wishes of the Creator. Nor are we to use them to achieve distinction in the world, but that by self-scrutiny we may be wise in the sight of God. Consequently, in the same

30. Exod 30.34–35.

31. Exod 30.36.

context the Lord continues: "You may not make incense of a like mixture for yourselves, for it is sacred to the Lord."[32] And immediately he adds: "Whoever makes an incense like this for his own enjoyment of its fragrance, shall be cut off from his kinsmen."[33] Whoever, therefore, devotes himself to secular learning, or to any other earthly affairs, with the intensity one should reserve only for inner scrutiny to please God, deserves to perish because he dissipates the incense, reserved for God alone, on temporal and perishable things.

(13) In fact, what we are saying about learning, must also be equally applied to any other enjoyment of this life. Indeed, it would make more sense if earthly wisdom should wither in us, and that only spiritual wisdom should flourish, as the Apostle exhorts us, when he says: "If then you were raised to life with Christ, aspire to the realm above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God, and let your thoughts dwell on that higher realm, not on this earthly life."[34] It were, indeed, better had this life not flourished in our heart, and that having totally died out in us, it had no attraction at all for us who are dead, as the same Apostle says: "By baptism we were buried with him, and lay dead, in order that as Christ was raised from the dead by the splendor of the Father, so also we might set our feet upon the new path of life."[35] But since these conditions are impossible for some, especially for laymen, who find themselves totally unable to excel in the affairs of both worlds, they should be admonished to attempt at least to subordinate those things which they cannot completely despise.

(14) And since this life delights a great many laymen almost as much as marital intercourse, they must strive, even though, because of weakness of spirit, they cannot hate it, as should be done, at least not to begin loving it unduly. And so, if they are not forceful enough to give it a note of divorce, they should be ashamed to yield the permanent place in their affection to it rather than to eternal life.

32. Exod 30.37.
33. Exod 30.38.
34. Col 3.1–2.
35. Rom 6.4.

(15) Hence it is commanded in the Law: "If a man with two wives loves one and dislikes the other; and if both bear him sons, and the firstborn is of her whom he dislikes: when he comes to bequeath his property to his sons he may not consider as his firstborn the son of the wife he loves, in preference to the son of the wife whom he dislikes. On the contrary, he shall recognize as his firstborn the son of her whom he dislikes, giving him a double share of whatever he happens to own, since he is the first of his sons, and to him belong the rights of the firstborn."[36]

(16) Man's two wives are virtue and sensual pleasure, at variance with one another as a result of jealousy born of envy and hate. Pleasure, obviously, relates to this life, virtue to eternal glory. The former, indeed, is loved because she caresses her husband, that is, the fragile spirit of every man, with seductive delights; the latter, however, is called the disliked wife, because she prompts men to travel the straight and narrow path and always suggests hard and difficult tasks. But the son of the wife who is disliked is for us the firstborn, because our Creator originally endowed us with virtue, while sensual pleasure and every carnal gratification emerged from the corruption of our depraved nature.

(17) But since this is not the time to interpret plainly, word for word, the figurative sense of this command, it will suffice to abridge my remarks. Thus, while being unable to break off cohabitation with the wife we love, who without doubt is harmful to us, we should at least try to grant the right of primogeniture to the wife we dislike, who is wholesome and respectable, in the sense that if it is difficult for us to avoid feeling at least some degree of the sweetness of this life, the preeminent role should be given to virtue, and that of servitude to sensual pleasure. The former's son should be afforded the dignity of being the firstborn, while the son of the latter should remain subservient and under disciplinary restraint.

(18) Do you wish, perhaps, to learn about the sons of the

36. Deut 21.15–17.

beloved wife? Ask the apostle Paul: "Anyone can see," he says, "the kind of behavior that belongs to the lower nature: fornication, impurity, lewdness, and indecency; idolatry and sorcery; quarrels, a contentious temper, envy, fits of rage, wrath, dissensions, party intrigues, jealousies, and homicide; drunkenness, orgies, and the like. I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who behave in such ways will never inherit the kingdom of God."[37] Would you also like to hear about the offspring of the offensive wife? Listen to what he said next: "But the harvest of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, forbearance, goodness, kindness, gentleness, fidelity, modesty, continence, and chastity."[38] Therefore, as the firstborn this son should have a double share of the property, namely, that the harvest of the spirit should direct both body and soul, and that he have rights to both fortunes, that is, to the inner and to the outer man.[39]

(19) Hence, if it is difficult for you to be satisfied with one wife, and if you do not have the heart to give a bill of dismissal to the wife whom you love, but who should be hated, act so, at least, that the offensive one, who should be embraced with total affection, obtains the place of honor in the house of your heart. She, however, who now is loved improperly, should continue to occupy the last place, until gradually you become rightly disgusted with her ugliness, and disgust changes completely into hatred. Consider the son of the offensive wife as the firstborn, and let the multitude of your other sons show deference to him.

(20) So it was that Joshua, after the destruction of Jericho, swore in these words: "Cursed before the Lord be the man who attempts to revive and rebuild this city, Jericho; the laying of its foundation shall cost him his eldest son, the setting of its gates shall cost him his youngest."[40] Now, since by the word, Jericho, which in translation means "moon,"[41] we can understand this life,[42] he who excessively loves the good

37. Gal 5.19–21.
38. Gal 5.22–23.
39. See Jerome, *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Galatas libri tres* 3.5 (PL 26, 442D); Isidore, *Etym.* 11.1.6.
40. Josh 6.26.
41. Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* 137, 157.
42. Bultot, *Pierre Damien* 129f., here sees dependence on Augustine.

things of this present life rebuilds the city of Jericho on his firstborn. And since Truth commanded in the Gospel: "Set your mind on God's kingdom before anything else, and all the rest will come to you as well."[43] he who is guilty of rejecting this precept rightly deserves the curse of damnation, as the prophet attests, when he says: "Accursed be they who turn away from your commands."[44]

(21) On the other hand, he sets up the gates of Jericho on his youngest son, when he uses temporal goods in such a way as not to possess them with infatuation, but that he might ardently desire the reward of heavenly glory. He, who in his love subjects the goods of this world to heavenly things, holds transitory things in low esteem. By so acting, he at once recognizes the son of the offensive wife as the firstborn in conformity with the law, and, according to the judgment of Joshua, sets up the gates of Jericho on his youngest son. Cain, on the contrary, founded a city on his firstborn, Enoch,[45] because he despaired of future offspring; and because he devoted himself overhastily, so to speak, to the Jericho of this world, he incurred the sentence of eternal malediction. Consequently, it was written: "Possessions gained hastily at the outset will in the end not be blessed."[46]

(22) If, therefore, my friend, you are as yet unable to be content with only the spiritual life, as with bedding down with only one wife, but are still bound fast to the pleasures and false enticements of worldly living, then let the love of eternal life be preeminent as the firstborn in the home of your heart, while your interest in temporal affairs becomes subservient and plays a subordinate and restricted role. And so we read in Canticles: "His left hand is under my head and his right arm embraces me."[47] The left hand is said to be under the head when the present life is despised and rejected by the mind, which is the source of our thoughts; but he is held in the embrace of the right arm, if in all respects he delights only in a desire for eternal life. Therefore, since Solomon

43. Mt 6.33.
44. Ps 119.21.
45. Cf. Gen 4.17.
46. Prov 20.21.
47. Cant 2.6.

says: "Give a portion to seven or even to eight,"[48] you should hurry through this present life, which is indicated by the number seven, in such a way that you are striving with all your heart to dwell even now in the love of the future life, which, by means of the number eight, represents the glory of the resurrection.[49] For the former, show a concern that is perfunctory and fleeting; for the latter, since it is eternal, direct a constant and everlasting expression of unfailing love.

(23) Moreover, what I have been saying about this passing life, I also, in consequence advise with regard to worldly prudence, namely, that your interest in both this temporal life and in secular learning subside, as if the mind had trampled it underfoot. On the other hand, the love of eternal life and the study of spiritual wisdom should be of paramount concern, as if it stood surveying all from the heights of our affection, so that while despising this fragile life and its wisdom, you may come by this happy exchange to be filled with the Spirit of God, who invites you to eternal glory.

48. Eccl 11.2.

49. See Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten,* ed. M. Adriaen, CC 72 (1959), 345.

LETTER 24

Peter Damian to abbot Mainard of Pomposa.[1] He admonishes the new abbot of Pomposa for his longstanding interest in fine clothes. Many examples from both the Old and New Testament prove that God is not well served by rich ornament or luxurious clothing.

(1047–1054)[2]

TO HIS DEAR BROTHER, Sir Mainard,[3] the monk Peter the Sinner sends greetings in the Lord.

(2) If a sick man should die after the physician has tried and professionally applied all sorts of medicines, there is no reason why the doctor's conscience should accuse him. He did everything possible if he attempted all manner of cures that would have done Archigenes[4] justice. And therefore at the death of a man who was ill of a fever, the physician

1. Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 56 speaks of two abbots of Pomposa, named Mainard.

2. On this date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 153.

3. The identification of the addressee with Abbot Mainard of Pomposa has been customary since Gaetani and assumed also by Mittarelli-Custadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 131. But Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 34 n. 104, has called it into question by doubting that Damian would have used this harsh language in reference to the famous Mainard. Dressler, Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 219f., L. Gatto, "Mainardo, vescovo di Silvacandida e abbate di Pompose," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 16 (1962), 201–248, esp. 221f., and idem, *Studi mainardeschi e pomposiani* (Collana di saggie e ricerche 4, 1969), 117ff. propose Mainard of Camporeggiano as the addressee. He is referred to in a bull of Pope Alexander II, dated 1061–1073; cf. J. v. Plugk-Harttung, *Urkunden der Päpste 97–1197* (Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita 2, 1886), 117, n. 153, as the abbot of the monastery of Camporeggiano, founded by Damian in 1057; Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 128ff., 209ff. But the arguments of Lucchesi, *Clavis* 84 and Samaritani, *Destinatari* 144 for Mainard of Pomposa are more convincing; see also Reindel, *Korrespondenten* 215 n. 50.

4. On Archigenes, whose name as the proverbial physician in Juvenal, *Saturae* 6.235f., 13.98, and 14.252, see Wellmann, "Archigenes," RE 3 (1895), 484ff.

who attempted his cure is not held guilty of crime. For, according to his ability, he applied the art of healing diligently, and will thus not be liable to false accusations. It has now been a long time, my brother, since the passion for fine clothes has inflamed you, and, if I might use the phrase, like the heat of a deadly fever has scorched the flesh of your ambition. Like a physician, even though an unskilled one, I have applied to you the oil of sweet and gentle admonition, and have often poured on the wine of severe correction.[5] Nor were the drugs of Sacred Scripture wanting to you, whose statements I formerly explained and like aromatic spices continually pounded for you.[6] And since, with the other brethren, I was always satisfied to appear in your presence in ordinary garb, and thus practiced what I preached, I thus first tried the antidote myself and so challenged you to drink of what I had already swallowed. But finally I applied the searing cautery by bringing the threat of hell fire to bear on luxurious garb. Did not James apply the hot iron to the rich when in showing that clothes are subject to moths and that flesh is in danger of fire, he said: "Come on, you rich. Start crying, weep for the miseries that are coming to you. Your wealth is all rotten, your clothes are all eaten up by moths. All your gold and your silver are corroding away, and the same corrosion will be your sentence and will burn into your body like fire."[7] Metal that is now avariciously hoarded will then be turned into red-hot plates, and the flesh, now adorned with colored garments, will afterwards roast in a crackling fire. Did not the Savior also apply the medicinal iron to those ambitious for clothes when he presented the rich man attired in purple and fine linen burning in the flames of hell?[8] As Scripture affirms, nothing else was found reprehensible in this rich man but what we read of him, clothed in splendor

5. See Lk 10.34.

6. A reference to Damian's residence at Pomposa in 1040; see Letter 1 n. 132.

7. Jas 5.1–3. Damian's use of "burn" instead of the Vulgate's "eat," is not found in *Beuron.*

8. Cf. Lk 16.19–23.

and reclining mercilessly at his exquisite banquet, although one also certainly detects in the wearing of stylish clothes the desire for vain glory. Surely a man is not eager to appear in costly attire if no one is likely to see him. Everyone, on the other hand, wishes to shine in his brilliant clothes so that smartly attired he might delight the eye of his admirers and indulge the visual pleasure of others. But while caressing the eyes of onlookers, he is offensive in the sight of the judge who looks within.

(3) Indeed, the great of this world are accustomed to be charmed by the jeweled attire of those who wish to please them, especially if they are admirably adept at providing hospitality and if those who lead the way appear outstanding in their varied clothes and grooming. But let us observe John who arranged for the coming of Christ, let us note the great precursor of the eternal King, "who went before him with the spirit and power of Elijah to turn the hearts of fathers toward their children and unbelievers to the wisdom that the virtuous have."[9] We should, therefore, consider the ruler of heaven and earth and the sort of garb that pleased him in his forerunner. But according to the Gospel we know that his vesture bristled with camel's hair, and of him the Savior said: "What did you go out into the wilderness to see? A man dressed in fine clothes? Those who wear fine clothes are to be found at the court of kings."[10] It seems as if he were clearly stating that those who affect the adornment of fastidious dress for the sake of vainglorious display are judged worthy of serving earthly kings and not the King of heaven.

(4) The royal court, then, is flattered by fine clothes, but the church is pleased to see rough and unadorned attire. "All the glory of the daughter of kings is within."[11] For the church, or every faithful soul, which is the very daughter of the holy apostles, does not delight in external display, but is happy to appear dressed for the eye of the hidden judge. She is not pleased by the false beauty of clothes, but glories in the

9. Lk 1.17.
10. Mt 11.7–8; Lk 7.24–25.
11. Ps 44.14.

variety of shining virtues. Of this variety Scripture states: "She is dressed in a variety of attire with golden fringes."[12] Shall I tell you of the variety of garments that pleases the eye of the heavenly bridegroom? The soul that glows with the brightness of snow-white chastity appears in the sight of Almighty God to be clothed in a spiritual tunic of fine linen. While it also burns with the flame of ardent charity, it is covered with scarlet cloth of twice-dyed cochineal. Since, moreover, it wished either to be completely mortified to this world or was avid to be consumed by martyrdom, it is then, as it were, dyed with the blood of the shell fish and thus approaches the appearance of royal purple. Nor should we think that the green of sincerity will long be wanting, for while the soul firmly hopes for the pleasant joys of the fields that are ever green, it takes on the never-fading aspect of emerald beauty. Therefore Peter also says: "Because God has given us a new birth by raising Jesus Christ from the dead, so that we have a lively hope, and an inheritance that can never be corrupted or soiled, and never fade away, kept for you in the heavens."[13] The Lord clearly stated that he has clothed the soul in such garb when he spoke through Ezekiel, saying, "I gave you embroidered dresses and blue-violet shoes; and I girded you with fine linen, with a cloak of silk, and adorned you with jewels."[14] Peter also required of women the same adornment and the same fine clothes of the spirit when he forbade them the use of alluring ornaments that smacked of a bawdy house: "Do not dress up for show," he said, "doing your hair, wearing gold and silver bracelets and fine clothes; all this should be inside, in a person's heart, imperishable: the ornament of a sweet and gentle disposition—that is what is precious in the sight of God."[15] Unseen adornment is surely pleasing to the unseen bridegroom, and when he beholds the holy soul shining with virtue, he quickly rushes to embrace it, saying: "You are beautiful, my love, sweet and fair as Jerusalem."[16] "As Jerusalem," he says, and not as Babylon, which

12. Ps 44.14–15.
13. 1 Pet 3.3–4.
14. Ezek 16.10–11.
15. 1 Pet 3.3–4.
16. Cant 6.3.

John saw "dressed in purple and scarlet, glittering with gold and jewels and pearls, and she was holding a winecup filled with the disgusting filth of her fornication."[17] The devil, indeed, dwells in Babylon, but Christ lives in Jerusalem. The former dotes on vain and luxurious attire, while Christ takes his delight in rough and lowly garb and a heart not lacking in humility.

(5) Splendid clothes, moreover, often incite the author of pride, but rough attire beckons Christ to show mercy to one who appears lowly. In this regard, the sacred history of the Kings relates the following: "The king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah were both sitting on their thrones in full regalia, at the threshing-floor outside the gate of Samaria, with all the prophets raving and lying in front of them."[18] The author of lies was taking delight in the attraction of this false dress, and at the sight of this counterfeit splendor turned the lips of prophets into instruments of lying. But on the other hand, when the same Ahab heard the harsh words and the threats of Elijah that were his due, fearing that the sword of God's terror was poised above his neck, as Scripture states, he "tore his garments and put hairskin next his body and fasted; he slept in sackcloth; he walked with head bowed down. Then the word of the Lord came to Elijah the Tishbite: 'Have you seen how Ahab has humbled himself before me? Since he has humbled himself before me, I will not bring the disaster in his days.'"[19]

(6) Notice how Ahab, when clad in imperial purple, was deceived by a false and lying spirit; but when he put on hairskin he turned back the sword of God's rage. When crowned with regal splendor, the halter of deception was round his neck; but when covered with sackcloth he won reprieve from disaster. Let a monk, therefore, indulge in vainglory; let him dress in splendid garb, and by the brilliance of his clothes feast the eyes of onlookers. But while strutting thus in his fine attire, he opens the door to the deceits of evil spirits and calls

17. Rev 17.4.
18. 1 Kgs 22.10.
19. 1 Kgs 21.27–29.

down upon himself the sentence of God's anger. While concerned only with external things, playing to the crowd, and seeking their admiration, he becomes the more contemptible in the sight of God, who despises pride, as he appears before the eyes of men dressed in his conspicuous finery. Job, on the other hand, who lay naked on the ground, scraping away the oozing sores with a potsherd; while he sat rotting in the ash-pit, the food of worms, despised by his wife, he was rewarded by words of consolation from God himself.[20] For God is not squeamish about the filth of bodily ulcers when he finds purity in the clean of heart. Does not the apostle say, moreover: "Having food and something wherewith to cover ourselves, let us be content with that"?[21] Why, when saying "having food," does he not immediately say, "and clothes"? Instead, after the words, "having food," he merely adds, "wherewith to cover ourselves." Why does he speak so, unless he wished to make it clear that we must clothe ourselves with garments so vile that they hardly deserve the name of clothes?

(7) King David, too, naked except for a linen loincloth, danced in public, whirling round before the ark of the Lord.[22] And the evangelical prophet Isaiah walked around naked for three years, going unshod in the presence of men and women.[23] And should a monk who has professed to be dead and buried to the life of the flesh, still strive for the pomp of fancy attire? We might also mention that the same Isaiah, before he went naked, did not pamper himself with soft garments, but was covered with a hairshirt. For unless he had gone about wearing a hairshirt, the voice of God would never have commanded: "Go and undo the sackcloth round your waist."[24] As Scripture shows, when Esau went hunting he left his fine clothes at home, but when his twin brother put them on he received his father's principal blessing.[25] For Jacob, who lived as it were in keeping with the teaching of the Gospel, did not beforehand own two tunics,[26] and later begged

20. Cf. Job 1; 2; 38.
21. 1 Tim 6.8.
22. 1 Sam 6.14.
23. Cf. Is 20.3.
24. Is 20.2.
25. Cf. Gen 27.
26. Cf. Mt 10.10.

in prayer for a simple garment and something to eat: "If God goes with me and keeps me safe on this journey I am making, if he gives me bread to eat and clothes to wear, then the Lord shall be my God."[27] Therefore, he who for honor's sake had an extra change of clothes, was eclipsed; while he, who was content with only one, gained the glory of divine election.

(8) Herod, also, as we read in the *Acts of the Apostles,* appeared grand when clothed in his regalia. But when making a speech to the people, and they acclaimed him as one speaking with the voice of God and not of men, at that moment an angel struck him down. Because he was overwhelmed by vainglory and would not give to God the honor offered to him, he became the victim of instant justice and died eaten away with worms.[28] And so, in the same way, he who arrogantly wishes to be borne aloft before the eyes of men for the brilliance of his fine clothes, deserves to be cast down by the judgment of God. The Creator of the angels himself when he lay crying in the manger, was not attired in purple or in sparkling dress, but, as we know, was wrapped in common swaddling clothes.[29] Worldly pride should therefore blush, and the arrogance of humanity that was granted redemption should be confounded and stand in wonder at the radiant humility of the newborn Redeemer whose light is about to break forth before men. For also when he was preparing to undergo his life-giving passion, Herod clothed him in a garment of white, and thus garbed in ridicule, he was then sent to Pilate.[30] And on that account the apostle says: "Let us go forth to him outside the camp, and share his degradation."[31] He is guilty of not wishing to bear the degradation of Christ who in his arrogance disdains to wear commonplace clothes. And finally, he who after entering upon a way of life dedicated to mortification, despises white or vile attire, rejects the outrage suffered by the Savior who died for us.

(9) So, my dear friend, discharge the poisonous filth of this deadly disease, and dispel from the stomach of your sluggish

27. Gen 28.20–21.
28. Cf. Acts 12.21–23.
29. Cf. Lk 2.7.
30. Cf. Lk 23.11.
31. Heb 13.13.

soul the desire for precious clothes. Indeed, it is no light illness of the soul to rejoice in the useless splendor of bodily attire. He who dissipates himself by indulging his attraction for external adornment has, indeed, shut out the grace of the Holy Spirit in which he should delight. Surely, if he were aware of the sweetness of that grace in the soul, he would never desire the empty vanity of pampering his body. The wise man admonishes us to avoid this disaster, saying: "Do not preen yourself on your fine clothes, nor be swollen headed on your day of glory."[32] Strive for that beauty of dress that will add to your esteem forever before the eyes of God, and not for that which helps you pass the time of this deceptive and frivolous life. Appear now in gloomy attire so that later you may exchange your rough garb for one of unfailing brightness.

(10) Zechariah spoke of both types of dress when he said: "Now Jesus was dressed in dirty clothes as he stood before the angel. The angel answered and said these words to those who stood before him: 'Take off his dirty clothes'; and he said to him: 'Look, I have taken away your iniquity from you and have clothed you with a change of garments.' And he said: 'Put a clean turban on his head.'"[33] Whom does Jesus, namely the high priest, prefigure if not the mediator between God and men? Certainly, just as the people of Israel, through the efforts of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, who came forth from the royal line of Judah, and Jesus, the son of Jehozadak, who administered the priestly office, after seventy years cast off the yoke of the Babylonian captivity and completely restructured the temple of Jerusalem that had been destroyed,[34] so also the number of the elect, after the time of this life, which passes with the flow of each seven days, is ended, will be snatched from the slavery of this mortal life by Jesus Christ, the true king and priest, and the temple of God, which is holy church, will be restored in the heavenly Jerusalem. The apostle says of this slavery: "For creation itself will

32. Eccl 11.4.
33. Zech 3.3–5.
34. Cf. Ezra 3.

be freed from its slavery to decadence to enjoy freedom and glory as the children of God."[35]

(11) Then finally Jesus in his body, which is the church, will divest himself of his soiled garments and will then put on the attire of honor and glory, because the whole choir of the elect is freed from the mournful squalor of the sadness of time and is clothed in a robe of immortality in the splendor of everlasting happiness. The church also clearly sings of this in the psalm for the dedication of the house (of David): "You have turned my mourning into joy; you have stripped off my sackcloth and wrapped me in gladness, that my glory may sing to you and I may not feel regret."[36] A clean turban is also put on his head, because he is crowned with the glory of eternal happiness. Therefore, my brother, at the sight of this blessed garb disdain every alluring charm of clothes that will rot away, despise all the ludicrous and passing frills of stylish dress; and content with lowly and simple attire, compel yourself to live by the dictates of the holy Rule. "Rather than acting proudly, you should be afraid."[37] Seek the lowest place at the spiritual wedding,[38] and tremble at the thought of doing harm to humility. And if through negligence you should inadvertently offend, correct your fault through penance. Remember, moreover, what Solomon says: "With the anger of the ruler mounting against you, do not leave your post";[39] or, to put it another way, if you should think that the spirit of the tempter were about to overcome you in any way, do not desert humility that goes with penance. You should therefore glory in being humbly clothed with Christ in a white garment,[40] rather than be irrevocably buried in the avenging fire with the proud rich man attired in his purple.[41]

35. Rom 8.21.
36. Ps 30.12–13.
37. Cf. Rom 12.16.
38. Cf. Lk 14.10.
39. Eccl 10.4.
40. Cf. Lk 23.11.
41. Cf. Lk 16.19–25.

LETTER 25

Peter Damian to the lawyer, Atto, who had promised to become a monk but changed his mind and argued that his action was allowable. Damian proposes the sacredness of a vow made to God, the breaking of which must be held as much more reprehensible than violating a promise made to man. After citing Scripture for his position, he then quotes Pope Gregory I, the councils of Chalcedon and Toledo, and Pope Leo I to strengthen his argument. He is especially disturbed, not so much by the lawyer's action, as by his defense of that action, which approximates heresy, making him liable for all the punishment attendant on that crime.

(1046–1067)[1]

TO THE ADVOCATE[2] ATTO,[3] the monk Peter the Sinner sends greetings in the Lord.

(2) It is well known, my illustrious man, that you freely entrusted yourself into the hands of the lord abbot, Mainard,[4] and because of your desire for heaven vowed to become a monk. But now, having changed your mind, as it is reported, you propose not only to violate your vow, but with many cunning arguments you sophistically claim that this is possible. Thus it was that you are reliably reported to have angrily spat out these words to the abbot: "Show me," you said, "a text of the canonical Scripture on the basis of which

1. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Clavis* 87.

2. The Latin text uses the word *causidicus*. On the functions of this officer, see J. Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens* 3 (1872), 96ff.

3. Samaritani, *Destinatari* 146 claims that the recipient here is identical with Azzo, the builder of the tower of Pomposa; Lucchesi, *Clavis* 87 rightly rejects this idea. See also D. Balboni, "La lapide del campanile," in: *Pomposia monasterium in Italia princeps* (1963), 7f.

4. It is not possible to say whether Damian refers here to Mainard of Pomposa, or to the abbot of Camporeggiano, who bears the same name. See L. Gatto, "Mainardo, vescovo di Silvacandida e abbate di Pomposa," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 16 (1962), 201–248, esp. 223, who chooses the former; Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 220 prefers the latter.

you can either properly accuse me of leaving the world, or legally declare that I am subject to the monastic rule."

(3) Now, in replying to a lawyer, let me first refer to civil jurisdiction. In Roman law it is stipulated that once something is granted by the donor, it may in no way be revoked.[5] But since this norm of action is to be observed in regard to men, how much more inviolably must it be safeguarded in respect to God? A man does not lose what he once received, and is God to be cheated of his right to possess? Military commanders here on earth lay claim to those who enlisted in the army; we swear to bear arms in God's forces, we stamp ourselves with the mark of his heavenly militia, and have we no fear of branding ourselves as deserters? You have not given God gold, or a horse, or anything else that lies outside yourself. You have given him your very self, and do you now attempt to take it back? What can you give God in exchange for yourself, for "what can a man give in exchange for his soul?"[6] Although Moses ordained in the law: "When a man makes a vow and promises himself to God, he shall pay the amount at which he is valued,"[7] we should carefully note that a little further on he added: "Nothing which a man devotes to the Lord, whether man or beast or land may be sold or redeemed. Everything that is once so devoted is most holy to the Lord."[8]

(4) Hear too, my son, what a terrible sentence the wise man plainly levels at you: "The beginning of pride is to forsake the Lord, for his heart is in revolt against his Maker; since pride is the origin of sin, so persistence in it brings on a deluge of maledictions and brings him at last to disaster."[9]

(5) Therefore, my brother, following the advice of the same man of wisdom, "turn to the Lord and have done with sin; make your prayer in his presence, and so lessen your offense."[10] And then he adds: "Come back to the Lord, re-

5. *Institutiones* 2.7.2, 15: "Yet there are other donations . . . which we call among living persons . . . which, if given without defect, cannot rashly be recalled."

6. Mt 16.26.

7. Lev 27.2.

8. Lev 27.28.

9. Sir 10.14–15.

10. Sir 17.21–22.

nounce your wrongdoing, and hate intensely what he abhors and recognize the laws and commands of God and stand by the calling which the Most High has designed and requested of you."[11] This saying also of the wise man should not be passed over by you: "Let nothing hinder your constant prayer, and do not wait till death to be absolved, for the reward of the Lord will remain forever."[12] Nor should you forget these words: "Come back to the Lord without delay; do not put it off from one day to the next, for suddenly the Lord's wrath will be upon you, and you will perish at the time of reckoning."[13] Ecclesiastes also says: "Remember your Creator in the days of your youth, before the time of trouble comes and the years draw near when you will say, 'I have no pleasure in them.'"[14]

(6) You have offered yourself to God, and have you withdrawn by becoming a runaway? And so you make God out to be a boy and you an egg. For as in play you attempt to take back what first you offered him, namely yourself, you seem to want him to yelp like a boy. "Make no mistake about this: God is not mocked; a man reaps what he sows."[15] You are making sport of the Creator, by your lie you offend Truth itself. Moreover since God is certainly Truth, there is no greater offense against him than lying. Listen to what the Lord says through Moses in Deuteronomy: "When you make a vow to the Lord your God, do not put off its fulfillment, for the Lord your God will demand it of you. If you delay you will be guilty of sin. If you choose not to make a vow, you will not be guilty of sin. But what has once come from your lips you must observe, and you must do what you promised the Lord your God and have freely spoken."[16]

(7) What is more, consider what a fearful judgment the Lord proclaimed in the Gospel when he said: "No one who sets his hand to the plough and then keeps looking back is fit for the kingdom of God."[17] You have made a promise and

11. Sir 17.23–24.
12. Sir 18.22.
13. Sir 5.8–9.
14. Sir 12.1.
15. Gal 6.7–8.
16. Deut 23.21–23.
17. Lk 9.62.

have you no fear in breaking your promise? You have made a vow, and do you neglect to carry it out, when the psalmist says: "Make vows and pay them duly."[18] And Solomon says in the book of Proverbs: "My son, if you pledge yourself for your friend and stand surety for a stranger, you have been caught by your own words and trapped in your own speech."[19]

(8) If a man stands surety for a stranger and makes himself liable for a pledge made to his friend, how much more accountable you are to God, since in this case you have not pledged yourself for a stranger or an outsider, but specifically have offered yourself to God? You began to burn with the fire of divine love when you decided to serve in the heavenly army. Through the spirit, indeed, you began to take fire, but because of the base listlessness of the flesh you grew lukewarm. And so God's word spoken by John in the Apocalypse is meant for you when your sluggish spirit reneges on its sacred promise: "How I wish you were either hot or cold! But because you are lukewarm, neither hot nor cold, I will spit you out of my mouth."[20] Obviously, after food has been vomited we say that it is good for nothing. Like some delightful repast you passed into the body of Christ when you gave yourself as evidenced by your assent and commitment to keep watch in his service. But now, alas, as something unpleasant you are spit out because you are trying to break and negate the vow you have made, not heeding what the Lord says through Moses in the book of Numbers: "When a man makes a vow to the Lord or swears an oath and puts himself under a binding obligation, he must not break his word. Every thing he has promised, he must make good."[21] Indeed, in the sight of men you are a layman because of your military cloak and secular dress; but to the eye of the omnipotent God you are a fallen monk for having broken your sacred promise. Before men you seem to stand, but in the sight of the Lord you have fallen. For that which before your commitment you were allowed to do is no longer permitted, because you deliberately abandoned your purpose of doing something better.

18. Ps 76.11.
19. Prov 6.1–2.
20. Rev 3.15–16.
21. Num 30.3.

(9) But perhaps since you do not believe me and take my words lightly, at least listen to St. Gregory the pope who in his third homily on Ezekiel says the same in the words which I quote: "There are some," he says, "who indeed do good things of which they have become aware, and doing that, refrain from carrying out the better things they had planned. They perform the good deeds that they began, but give up the better that they had in mind. Such people in the judgment of men seem to be successful in their work, but in the eyes of the omnipotent God they fail in what they planned. And so it often happens that even their good works are less pleasing to God, for since their planning to act at a higher level is marked by inconstancy, their good deeds, too, are found blameworthy because of their capricious thinking. But because irreproachable men usually view their circumstances with great subtlety and discretion so as not to lapse into less worthy conduct in thought or in deed, and never cease from introspection, however much they progress each day, it is rightly said of them: 'They did not turn as they moved, but each creature went straight forward.'"[22]

(10) But you, my brother, on the contrary, have gone backwards, not going straight forward with these holy creatures, but have ridiculously tried to move in reverse. Nor do you pay attention to what the Lord says through Isaiah: "O sinful nation, people loaded with iniquity, race of evildoers, wantonly destructive children who have deserted the Lord, spurned the holy one of Israel and turned your backs on him."[23] Of such Jeremiah also says: "They went backwards and not forwards."[24]

(11) Consider, therefore, that he who turns his back on him is numbered among the race of evildoers, among wantonly destructive children, that is, among those who do not come into the inheritance along with those who deserve a blessing, those to whom it was said: "For a blessing is the inheritance

22. Ezek 1.9; Gregory I, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam* 1.3, 18, ed. M. Andriaen, CC 142 (1971), 44f.; cf. Ryan, *Sources* 112, no. 222.
23. Is 1.4.
24. Jer 7.24.

to which you have been called;"[25] but among those rather who incur a sentence of everlasting damnation, to whom also it is said: "Cursed are those who turn from your commandments."[26] My brother, you began to extricate yourself from the snares of this evil and deceptive world and to hurry toward that sweetness which is God; and now do you propose to abandon God and again entangle yourself in the snares of the world? In opposition to this Peter says: "If they who had once escaped the world's defilements through the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, have entangled themselves in these all over again, and are mastered by them, their plight in the end is worse than before. How much better never to have known the right way, than, having known it, to turn back and abandon the sacred commandments delivered to them. For them the proverb has proved true: 'The dog returns to its own vomit,' and 'the sow after a wash rolls in the mud again.'"[27]

(12) Again as the prophet says: "How grim a thing it is and how bitter to forsake the Lord your God."[28] And again he speaks of you and of those like you: "They have forsaken me," he says, "the spring of living water, and they have hewn out for themselves cisterns, cracked cisterns that can hold no water."[29] And against such action Paul advises when he says: "See to it, brothers, that no one among you has the wicked heart of a deserter from the living and true God."[30] A man does not desert God with his feet, but by performing evil deeds. And when it falls from the heights of a more eminent purpose, then is the unhappy soul separated from God who is the pivot and pole around which all good things revolve. You are not satisfied in attempting in bad faith to break your vow of entering religious life, but you also seek by the audacity of perversely defending your action to entice others by your pitiful arguments. For you keep insisting, as I see it, that even though a man commends himself into the hands of the abbot and promises to enter this sacred way of life, he should

25. 1 Pet 3.9.
26. Ps 119.21.
27. 2 Pet 2.20–23; Prov 26.11.
28. Jer 2.19.
29. Jer 2.13.
30. Heb 3.12.

not be deterred from violating such a promise. From such assertions, obviously, heresy is begotten unless you at once desist from this effort of yours. But one is not properly labelled at once with the term heretic just as soon as he falls into heresy. For he only is rightly called a heretic who keeps to his error and defends this abominable and perfidious evil.[31]

(13) Moreover, it is not out of place, I believe, if I cite a few examples from the sacred canons, so that it will become evident by quoting various authorities, what a wall of opposing law stands in the way of your apostacy, and that those following in the footsteps of your inconstancy will find no means of escape. For wherever you turn, the reins of authority will restrain you and will correspondingly, and therefore, stoutly oppose your base efforts.[32] And so, as you try to wander off through circuitous routes of legal intricacies, through obstacles placed everywhere before you, and even against your own will you will return to the right path. Therefore, give your attention to what the council of Chalcedon decided: "For those who aspired to the monastic life, we decree that they shall not enter the army nor occupy any secular office. But those who attempt to do so and are not repentant are to be excommunicated, since they have not returned to that which for God's sake they had previously chosen."[33]

(14) You should also note the decree of pope Leo: "Monastic vows freely and voluntarily taken cannot be abandoned without sinning. For what one has vowed to God he must fulfill. Hence, one who has deserted the monastic life and has chosen a less worthy life in the army or in marriage, must be cleansed by performing public penance, since, while an army career can be blameless, and marriage can be virtuous, to have turned one's back on a better choice is a transgression

31. For the notion that persistence in heresy is true heresy, see Isidore of Seville, *De haeresibus liber,* ed. A. C. Vega (Scriptores ecclesiastici hispanolatini veteris et medii aevi 5, 1940), 25. This position is taken also by Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.51, 112.

32. Gregory I, *In Hiezechihelem* 1.3.18, 43ff.; see also Ryan, *Sources* 112, no. 223.

33. Burchard, *Decretum* 8.4: *Ex concilio Chalced.* 7 (PL 140, 793B); Ryan, *Sources* 112f., no. 224.

of the law."[34] Clearly, of your own free will you chose to become a monk when you vowed to enter the monastic life.

(15) And so it is that this esteemed man did not say, what a man has put on he must not discard, but rather, what he has vowed to God he must fulfill, obviously pointing out that to take a vow is to assume a sacred obligation, and to break a vow is without doubt its violation. Hence, too, he did not add the words, to abandon the habit, but to turn your back on a better choice is a transgression of the law. Similarly, we find these words from the council of Toledo: "Dedication by a father or by one's own promise makes one a monk; either of these will be binding. Hence, to such we bar the way of returning to the world and forbid all going back to secular life."[35]

(16) But now I must call a halt to this discussion, lest in trying to muster these many proofs from Scripture for my position, I appear to add frills to the due brevity of my letter. In the meantime, therefore, carefully note from the texts I have produced how deserving of punishment is the offense of breaking your vow to enter religious life. Wherefore, my dear son, despise the poisonous advice of evil flatterers, dread their pernicious, or better, their deadly urgings as ridiculous nonsense, and close your ears to the hissing of the ancient serpent. As you promised, do not put off fulfilling your vow, so that, which God forbid, you do not plunge into hell with apostates, but rather that, with Christ's helping hand, you may at length be conducted to glory in the company of those who have adhered to the teachings of the apostles.

34. Burchard, *Decretum* 8.8: *Ex decretis Leonis papae* 26 (793D–794A); Ryan, *Sources* 113, no. 225.

35. Burchard, *Decretum* 8.6: *Ex Concilio Toletan.* 49 (793CD); Ryan, *Sources* 113, no. 226.

LETTER 26

Peter Damian to Pope Clement II. He informs the pope of the emperor Henry III's request and command to bring the sorry condition of the Marches to Clement's attention. Because of the difficulties he hesitates to undertake the journey, but awaits the command of the pope, meanwhile deploring Clement's apparent lack of interest in reform.

(End of April 1047)[1]

TO THE LORD CLEMENT,[2] bishop of the highest see, the monk Peter the Sinner offers the service of his humblest devotion.

(2) May your Grace be aware, most excellent lord, that the invincible lord Emperor[3] commissioned me, not once but frequently, and, if I may dare say so, deigned to ask that I come to you. He requested that I inform you both of what was happening in the churches of our region and of what I deemed imperative for you to do.[4] But although I dreaded

1. For this date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 77.

2. Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, was elected Pope on 24 December 1046 (E. von Guttenberg, *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg* 2 [Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte 6, 2 1939], 99–108). He died in the monastery of S. Tommaso in Foglia near Pesaro on 9 October 1047; A. von Reitzenstein, "Papst Clemens II. und sein Grabmal im Bamberger Dom," in: S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab des Papstes Clemens II. im Dom zu Bamberg* (1960), 9–31; on the question of his possible death by poison, see W. Specht and Kurt Fischer, *Chemisch-toxikologische Studie an 900-jährigen Mumienrelikten* (1960). See also F. Dressler, "Clement II, Pope," NCE 3 (1967), 928–929.

3. It is not certain where Damian first met Henry III. He was present at the imperial coronation in Rome on 25 December 1046 (cf. Letter 70). Further meetings with the emperor, as may be gathered from the letter, could have taken place in early 1047 as Henry passed through the Marches; see Mitterelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 102ff., Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 77, and Steindorff, *Heinrich III.* 2, 25f. The meeting referred to in Letter 43 at St. Apollinaris in Classe, took place in 1055.

4. Damian's various complaints against individual clerics in the Marches

the difficulty of the journey and expressed my complete reluctance to visit you, he was not deterred from his purpose, but absolutely commanded that I set out. But after I had traveled for three days and then returned to the hermitage,[5] his letter, to be delivered personally to you, was brought to me,[6] which I will not presume to open before you have seen it. If you would, please read it for yourself, and along with it by your cover letter be pleased to determine whether or not I should visit you.[7]

(3) In this dilemma, I both fear to waste my time in running here and there, and yet I am consumed by feelings of extreme sorrow and compassion over the state of the Church in our area, in complete disarray because of evil bishops and abbots. Of what profit is it, my lord, for us to say that the Apostolic See has come back from darkness and turned to light[8] if we ourselves are still encompassed by the same darkness? How can one benefit from hoarding an abundance of food under lock and key if he be dying of hunger? To what avail is a man armed with a keen-edged sword if he does not attack the enemy that surrounds him? For Almighty God has set you in his stead[9] to be food, so to speak, for the people; from your resources he has armed the body of his Church against all the assaults of its enemies, all to the end that you

---

were addressed to Gregory VI (Letter 13), Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi (Letter 4), as well as to Henry III himself (Letter 20). On the general state of affairs in the Marches, see Prete, *S. Pier Damiani* and Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana.*

5. This three-day journey appears to refer more likely to an earlier return-trip from meeting the emperor, than to a more recent visit to the pope.

6. Letters of Henry III to Clement II have not survived.

7. Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 92 correctly noted Damian's hesitancy, and his putting off the visit to the pope despite the orders from the emperor. It is possible that the true cause was Damian's dissatisfaction with the pope over the latter's lack of forcefulness in dealing with the disreputable bishops in his region.

8. Cf. Acts 26.18. This is possibly a reference to the events in Sutri and Rome during December 1046; see C. Violante, *La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica* 1 (Studi storici 11, 1955), 73.

9. The Latin text uses the words *vice sui*; on which see M. Maccarrone, *Vicarius Christi, storia del titolo papale* (Lateranum N.S. 18, 1952), 53ff.; Woody, *Damiani* 100ff.

may strive with heavenly virtue to pierce the heart of those who resist God, and to satisfy the hunger of our unworthiness with the food of divine revelation. But when we see that thief, the bishop of Fano,[10] cursed and excommunicated even by those who were called apostolic, but were not;[11] and the bishop of Osimo also involved in so many and such unprecedented crimes,[12] and others deserving of condemnation for similar guilt, now returning from your court with such gloating arrogance, my joyous hope is forcibly changed to grief. I indeed had hoped that you were about to set Israel free.[13]

(4) Wherefore, my good Lord, endeavor so to re-establish downtrodden and degraded justice and to apply the scourge of ecclesiastical energy, that the faction of evil may fall from its proud estate, and that the disposition of the humble may confidently recover its hope for better things.[14]

10. On the diocese of Fano, see Letter 4, n. 6.

11. On the questions, who are here included under the title "apostolic," and who undertook these depositions, see Letter 13, n. 18.

12. On the unnamed bishop of Osimo, see P. Compagnoni, *Memorie istorico-critiche della chiesa e de'vescovi di Osimo* 1 (1782); Grillantini, *Osimo* 139ff. Just who this indicted bishop of Osimo was, is not certain. In 1022 (G. de Catino, *Chronicon Farfense,* ed. U. Balzani, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 33 [1903], 254 and in 1037 (cf. Bartoccetti, *Serie* 15, 108) there was a bishop Gisler in office. In 1051 Damian addressed Letter 38 to a bishop Gisler of Osimo, who undoubtedly cannot be identified with the bishops of 1022 and 1037, and who also could hardly be involved in so many and such unprecedented crimes; see Prete, *S. Pier Damiani* 123 and Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 171f. Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 40 is in error in assuming that Damian addressed still other letters to Gisler of Osimo; see Reindel, *Neue Literatur* 409.

13. Cf. Lk 24.21. See Laqua, *Traditionen* 297 n. 97, who conjectures that this citation from Luke is a reference to the Gospel text for Easter Monday, that in 1047 fell on 20 April, thus giving us a precise date for this letter.

14. For further reference to Letter 26, see also Fois, *Cardinali* 42ff.

LETTER 27

Peter Damian to the monk Honestus of Pomposa. Discussing the spiritual significance of the heavenly manna and of the jubilee year, Damian criticizes his correspondent's excessive eagerness for food. As a remedy he proposes the delights of spiritual food to be savored through meditation and love.

(1047–1054)[1]

TO BROTHER HONESTUS,[2] the monk Peter the Sinner sends greetings.

(2) Even though one is forced into battle under duress, he may still fight valiantly, compensating for the dishonor of his degrading fear, as by his bravery he wins a victory. But if he both begins unwillingly, and with the enemy in sight, retreats out of fear, even though by flight he escapes the enemy's missiles, he will not avoid the stigma of disgrace. As far as I can learn, my brother, you, too, unwillingly swore to take up arms in the spiritual force, and after signing up made profession as a novice, performed no outstanding deeds, nothing brave, and certainly nothing worthy of praise, but having left Egypt, you began to grumble about the limited quantity of the food and drink, to long for all the delightful things of Egypt, complaining with Israel that lived by the flesh: "If only we had died at the Lord's hand in Egypt,[3]

1. For this dating, see Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 15 and 2, 154; L. Gatto, "Mainardo, vescovo di Silvacandida e abate di Pomposa," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 16 (1962), 2-1-248, esp. 222f. dates this letter for *ca.* 1065.

2. Most probably the monk here addressed was Honestus of Pomposa. Samaritani, *Destinatari* claims that he also was the same Honestus to whom Letter 1 was addressed, when he was still a layman. See Lucchesi, *Clavis* 88 and *Vita,* no. 15, who agrees and furnishes further evidence.

3. Lucchesi, *Vita,* no. 15 sees a relationship between this word and the greeting of Letter 1: "in the darkness of this Egypt."

where we sat around the fleshpots and had plenty of bread to eat."[4]

(3) The king of Babylon cast you into the blazing furnace,[5] but he could not see the Son of God with you, walking amid the burning flames. The persecutor threw in a mass of tow, naptha, pitch, and faggots,[6] but the power of God did not extinguish for you this mighty fire. Of this fire, moreover, it was said that it burst out above the furnace to a height of forty-nine cubits.[7] But it could not reach to fifty, that is, to the symbol of mystic jubilee.[8] Jubilee is the year of rest, but the carnal fire of concupiscence has nothing to do with rest, but rather begets discord, since it troubles and disturbs a worthless mind burning with titillating allurements. It is not to be classified with that fire of the fiftieth day, of which it is said: "Mount Sinai was all smoking because the Lord had come down upon it in fire, and the smoke went up like the smoke of a kiln."[10] Nor does it correspond to that fire which also on the fiftieth day after the Lord's glorious resurrection came down upon the apostles in a variety of tongues.[11] Now both of these fires came down, because both came from heaven. But the fire of which we spoke above, is said not to have come down, but to have ascended, so that it may be seen to proceed from the wantonness of carnal desire.

(4) Brother, do not be a slave to gluttony or to the desires of the flesh, you who have vowed to the author of temperance to be his knight. You should be ashamed to be a serf to carnal pleasure, nor should you, after subjecting your neck to the noble yoke of Christ, submit to the chains of barbarians. Let

4. Exod 16.3. For the variant "in Egypt," see *Biblia sacra* 2, 160.
5. Cf. Dan 3.20, 92.
6. Cf. Dan 3.46–47.
7. About seventy-five feet.
8. H. Grundmann, "Jubel," in: idem, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* 3 (Schriften der MGH 25, 3, 1978), 130–162. This is perhaps a reference to Lev 25.10–11: "and so you shall hallow the fiftieth year . . . the fiftieth year shall be your jubilee," and to Num 36.4: ". . . that when the jubilee, that is, the fiftieth year of remission." See also Alcuin, *Commentaria in sancti Iohannis evangelium* 7.43 (PL 100, 997C): ". . . for in the Old Testament we read, that the fiftieth year was to be called the jubilee, in which all the people could rest from their labor." Cf. R. North, "Jubilee Year", NCE 7 (1967), 1141.
10. Exod 19.18.
11. Cf. Acts 2.3.

Eglon, king of Moab, not enslave you,[12] but like Ehud suddenly run him through with the sword. Nor should Agag, the king of Amalek, press you, together with the earthly Israel, into his service,[13] but let Samuel in your presence cut him to pieces, every joint and limb. Nor should the destroyer of Jerusalem appeal to you, he, that is, who because he provided alluring delights of the flesh, is said to have been the prince of cooks.[14] If you should wish to eat something sweet, let the palate of your heart taste of that divine and mystic manna, of which it is said "that it tasted like the finest wheat flour mixed with honey."[15] This flour, indeed, is made from grain which falls to the ground and dies and bears a rich harvest.[16] But this flour is mixed with honey, since the humanity of the Redeemer is filled with the sweetness of divinity. "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself";[17] or certainly, the honey in the flour is the spiritual sweetness of the letter of the Scriptures.

(5) And so it was that the Hebrew people was reported to have made cakes from the manna: "The people," it says, "ground it up in hand-mills or pounded it in mortars, then boiled it in a pot and made it into cakes tasting like bread dipped in oil."[18] Unless a cake is first opened, one is unable to taste what is hidden inside. And thus the pronouncements of the prophets are like cakes that hide the mystery of spiritual wisdom within a sheath of sensual words. He was unable to open this cake, to whom Isaiah said: "Come, read this book. And he answered: 'I cannot,' because it is sealed."[19] The eunuch asked that this cake be opened for him when he replied to Philip who said: "Do you understand what you are reading? And he answered: 'How can I understand unless someone gives me the clue?'"[20] It was as if he were saying:

12. Cf. Judg 3.12, 21.
13. Cf. 1 Sam 15.9, 33.
14. Cf. 2 Kgs 25.8–12. The reference is to Nebuzaradan, who earlier in his career had been the butler of King Nebuchadnezzar. See F. H. Weisbach, "Nabuzardan," RE 32 (1935), 1495f.
15. Exod 16.31.
16. Cf. John 12.24.
17. 2 Cor 5.19.
18. Num 11.8.
19. Is 29.11.
20. Acts 8.30–31.

"Now I hold this cake in my hand, but I cannot eat it unless a skilled hand opens it and exposes for me the spiritual kernel that lies hidden within the chaff of the words." Of those who cannot open it by themselves, Jeremiah says: "Young children beg for bread, but no one was there to break it for them."[21]

(6) Therefore, my dear friend, carefully pound this manna, this food of lifegiving nourishment, in the mortar of your meditation; always boil it in the pot of fervent love, that you might gratify your inmost soul on the food that rained down from heaven. May this intimate banquet sweeten the lips of your heart, may it invite your soul to participate in this heavenly feast. And lastly, may this food delight the taste of your mind, may it arouse you to yearn for the refreshments of the supernal repast.

(7) And so, repressing your desire for other nourishment, long for and seek with full desire only one. "One thing I ask of the Lord, one think I seek."[22] This unity was lacking in the fire that rose forty-nine cubits,[23] since the carnal appetite, while quickly flitting about from one thing to another, does not possess the one objective, namely the cause and the purpose, in which it can find delightful repose. But the year of jubilee is bound by this unity, because the entire hope and purpose of the saints is placed in the love of the Creator alone, in it resides all their repose. Everything that they do is directed toward him, and they find their rest from all earthly vanity in him alone, as if it were the year of jubilee. For as the seventh day which is celebrated each week, or certainly the sabbatical year of rest[24] which is also observed every seventh[25] year signifies this time of rest in which the saints

21. Lam 4.4.
22. Ps 27.4.
23 Cf. Dan 3.47.
24. Cf. Lev 25.4–5.
25. On the hallowing of the number seven signifying rest, that first appears in Gen 2.2–3, see Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 11.31, 351 and 22.30, 865; Augustine, *Epistula* 55.18, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34 (1898), 188f.; Gregory I, *Moralia* 35.8.16, PL 76, 758BC; and on the number seven in general, see V. Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (Columbia University. Studies in English and Comparative Literature 132, 1938), 43ff.; H. Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im MA* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 25, 1975), 133–139.

love God alone, and in him rest from all the disturbances of the world, so the year of jubilee, that is, the fiftieth year, denotes the last repose[26] in which all the elect will enjoy untroubled and endless rest. In this life the soul of only one or the other saintly person rests in God through certain hope and pure love, for the flesh is disturbed by many calamities in which everything goes wrong. Thus every week had a sabbath of days, a seven-year period had a sabbath of years, but the jubilee was the sabbath of sabbaths. From seven times seven we arrive at the number forty-nine, and then by adding another unit, we come to the number fifty, namely jubilee. As in this category we say seven times seven, so mentally we double the period of rest for body and soul.

(8) Now in the jubilee of our repose, that is, in the life of eternal happiness, each of the elect enjoys the unchanging quiet not only of the soul but also of the body, so that neither substance will be troubled by any unseemly violence. In the year of jubilee the trumpet sounds and everyone recovers his property,[27] "for," as the apostle says, "at the word of command, at the sound of the archangel's voice and God's trumpet call, the Lord himself will descend from heaven, and the dead who are Christ's will rise."[28] What does it mean to descend at the sound of the archangel's voice and at God's trumpet call, if not, as it were, to resound with the blare of trumpets? And what is meant by the words, the dead who are Christ's will rise, if not that each will regain his possessions? For then will Abraham and Moses, then certainly will Pilate and Herod and everyone, whether he be a just man or a sinner, retrieve the rights to his possessions when he is again clothed in the flesh he had temporarily set aside, so that with his own body each one will receive what he deserves. Wherefore, the damned now have a certain repose for both these substances, since they achieve perfect pleasure for both body and soul, so that the flames of concupiscence which proceed from their overheated soul as from the furnace of the Chal-

26. On the number 50, see n.8.
27. Cf. Lev 25.9–10.
28. 1 Thess 4.16.

deans,[29] may be seen to rise to seven times seven, that is, to forty-nine cubits; but since they do not purposefully strive for that unity which is God, they do not reach the fulness of blessed jubilee.

(9) But we who seek this jubilee with God, that is, this repose, must show this jubilee with God in ourselves. Whoever does not allow God to repose in his heart in this life, will not afterwards be rewarded with the repose of life in heaven. Does he not somehow seek for the quiet of jubilee in us, since it is said in Isaiah: "On whom will my spirit rest, if not on the man of humble heart, free of ambition, and on him who reveres my words?"[30] Did not the dove, which then prefigured the Holy Spirit, seek rest? Of this dove we read, that "because she could find no place where she could settle, she came back to Noah in the ark."[31] This dove did not find a place to rest on the water that imperilled the earth, because the Holy Spirit never rests on those who will perish with the world. The dove came back to the ark in which there were eight persons, because the Holy Spirit deigns to dwell in those in whom, through the cleansing of baptism, resides a certain hope of blessed resurrection. Hence it is written that "the Spirit of God hovered over the surface of the waters."[32] Did not the Lord himself promise to take his rest in us when he said: "Anyone who loves me will heed what I say, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our dwelling with him"?[33] He complained that he had not found rest with a certain man when he said: "Foxes have their dens and the birds their nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head."[34] Therefore, anyone who begets in his heart the poison of anything evil should be quick to drive out the foxes from the den within him, so that in it the Son of God might be able properly to lay his head. O you, whoever you are, turn

29. Cf. Dan 3.47–48.

30. Is 66.2. Damian's citation here varies from the Vulgate, but seems to follow the text used by Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 73.24, 1021; also 92.6, 1296; similarly also Jerome, *Ezechiel* 726.

31. Gen 8.9.

32. Gen 1.2.

33. John 14.23.

34. Lk 9.58.

your heart, the cave for foxes, into a secret mortar of pure meditation where you never cease finely pounding the manna of heavenly eloquence, so that from it may come forth for you bread dipped in oil. For bread dipped in oil is the understanding of Sacred Scripture, seasoned with the sweetness of the Holy Spirit. May this Spirit, my dear brother, come to you; may he rid you, along with Samson,[35] of the bonds of idleness and torpor, and incite you to engage the enemy eagerly and bravely.

(10) When things are desperate, it is glorious to act boldly; it is exceptional news when one who is rushing into disaster wins an unexpected victory. When the Roman consul Marcellus unexpectedly fell into the hands of the Gauls, and with the heavily armed enemy surrounding him completely cut him off from escape, like a lightning flash he attacked their King Vitromarus, and after the king was slain, in company with his colleague Marcus Scipio, he killed a great number of the enemy.[36] Why should we marvel if what was achieved against men and brought off by human bravery, should now take place against the devil through the power of the Holy Spirit? Therefore, dear brother, shake off this ignoble cowardice, this deep-seated listlessness, take up arms like a man, and with the shield of deep introspection ward off the javelins launched by your opponents. Let the brigands who were about to run Isboseth through not find you in bed asleep,[37] but rather let the forces of the Philistines see you fighting indomitably like David.[38]

(11) That you may come to win this victory with God's help, no longer complain with Israel of the flesh, and say: "Our whole being has dried up; there is nothing wherever we look except this manna,"[39] but rather you should chant joyfully with the prophet and with good cheer: "How sweet in my

35. Cf. Judg 16.28–30.

36. See Eutorpius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita* 3.6, ed. H. Droysen, MGH Auct. ant. 2 (1879), 48. The names in Damian's MS of Eutropius are corrupt. The king of the Gauls was Viridomarus, and the colleague was Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio.

37. Cf. 2 Sam 4.5–6.

38. Cf. 1 Sam 19.8.

39. Num 11.6.

mouth are your words, O Lord, sweeter on my tongue than honey and the honey-comb."[40] And so, let the eagerness for any carnal delicacy, which falls into the pit, be done away with wholly, let the enticing delights of the flesh disappear, and may spiritual delights never cease to nourish the taste of our mind. Carnal feasts are good for nothing but providing nourishment for worms, while spiritual food will not allow a man to die, but will guard him on the way to the pleasantly green pastures of eternity. The former drive their devotees into hell-fire, thirsting with the rich man for a drop of water;[41] the latter, with Daniel, open for us the secrets of heavenly mystery.[42] Of the former, moreover, it was said: "Food is for the belly and the belly for food, and one day God will put an end to both";[43] but of the latter: "Your lips drop sweetness like the honey-comb, my bride, honey and milk are under your tongue."[44] And again: "The fountain in the gardens is a spring of running water flowing down from Lebanon."[45]

(12) I will not further write of the vain desire for precious garments, a disease from which you are said to suffer, for I am unable to extend my remarks, as you will understand, because the parchment is running out. But I direct you in your good sense to the letter I wrote to your abbot Mainardus on this subject,[46] asking that you not run through it too quickly and perfunctorily, but carefully note therein what is of importance. Dear brother, may almighty God take from you this strong affection for carnal sensation and strengthen you in a solid desire for that which is spiritual.

40. Ps 119.103. On Damian's variant text, cf. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Amos prophetam libri tres*, ed. M. Adriaen, CC 76 (1969), 347.
41. Cf. Lk 16.24.
42. Cf. Dan 10.
43. 1 Cor 6.13.
44. Cant 4.11.
45. Cant 4.15.
46. Most probably this is Letter 24.

LETTER 28

Peter Damian to the hermit Leo of Sitria. After acknowledging Leo as his spiritual father and teacher, he presents for his approval or disapproval the following discussion of the question: whether one should use plural formulae in the divine office or at Holy Mass when one is praying or celebrating alone. His affirmative solution is based on the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ. In conclusion he appends his celebrated panegyric to the eremitical life. (1048–1053)[1]

The book of the humble monk, Peter, which is entitled "The Lord be with you."

TO HIS MASTER LEO,[2] who became a recluse for love of heavenly freedom, the monk Peter the Sinner, his servant and son.

1. For the date assigned, see Neukirch 95. This letter appeared in print in 1591, even before Gaetani's edition of Damian's writings. It was appended to G. Ferrari's edition of Melchior Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis et mysteriis* (1610), 715–728; on which see J. J. Ryan, "Pseudo-Alcuin's *Liber de divinis officiis* and the Liber 'Dominus vobiscum' of St. Peter Damiani," *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952), 159–163, esp. 159 n. 2. Miccoli, *Théologie* 463 has called it "one of the most important ecclesiological works among all the theological literature of the middle ages." The letter occasioned many special investigations of its contents: Kolping, *Petrus Damiani*; W. Ferretti, "La comunità cristiana secondo S. Pier Damiani o l'opuscolo 'Dominus vobiscum,'" *Studi su San Pier Damiano in onore del Cardinale Gaetano Cicognani* (Biblioteca Cardinale Gaetano Cicognani 5, 1961), 49–62; Lassus, *Solitude*; E. Bargellini, "La preghiera dell'eremita: solitudine o communione," *Vita monastica* 26 (1972), 178–199; M. B. Pranger, "Petrus Damiani de kluzenaar: Let leven als kunstwerk," *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 17 (1977), 250–262. Letter 28 has been translated into many languages: In German, see Kolping, *Petrus Damiani*, with the exception of Damiani's apostrophe to the eremitical life; an Italian translation by G. Ignesti, *S. Pierdamiano*. Scritti monastici 2 (I classici cristiani 1.4, 1959), 115–143. A French translation by J. Winandy, prepared for SC, has not yet appeared. In English, McNulty, *St. Peter Damian* (1959), 53–81.

2. The identity of the recipient remains uncertain. In Letter 44 Damian speaks of three persons named Leo: first of a Leo of Sitria, whom Damian

(2) Your prudent holiness is not unaware, my dear father, that I regard you, not as just some colleague or friend, but as a father, a teacher, a master, and lord, dearer to me than almost all other mortals. I am confident that because of the urgency of your prayer I will find a hearing at the court of a merciful God. And what more can I say? Since I have regarded you as my guardian angel from whose mouth has come advice whenever doubtful matters made me hesitate and inquire, I have readily and unquestioningly accepted your word as if it were the voice of an angel speaking to me from heaven. So, whenever I am in crisis over any matter of conscience, before coming to consult you I first privately beg the Lord in his goodness to make you as it were an instrument of his Will, that from your lips He might command the course I am to take in the doubtful matter that lies before me. Now, too, following my usual custom, I ask you to teach me what I should reply to those many inquirers who have often demanded an answer of me.

(3) Many of the brothers who follow the eremitical life frequently ask me whether, since they live alone in their cells, they are allowed to say, "The Lord be with you," and "Pray, sir, your blessing"; and whether, since they are alone, they should reply to themselves according to the practice of the Church. Some of them, as if arguing with themselves, reply: "Are we to ask a blessing of the stones or from the boards of the cell, or to say to them, 'The Lord be with you'?" On the

---

calls "his lord," a man with whom he has had close relations; of another Leo, who as a penance had garbed himself in chains; and of still another hermit called Leo Praezensis. The last is thought by some authors to be the most likely recipient of this letter, his name indicating that he is from Monte Pregio (Ignesti, *Scritti,* 32), or from Prezzo near Sulmona; cf. Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 15. But more probably, according to Neukirch 95, Ferretti, *La comunità,* 54 n. 3, and Lassus, *Solitude* 25, the addressee was Leo of Sitria, a hermit at Fonte Avellana, and especially, in frequent contact with Damian, and who, in this letter as well as in Letter 44 is called "his lord." He may also be the same person who is also addressed as "my lord" in Letter 117, and to whom in 1064 he referred in Letter 110 as "having lived as a solitary for almost twenty years." See also Mittarelli-Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* 2, 158. The monastery of Santa Maria de Sitria, near Sassoferrato (*ItPont* 4, 55), was founded by Romuald (Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi* 64, 106).

other hand, others fear that if in any way they should abandon the traditional ecclesiastical *ordo* they would sin for having lessened the length of divine service. And when I am asked for a solution to this question, I in like ignorance am challenged to make inquiry instead. Since, then, I am encompassed by these perplexing questions, I return to my guardian angel as is my wont, and follow a beaten path not to the fount of Ciceronian eloquence, but rather to the source of divine wisdom.

That holy simplicity is rightly preferred to the world's philosophers

(4) I reject Plato[3] who pried into the secrets of hidden nature, ascribed limits to the orbits of the planets, and calculated the movements of the stars. Pythagoras, also, dividing all the regions of a spherical body with his rule, I count for little. Nicomachus, too, by worn out calendars, I reject;[4] and Euclid also I disdain, stooped from his perplexing studies of geometrical figures. I pass by all the rhetors with their embellishments and reflexions without distinction, and all the dialecticians with their syllogisms and sophistic quibbles I consider unworthy of this question. Let the nudist philosophers forever shiver in their nakedness for love of wisdom, and the peripatetics seek truth at the bottom of a well.[5] For I seek from you the highest truth,[6] that which rose from the earth and does not now lie ignobly hidden in a well, but has been made manifest to all the world and reigns in everlasting

3. On Damian's knowledge of Plato, see Cantin, *Pierre Damien* 145 n. 2, and idem, *Sciences séculières* 202 n. 48. Damian's detailed acquaintance with Plato's works is about as likely as it is with Pythagoras, Nichomachus, and Euclid, here cited. Their names are used only as symbols of their thought and erudition. See Dressler, *Petrus Damiani* 187.

4. See J. Gonsette, *Pierre Damien et la culture profane* (Essais philosophiques 7, 1956), 24 n. 1, who sees a reference to Juvenal, *Saturae* 6.573f.

5. The source here might be Plato's reference in *Theaetetus* 174A and Diogenes Laertius, *De clarorum philosophorum vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus libri decem* 1.34, relating the story of Thales, who while engaged in nocturnal stargazing fell into a well. Damian repeats this reference also in Letter 121 and in Letter 119; see Cantin, *Pierre Damien* 462ff.; for similar ideas in Otloh of Sankt Emmeram, cf. Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 185 n. 9.

6. Cf. Ps 85.12.

majesty in heaven. What are the fabled fictions of wild poets to me? Why bother with the buskined crises of the strutting tragedians? Let the rout of comedians stop the flow of poisoned scurilities dropping from their noisy lips, and let the crowd of satirists stop burdening their tables with the bitter banquets of gnawing slander. The Ciceronian orators' studied words of elegant urbanity do not ring true for me, nor should the rhetoricians of the school of Demosthenes compose sly arguments that deceptively persuade. Back into your shadows, all you who are defiled with the impurities of worldly wisdom; they who are blinded by the sulphurous splendor of the learning of darkness do nothing for me. Let the simplicity of Christ instruct me and let the true rusticity of the wise break the bonds of my uncertainty. "For," as Paul says, "since the world in its wisdom did not know God, God wished to save those who have faith through the foolishness of the message that we preach."[7]

(5) Away, then, with the written letter that brings death; let the lifegiving Spirit attend us.[8] "It is death," as the same Apostle says, "to be concerned with the wisdom of the flesh, but life and peace flow from the wisdom of the spirit, for the wisdom of the flesh is at enmity with God, since it never could and never does submit to God's law."[9] Therefore, since the wisdom of the flesh is unable to submit to the yoke of God's law, how can it ever understand God's law when its eyes are clouded by the smoke of pride? Come then, father, quickly undo for me the knot of the problem posed to me, and do not permit the long-winded schools of the proud philosophers to circumvent the disciple of the humble Christ. Let my guardian angel tell me that of which all the naive dialecticians are ignorant; let wise naiveté speak of things which foolish wisdom does not understand. And so, dear father, prudently analyze what is here set forth, so that once divine wisdom has been attained, it will be of no further use for anyone to discuss this question.

7. 1 Cor 1.21.
8. Cf. 2 Cor 3.6.
9. Rom 8.6–7.

Why does one say, "Pray, sir, a blessing"?

(6) But perhaps you will first order me to offer my own solution to this question[10] and then afterwards give your own opinion, after the fashion of the masters in the schools who ask the boys what they think of a certain difficulty in the proposition before them, so that they may learn from the students' response their capacity for learning. And so I will not delay in saying what I think about this question, with all deference to the faith, so that your authority may correct what I have said badly, or test what my industry has achieved. But it will not be irrelevant if I should first attempt to show for what purpose these practices became customary in the churches, and then, as the grace of God may see fit, to explain my position on the points that have been raised. The one who is about to read, for the sake of great humility asks for a blessing not from the priest, but from whomever the priest might bid, saying: "Please, sir, a blessing."[11] And the priest, responding in like humility, does not delegate the office of blessing to any of his subordinates, nor does he himself presume to give the blessing, but rather asks that God, who is above all things should bestow the blessing.

On the origin of "The Lord be with you"

(7) The phrase, "The Lord be with you,"[12] is the priest's greeting to the people. He prays that the Lord be with them as He deigned to say in the words of the prophet: "I will live

10. On this and the following discussions, see Eisenhofer, *Handbuch* 1, 186ff.; Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* 1, 446ff. As models that Damian might have used are the following: Amalrius of Metz, Florus of Lyons, Pseudo-Alcuin, and Remigius of Auxerre; see A. Kolping, "Amalar von Metz und Florus von Lyon," *Zs. für katholische Theologie* 73 (1951), 424–464; A. Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz* (1954); idem, "Florus of Lyons," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 19 (1958), 212–232; Woody, *Damiani* 87ff. A copy of Amalarius, *De officiis* was in the library of Fonte Avellana; cf. Vitaleti, *La biblioteca* 76; Pierucci, *Inventari* 172; but Damian seems to have made little use of it.

11. See *Ordo Romanus* 1.36.79, 4.90, and 91, 167f.; on the origin of this formula, used before the reading, see Biron, *Bréviaire* 1, 384.

12. Remigius of Auxerre, who had compiled the work of Florus of Lyons, and whose *De celebratione missae et eius significatione* was printed as c. 40 of

in their midst."[13] And the Savior said to his disciples and to all the faithful: "Know that I am with you."[14] Of course, the wording of this greeting is not some recent human innovation but is proven to be based on the ancient authority of Sacred Writ. Anyone diligently inquiring there will find that it is often found both in the singular and in the plural: in the singular, as when the angel said to the Blessed Mother of God: "Hail, full of grace, the Lord be with you."[15] The angel also greeted Gideon with the words: "The Lord be with you, valiant warrior."[16] In the book of Ruth, Boaz greeted his reapers in the plural: "The Lord be with you";[17] and likewise in the book of Chronicles, the prophet sent by God hailed Asa, the king of Judah, and his army returning victorious from battle, with the words: "The Lord be with you, for you were with the Lord."[18]

(8) When the Church, therefore, accepts the salutary greeting of the priest, it prayerfully greets him in return and in doing so prays, asking that as he had wished the Lord to be with them, that He too might deign to be with him, saying: "And with your spirit,"[19] that is, may almighty God be with your soul that you might worthily pray to Him for our salvation. And note that she says not "with you," but "with your spirit," to remind us that everything that is performed in the Church's liturgies should be done in a spiritual manner. And rightly do we wish God to be with man's spirit, because in mind and spirit rational man was created in the image and

---

Pseudo-Alcuin's *De officiis liber* (cf. A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen MA* [1902], 405), could have been used directly by Damian (cf. Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 40, 1248D), but there is dependence on Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 3.9.2, ed. I. M. Hassens, (Studi e testi 139 [1948], 258) and Florus of Lyons, *De expositione missae* 12, ed. P. Duc (Étude sur l'Expositio missae de Florus de Lyon, suive d'une édition critique du texte [1937], 99); see also Woody, *Damiani* 155 n. 1.

13. Lev 26.11–12; 2 Cor 6.16.
14. Mt 28.20.
15. Lk 1.28.
16. Judg 6.12.
17. Ruth 2.4.
18. 2 Chr 15.2.
19. Cf. 2 Tim 4.22, where, according to Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 76f., Damian is using Semitic repetition. See Florus, *De expositione missae* 13, 100ff.; Remigius, *De celebratione missae* = Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 40, 1249A, and *Ordo Romanus* 4.22, 160.

likeness of God, and in these faculties is capable of receiving divine grace and enlightenment.

(9) In like manner, the bishop's greeting to the people, in which he says "Peace to you,"[20] is not the product of human ingenuity, but also derives from the authority of Sacred Scripture. In the Old Testament we find the angel saying to Daniel: "Do not be afraid, O man of desires; peace be with you; play the man, be strong."[21] And in the New Testament we read that the Lord almost always greeted his disciples with the words: "Peace be with you."[22] And he recommended the same form of salutation to his disciples, saying: "Into whatsoever house you may enter, salute it, saying: Peace be to this house."[23] It is proper, therefore, that the successors of the apostles, that is, the heads of churches, use this form of greeting in saluting the house of God in which all should be children of peace, that the greeting of peace may rest upon them and may be profitable both to those who bestow and to those who receive the greeting.

That as other parts of Sacred Scripture may not be changed, so too the phrase, "The Lord be with you."

(10) Now, therefore, it is clear from what was said above, that just as the prophetical writings, the poetry of the psalms, and the grace of the Gospels were all made known to us by God, so also the phrase, "The Lord be with you," comes not from some whim of human creation but from the authority of the Old and New Testament. And just as nothing may be subtracted from or added to the authority of divine Scripture according to changing circumstances, but everything is to be observed according to the Church's tradition, so too this priestly greeting is never subject to passing fancy that allows us now to say it, and now to omit it, for even if only one is present, it is unlawful to change the tradition of the Church.

20. On the origin of the peace-greeting, see Eisenhofer, *Handbuch* 1, 186ff.; Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* 1, 467 n.21.
21. Dan 10.19.
22. Lk 24.36; John 20.20.
23. Lk 10.5; Mt 10.12.

That holy Church is both one in many and entire in each individual

(11) Truly the Church of Christ is so joined together by the bond of love that in many it is one, and in each it is mystically complete.[24] Thus we at once observe that the whole Church is rightly called the one and only bride of Christ, and we believe each individual soul, by the mystery of baptism, to be the Whole Church.[25] For the entire Church, as it presently exists, was detected by the prophetic nose of Isaac when he said to one of his sons: "Yes, the smell of my son is like the smell of a fertile field."[26] And the woman in debt who, at Elisha's command, scattered her last bit of oil like seed and at once reaped a rich harvest when it overflowed her jars,[27] certainly prefigured the Church.

(12) If you search diligently through the open fields of Holy Scripture, you will find that the Church is often represented by one man or one woman. And although, because of the great number of people, the Church seems to be of many parts, it is still one and simple in the mystical federation of one faith and one divine regeneration. And further, although seven women took one husband,[28] one virgin is said to have been espoused to the heavenly bridegroom. Of her, indeed, the apostle said: "I arranged for you to marry Christ that I might give you away as a chaste virgin to this one husband."[29]

(13) And so we can conclude from what was said above, that since the whole Church is symbolized in the person of one individual, and since, moreover, the Church is said to be a virgin, holy Church is both one in all and complete in each of them; that is to say, simple in many by reason of the unity

24. On the unity of the Church with Christ, and of the faithful with one another, Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 78 refers to Cyprian, *Epistula* 74.1, ed. W. Hartel, CSEL 3 (1871), 808; see also Henri de Lubac, *Glauben aus der Liebe* (1970), 410ff. and Fois, *Cardinali* 31ff.

25. On Damian's conviction that the whole Church may be seen in each soul, see Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 79; Fornasari, *Pier Damiani* 167f.

26. Gen 27.27.

27. Cf. 2 Kgs 4.1–7.

28. Cf. Is 4.1.

29. 2 Cor 11.2.

of faith, and multiple in each through the bond of love and the various charismatic gifts,[30] since all are from one, and all are one.

On the unity of the universal Church

(14) Indeed, although holy Church is divided into the great number of persons involved, she is fused into one by the fire of the Holy Spirit; and therefore, even though she seems to be divided into parts with respect to her physical circumstances, the mystic integrity of her inmost unity can in no way be broken up. "For the love of God has been poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit which has been given us."[31] This same spirit who is undoubtedly both single and multiple, one in the essence of his majesty and multiple in the diversity of his charismatic gifts, grants his charisms to holy Church which he fills, so that she is both one in her totality and whole in all her parts. Truth itself affirmed the secret of this indivisible unity when he spoke to the Father of his disciples: "I pray not only for these," he said, "but for those also who through their words will believe in me, that they all may be one, Father, even as you are in me and I am in you, that they, too, may be one in us so that the world may believe it was you who sent me. I have given them the glory you gave to me, that they may be one as we are one."[32]

(15) If they are one who believe in Christ, then wherever an individual member is physically present, there too the whole body is present by reason of the sacramental mystery. And whatever is fitting for the whole, is in some way fitting for each part, so that it is not out of the question for an individual to say what the assembly of the Church says together, just as that which an individual properly utters may also be voiced by many without reproach. Thus when we are in community we all rightly say together: "Listen to me, Lord, and answer me, poor and needy as I am; keep my soul, for I am holy."[33] And when we are alone it is not improper for us

30. Cf. Heb 2.11.
31. Rom 5.5.
32. John 17.20–22.
33. Ps 86.1–2.

to chant: "Shout for joy to honor God our strength, shout to acclaim the God of Jacob."[34] Nor is it out of order that many of us together say: "I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be on my lips continually."[35] And alone we often say in the plural: "Proclaim with me the greatness of the Lord, together let us extol his name";[36] and many other things of this sort. Hence, since in the one case being alone does not prejudice the use of the plural, so too in the other a group of the faithful does not cause disharmony by using the singular. And this is so because by the power of the Holy Spirit who dwells in each and at the same time fills all, our solitude is at once plural and our community is singular.

That if "The Lord be with you" is not said because one is alone, then many other phrases must be omitted

(16) Now, therefore, let those who ask: "Are we to beg a blessing of the stones or of the boards of the cell, or to say to them that the Lord be with them?" answer me and explain why, when they are alone in their cells, they say: "Come, let us sing to the Lord"?[37] I pray you, brothers, tell me, if I may speak with your leave, when you are alone, whom do you exhort? Whom do you invite to the celebration of the night offices when you say: "Come, let us sing to the Lord,"[38] or, "Come let us worship the Lord, the King of martyrs"?[39] These are called invitatories for the reason, no doubt, that by them the faithful are invited to give praise to God. But if no one at all hears you, from whom do you elicit praise for the Lord with your urging words?

(17) Come now, brothers, tell me also this: if you do not have in mind the mystical unity of the Church, but rather the number of those who are physically present, to whom do you say: "Let us all arise at night and keep watch";[40] or that other

34. Ps 81.2.
35. Ps 34.1.
36. Ps 34.3.
37. Ps 95.1
38. Ibid.
39. *Breviarium Romanum.* The Common of several Martyrs. Invitatory Antiphon at Matins.
40. *Breviarium Romanum*, Ambrosian hymn for Matins on Sunday.

verse: "Let us all quickly arise after refreshing our limbs in sleep?"[41] Why, indeed, do you not quietly omit, or do violence to the text by rendering in the singular, all hymns and all orations which the doctors of the Church had composed in the plural?

(18) When you come to the lessons, moreover, since you consider it wrong to ask or give a blessing with no one present, why do you read the homilies of the Fathers and the sermons of the preachers in which, by the very fact that you read them, you appear to be speaking to the people and to be addressing all your words in the second person, that is, to your audience? And to look closely at the very words of the homilies, to whom, I ask, do you say: "Listen, my dear brothers,"[42] and the rest that follows, although no brothers are present? And if you should wish to force them into the singular, against which the style protests, since this is quite impossible, you would have to omit them and then compose new pieces. Why, moreover, when you come to the orations do you say: "Let us pray," since there is no one present to pray with you? Who is it that you invite to common prayer when you see no one around? Why also at the end of the office do you use the customary phrase: "Let us bless the Lord,"[43] although there is no one at hand to bless the Lord with you?

(19) You should therefore think carefully about these things and many others too numerous to mention, and whether you are alone or with others you should uniformly observe the traditional norms of the Church. For if the doctors of the Church had thought it expedient, they would have given us one form for those who perform the Church's offices alone, and another for a group. But satisfied to establish one form without distinction, they taught us always to observe a single established order without exception. In so doing, they saw to it that whatever an individual member of the Church reverently offered in the divine services is also universally presented by the faith and devotion of all. The Church pos-

41. *Breviarium Romanum,* Hymn for Matins on Monday.
42. See Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* 1, 518.
43. On the origin of this phrase, see Biron, *Bréviaire* 2, 81.

sesses one spirit by which its one body is given life, presided over by Christ its head. And so the whole Church is a union of various members, but without doubt it is one body founded on the strength of one faith and permeated by the power of one life-giving Spirit. Hence the apostle says: "There is one Body, one Spirit, just as you were all called into one and the same hope when you were called."[44] It is proper, therefore, that whatever any individual member of the faithful performs in the sacred liturgy, the whole Church appears to do in the harmony of its single faith and love.[45]

That the sacrifice placed upon the altar is offered by men and women alike

(20) And so it is that in celebrating Mass, when we say: "Remember, Lord, your servants and handmaids," that immediately we add, "for whom we offer, or who themselves offer to you, this sacrifice of praise."[46] From these prayers it is obvious that this sacrifice of praise is offered by all the faithful, not only by men but also by women, even though it appears to be offered only by the priest in particular. This is so because that which he holds in his hands in this divine oblation the whole body of the faithful also offers by their devout spiritual intention. And this is clearly indicated by the words: "We therefore beg you, Lord, that at your pleasure you accept this offering of our service and that of your whole household."[47] By these words it becomes clearer still that the sacrifice placed upon the altar by the priest is offered in common by all the family of God. The apostle, moreover, plainly indicates this unity of the Church when he says: "The fact that there is only one loaf means that, though there are many

44. Eph 4.4.

45. Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 80 sees these words as significant evidence in the history of doctrine for the participation of the laity in the Church's liturgy.

46. This memento has been in the canon of the Roman missal since the Carolingian reform of the liturgy in the ninth century: see Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* 2, 209 and Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 81.

47. *Missale Romanum,* Canon of the mass; see Remigius, *De celebratione missae* = Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 40, 1258C, 1259CD, and 1261D.

of us, we form a single body."[48] Such is the unity of the Church in Christ that throughout the whole world there is only one bread of the Body of Christ and only one chalice of his Blood. For as the divinity of the Word of God is one and yet fills all the world, so too, even though his Body is consecrated in many places and at various times, there are not many bodies of Christ but only one. Similarly, as the bread and blood [wine][49] truly change into the Body of Christ, so also they who receive it worthily in the church become without doubt the one body of Christ, as He declares when He said: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood lives in me and I in him."[50]

(21) If therefore we are all the one body of Christ, and even though we seem to be physically distinct we cannot be separated from one another in spirit if we remain in Him, I see no harm in observing the common custom of the Church even when we are alone, since by the mystery of our undivided unity we have never set ourselves apart from her. When I am alone and use the words commonly employed by the Church, I demonstrate that I am one with her and that by the presence of the Spirit I truly abide in her. And if I am truly her member, I quite properly fulfill my function of acting in the name of all.

That the special function of each member is common to the whole body

(22) In the human body, moreover, the eyes, the tongue, the feet, the hands each have a function naturally proper to them. But the hands do not touch for their own benefit, or the feet walk, or the tongue speak, or the eyes behold just for themselves, but that which every part of the body can do spe-

48. 1 Cor 10.17. This citation is interpreted similarly by Remigius, *De celebratione missae* = Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 40, 1260CD, and also by Florus, *De expositione missae* 60, 133; on the concept of a "single body," see H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge* (Théologie 3, 1949), 98f.

49. By a slip, Damian seems to have used the word *sanguis* (blood) where *vinum* (wine) is intended.

50. John 6.57.

cifically, is clearly performed commonly for all. And whatever function is assigned by nature to a particular member can be said to be performed by the body which is its whole, so that one may quite properly say that the part functions for the whole and the whole for its parts. This is why Paul's tongue can truly say: "On account of the Good News of Christ I labor and am in chains,"[51] even though his tongue was not bound. And he continues: "The word of God is not fettered."[52] And Peter ran with John to Christ's sepulchre, although only feet are made for running.[53] And Stephen saw the heavens opened, though seeing is the eye's proper function.[54] And Isaac touched and felt his son Jacob, but touching or feeling are functions specifically assigned to the hands.[55] Therefore, whatever a single member performs is rightly deemed to be the function of the body; and on the other hand, whatever the body does, to that all the parts consent by their cooperation.

That the priest, who is a part of the body of the Church, properly uses the language of the whole Church

(23) Why should we wonder, therefore, if any priest, who is undoubtedly a part of the body of the Church, should function all alone in the place both of him who greets and of him who is greeted, by saying: "The Lord be with you," and then responding: "And with your spirit"; and again, when he is alone, asking and giving a blessing? By the mystery of intimate unity, to be sure, the entire Church is there spiritually present when one person is present, participating in the same faith and fraternal love. For where there is unity of faith, it allows neither for solitude in one, nor for a schism of diversity in many. For what is the difference between many voices coming from one mouth or coming from many mouths, so long as one faith promotes the alternate flow of words? For, as I already said, the whole Church is certainly one body. As the apostle testifies: "Just as a human body, though it is made up

51. 2 Tim 2.9.
52. Ibid.
53. Cf. John 20.4.
54. Cf. Acts 7.56.
55. Cf. Gen 27.21–22.

of many parts, is a single unit, because all these parts, though many, make one body, so it is with Christ. In the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body";[56] and elsewhere he says: "With his body, which is the Church."[57]

(24) Therefore, if the whole Church is the one body of Christ, and we are the Church's members, what is to hinder us as individuals from using the language of our body, namely, the Church, since we are truly one with her? For if, while we are many, we are one in Christ, as individuals we possess our totality in him; and hence, even though in our bodily solitude we appear to be far removed from the Church, still by the incorruptible mystery of unity we are always most intimately present in her.[58] And so it is that what belongs to all is the right of each; and what is singularly special to each is, in the wholeness of faith and love, common to all; so that the people can rightly cry out: "Take pity on me, God, take pity on me."[59] And: "Oh come and rescue me, God, Lord come quickly and help me!"[60] And one individual may rightly say: "May God show kindness and bless us."[61] Our holy fathers decreed that this necessary communion of the faithful of Christ was so certainly a fact, that they set this communion in the Creed of the Catholic faith and commanded us to repeat it often as something belonging to the basic concepts of the Christian faith. For right after saying: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Church,"[62] we immedi-

56. 1 Cor 12.12–13. 57. Col 1.24.

58. See G. Martini, "Regale sacerdotium," *Archivio della reale deputazione romana di storia patria* 61 (1938), 1–166; P. Dabin, "Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne," *Museum Lessianum. Section théologique* 48 (1950), 208. On the concept of the "mystery of unity," which Fois, *Cardinali* 31 n. 20 finds in Cyprian, see J. B. Poukens, "Cyprien et ses contemporains," in: *Pour l'histoire du mot sacramentum. I. Les anténicéens,* ed. J. de Ghellinck (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents 3, 1924), 153–220, esp. 175ff.

59. Ps 57.1 60. Ps 70.1.

61. Ps 67.1

62. *Missale Romanum,* Nicene Creed; see I. Brinktrine, "Beiträge zur Entstehung und Erklärung des Credo," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 42 (1928), 48–58, esp. 55ff. At the request of Emperor Henry II, Pope Benedict VIII officially included the Credo in the Roman liturgy; see Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* 1, 601.

ately add: "the communion of saints"; and as we witness to our faith in God, at the same time we testify to the community of the Church which is one with Him as a consequence of this. Such is the communion of the saints in the oneness of faith, that believing in one God, we are reborn in one baptism, strengthened by one Holy Spirit, and by the grace of adoption are admitted into one eternal life.

(25) Just as in Greek man is called a microcosm, that is to say, a little world, because in his physical composition he consists of the same four elements[63] that are found in the whole earth; so also each of the faithful seems to be, as it were, a little Church, since, with all due respect to the mystery of hidden unity, each person also receives all the sacraments of human redemption that God provided for the universal Church. Therefore, if there is no doubt that an individual receives the sacraments that are common to the whole Church, why should he be forbidden when he is alone to use words that are common to the Church, since, surely, the sacraments are of much greater importance than words?

That the people of Israel built a mighty altar to demonstrate their fellowship

(26) But if there is still someone who insists on disparaging my arguments, and says that those things that were ordained for the common assembly of the faithful must not be appropriated by individuals; if he will not be convinced with words but requires reasons, I will use an example I learned from the authoritative Sacred Scriptures. We know, of course, as the book of Joshua tells us, that as the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh left the Israelites at Shiloh and made their way back to Gilead, their own territory, they built an altar of great size[64] in the land of Canaan. The peo-

63. See Papias, *Vocabularium latinum* 205; Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* 8.2, ed. G. Becker (1857), 21; Bede, *De temporum ratione* 35, ed. C. W. Jones, *Bedae opera de temporibus* (Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America 44, 1943), 247.

64. Cf. Josh 22.10–22. The Vulgate has *magnitude* instead of Damian's *multitude*.

ple of Israel became very angry and mustered against them, asking why they had dared to build an altar other than the altar of the Lord. They answered that they had so acted, not out of any perversion on their part, but as a precaution for future evidence. "So that one day," they said, "your children might say to ours: what link have you with the Lord, God of Israel? The Lord has set the boundary of the Jordan between us and you, and therefore you have no share in the Lord; and for that reason your children might stop ours from paying reverence to the Lord."[65]

(27) If there is anyone who does not see why I have introduced this bit of history, I will briefly explain. It is possible that in their simplicity some of the brothers might be tempted while living alone to think that they are somehow separated from the community of the faithful, and that they would also be loathe to use the common language of the Church in their prayers. They employ words commonly used in the Church to show that they are a permanent part of the communion of the Church, and that these words, testifying to the spiritual presence of the faithful, may satisfy their uneasy minds. The tribes referred to, moreover, erected an altar not to offer sacrifice but as a token of their union with the people of Israel, as they said, speaking as it were in the name of their children: "Look at this altar of the Lord made by our ancestors, not for holocausts or other sacrifices, but as a witness between us and you."[66] They did so to testify to the communal bond with Israel, and we use these formulae as a sign of the Church's authentic unity. They acted as they did that their brethren might not despise them; we, that our thoughts might not torment us. They built a facsimile of an earthly altar; we manifest the truth of our spiritual harmony. They meant their work to be a witness for their children; we mean to maintain the inviolable mystery of our new birth and fraternal union.

65. Josh 22.24–25.

66. Josh 22.28.

Why a man who has twice married is absolutely barred from the priesthood, while one who has committed fornication may often function again as a priest

(28) Some things happen in the Church which, according to human reasoning, indeed, seem out of place; but if we keep in mind the mystery of interior grace, they are seen to be from God. Surely one must wonder why the canons have decreed that a man who has remarried may never be promoted to the priesthood,[67] but that a priest who has committed fornication may be recalled to his former office after he has done penance.[68] Concerning fornication the decision of the apostle is clear: "For neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers shall inherit the kingdom of God."[69] Of those, moreover, who contract second marriages, he continues: "A wife is bound by the law as long as her husband is alive. But if the husband dies, she is free to marry anybody she likes, only it must be in the Lord."[70] Clearly, from the words of both statements it is evident that those who remarry do not offend against God's law[71] and that those who indulge in fornication are condemned to be cut off from the kingdom of God for their carnal excesses.

(29) Why is it, therefore, that they who do not sin are totally excluded from all hope of the priesthood, while those whom their guilt excludes from the kingdom of God need not despair of regaining ecclesiastical status if they properly repent? It consists in this, that entering a second marriage, while not sinful, is related to the mystery of the Church. For just as Christ who is the "high priest of all the blessings that are to come,"[72] and truly "a priest of the order of Melchizedek,"[73] who indeed on the altar of the cross offered to God the Father the Lamb of his own body for the salvation of the world,

67. *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* 293B: *Decreta Leonis papae* tit. 35, 551AB; JK 411; see Ryan, *Sources* 52, no. 94.

68. *Poenitentiale Egberti* 5.2, 236; Burchard, *Decretum* 17.39, 926BC; see Ryan, *Sources* 52f., no. 95.

69. 1 Cor 6.9–10.

70. 1 Cor 7.39.

71. Cf. Eph 5.5.

72. Heb 9.11.

73. Ps 110.4.

is the husband of one bride, namely of the entire Holy Church, who is undoubtedly a virgin because she inviolably preserves the integrity of faith. So every priest is commanded to be a husband of one wife that he may reflect the image of the Greatest Bridegroom:

(30) In second marriages, therefore, what is looked for is not the degree of sin but rather the nature of the mystery, and in their condemnation we do not punish guilt but safeguard the mystical norms of the true priesthood; otherwise how could we consider as a crime what apostolic teaching permits as licit? Also the sacred canons number those who condemn second marriages among the Novatian heretics.[74] Therefore, to show that we always hold fast to the mystery of the Church's unity, our usage is blameless, even if in a not absolutely required use of words.

That if two may properly say "The Lord be with you," one who is alone may also correctly do so

(31) And now in a spirit of charity I would like to ask my brothers this further question: If two of the brethren are together,[75] is one allowed to say "The Lord be with you" to the other? If it is permitted, how is it that one speaks to the other in the plural, not following the rules of grammar while he observes ecclesiastical custom? For according to the rules of speech one should address himself to an individual by saying "with thee" rather than "with you." And so, if it is not permitted to use the plural in addressing an individual, one must use the singular and say "The Lord be with thee." But everyone who is familiar with the papal court knows how widely this differs from the rules of ecclesiastical usage. For it is certain that neither the most blessed bishop of the Apostolic See, when he is celebrating Mass privately, attended by a server, nor any other Catholic bishop or priest uses these words in the singular when addressing another.

74. *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* 149AB: *Conc. Nicaen.* 8; see Damian, Letter 40, and the commentary of Ryan, *Sources* 41, no. 59 and 53, no. 96.

75. Kolping, *Petrus Damiani* 86 refers here to Grimlaicus, *Regula solitariorum* 16 (PL 103, 594f.).

(32) If then it is the approved custom of the venerable bishops to say "The Lord be with you" to one another when they are alone, and it is not incongruous or forbidden by the rules of ecclesiastical practice, what difference does it make if one who is by himself should use the same words, since as far as the words are concerned, the plural form is no less incompatible for one than it is for two? Hence, since ecclesiastical custom possesses such authority that every branch of literary eloquence must humbly give way before it, and since it is concerned more with the meaning than with the words themselves, if this rule of grammar may be set aside when two are in question, it follows also that it may not improperly be disregarded by one who is alone. Therefore, if by ecclesiastical authority "The Lord be with you" may be properly said when two are present, it is not contrary to the same authority if one who is alone uses this formula.

(33) And finally we must reach the same conclusion about the response, "And with your spirit," as well as about the lector's asking and receiving a blessing when he is alone. For we are not here concerned with the number of persons but rather with the mystery of the Church's unity. Here, indeed, unity does not exclude multiplicity, nor does multiplicity violate unity, for one body is at once divided among many members, and from the various members one body is made complete. Nor are many members lost in the unity of the body, nor is the wholeness of the body minimized in the multitude of its members.

That the people of Israel observed the rule of ecclesiastical unity

(34) Is there any wonder that we say of Holy Church that she is multiple in her unity and that we believe her to be one in many, since the earthly Israel, which was closely related by birth, seems already in its day to have observed the rule of this unity. For it sent messengers to the king of Edom, who were to say: "Here is the word from your brother Israel."[76] And on another occasion when the Canaanite king Arad was

76. Num 20.14.

fighting against Israel, defeated them, and took some spoils, as Scripture relates, Israel made a vow to the Lord, saying: "If you deliver this people into my power, I will destroy their towns."[77] And this idea is also clearly stated in the Book of Kings, when upon David's return to his kingdom the people of Israel said to the men of Judah: "I have ten more shares in the king and I am the elder, and David belongs more to me than to you. Why have you injured me, and why was it not told me first, that I might bring back my king?"[78]

(35) Therefore, if this people, since it originated from one stock, or rather because it held to the worship of one God, could speak in the singular as if it were one person and thus testify that while many they were still one, why should we wonder that Holy Church which is sanctified and ruled by one Spirit of God, is filled with the mystery of one faith and one baptism, and called to possess one inheritance through the grace of adoption, should have such mutual union that each may use the words of all, and all may use the words of each? And so it often happens that when we take part in divine services, we sing in veneration of one saint that which we know belongs to the whole Church. This you will indeed recognize if you carefully examine the hymns to the Mother of God and to the other saints.

That some feasts are not celebrated at their proper time

(36) Indeed the Church of Christ, which is an immovable pillar,[79] and which received the keys of the kingdom of heaven,[80] is not the slave of case and number, but compels all manner of speech to be subject to her laws. She hunts for souls and not for words, nor is she greatly concerned for physical presence or moments in time, but looks rather to devotion and to the unity of souls. "She indeed judges all and is not to be judged by any man."[81] Moreover, this is why we

77. Num 21.1–2.
78. 2 Sam 19.43. On the variants from the Vulgate, see *Biblia sacra* 5, 334.
79. Cf. Rev 3.12.
80. Cf. Mt 16.19.
81. 1 Cor 2.15. Note the close association between Damian's application of this text and its use, since Cyprian's time, for the Roman Pontiff: "The

say on the holy feast of Easter: "O God, who on this day overcame death through your only-begotten Son and opened to us the gate of everlasting life,"[82] when we all know very well that according to the calculations of those who do the calendaring, that the Hebrew Passover, during which the Lord suffered and rose from the dead, came first, and that on the first Sunday that follows we observe the paschal feast. In the same sense we use the word "today" on the Ascension and on the feast of Pentecost, since these feasts in turn follow the reckoning of Eastertide. The feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, moreover, is celebrated in the month of August,[83] even though there is little doubt that he was killed by Herod about the time of the year of the Lord's passion.

(37) We can say the same of the feasts of St. James[84] and of St. Peter in Chains.[85] For since the Acts of the Apostles states: "And when Herod after beheading James the brother of John saw that this pleased the Jews, he decided to arrest Peter as well."[86] And then it continues: "This was during the days of Unleavened Bread," and it immediately adds, "And he put Peter in prison, assigning four squads of four soldiers each to guard him, meaning to try Peter in public after the end of Passover week,"[87] there is no doubt that these things transpired at one time of the year, and that when the feast was celebrated it was assigned to another. For as you know, these feasts are observed near the end of July, and, to be sure, if you investigate the entire Old Testament, you will not find the Jewish people celebrating the days of Unleavened Bread at that time. But since these saints could not be venerated as they should during the solemnities of Easter, the Church found another time to celebrate their cultus.

(38) I have given a short account of these greater feast days

---

Roman Pontiff judges all and is not to be judged by any man, unless perhaps he has lapsed into heresy." On which, see W. Ullmann, "Cardinal Humbert and the Ecclesia Romana," *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952), 111–127.

82. Collect for the Mass on Easter Day.

83. 29 August; see B. Fischer, "Johannes der Täufer. II. Verehrung," LThK 5 (1960), 1086ff.

84. 25 July.

85. 1 August.

86. Acts 12.2–3.

87. Acts 12.4.

so that it will be clear that Holy Church is not bound by the laws of time, but rather that she controls the changes of time according to her pleasure. Nor is the Church enslaved to the elemental principles,[88] but they are rather subject to her and obey her wishes. And so the teacher of the Gentiles can say: "All are your servants: Paul, Apollos, Cephas, the world, life and death, the present and the future. All are your servants, but you belong to Christ and Christ belongs to God."[89] And to show how much authority the Church enjoys, he again wrote to the Corinthians: "Do you not know that it is the saints who are to judge the world? And if the world is to be judged by you, how can you be unfit to judge trifling cases? Since you are also to judge angels, it follows that you can judge matters of every day life."[90]

That in the Church one can properly supply the words of another

(39) And now to return to what we were saying above, why should we wonder at the Church, to which such great power was granted by God, so employing at will the words at her command that individuals use the language of many, and that many speak as individuals? And what objection can be raised if things that apply specifically to some are said by others? We are certainly aware that when children are catechized, the priest asks: "What do you request?" And we know that it is not the child who replies, but that another in his stead says: "Faith," and so forth,[91] all of which rightly apply to the child, but are said by another in his name. Therefore, if one can lawfully speak in the place of another in the very mystery of our regeneration, on which the origin of all human salvation is established, what will hinder us in the absence of others from using the Church's greetings or in asking her blessings? That one may answer for another in the Church is not some rashly modern invention but comes down to us from apostolic tradition. On which Paul says to the Corinthians: "Moreover,

88. Cf. Gal 4.3.
89. 1 Cor 3.22–23.
90. 1 Cor 6.2–3.
91. A ceremonial for baptism from Fonte Avellana appears in PL 151, 911f.

if you bless with the spirit, who will take the place of the unlearned?"[92]

(40) To this may be added that if one fears to say "The Lord be with you," because others are not present, or also to respond, he must also fear to say "Let us pray," but should say perhaps "Let me pray," so that he does not appear to be inviting those who are absent to pray with him. And if one thinks it sacrilegious to ask for or give a blessing with no one in attendance, he should also refrain from saying at the end of the reading: "But you, O Lord, have mercy on us," but should say instead, "Have mercy on me." And if this seems to be altogether preposterous and absurd, then he who is in no way conscious that he is separated from the Church in mind or in spirit, should not be afraid to use the words of the Church when he is alone; and if he professes to be her spiritual member, he should not assert in words that he is detached from his body. But if he is truly one with the Church of Christ, he should confidently fulfill his office of universality and be more careful in these matters to preserve the power of the sacrament of the Church than he is to observe the proper forms of conventional speech.

That almost everything performed in the divine services should be disposed with some mystic symbol attached

(41) As was said above, some things take place in the Church's ceremonies that on the surface seem frivolous and trivial, but when considered more carefully are found to be supported by the seriousness that comes from great power. To choose only a few examples, when one looks at the priestly vestments,[93] is he likely to find in them anything to admire if he fails to understand the symbolism there contained? Yet if he has clear spiritual insight, he will see why clerical sandals completely cover the soles of the feet but only partially cover the upper parts; he will reflect on the reason why the alb

92. 1 Cor 14.16.

93. In general, on the allegorical significance of Mass vestments, see Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* 1, 360ff. Of special value in this context, see Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 39 (PL 101, 1242–1243).

reaches to the heels and why the amice should always be made of linen; he will consider the meaning of the cincture and of the stole; at the same time he will examine why it is that the dalmatic is shaped in the form of a cross, why the chasuble is put on over all the other vestments, and why the maniple, which is used to clean away the spiritual rather than the physical discharge from eyes or nose, is worn on the left arm.

(42) He will also see that there is a reason why the deacon who is not wearing a dalmatic, wears a chasuble when he reads; why also the dalmatic has a fringe on its left side. He will not, moreover, consider it a pointless custom that the pallium is worn over the pontifical vestments, nor that of old a golden plate was worn on the brow of the high priest to add to his splendor and glory, on which was written the name of the Lord as a tetragrammaton, which said: "Consecrated to the Lord."[94] It consisted of only a few letters, but contained within it a force of great meaning. But why go on indefinitely, when we see that whatever was performed in the divine services both under the Old and the New Law is done almost entirely by mystic symbols and allegories? What significance do all the arrangements of the tabernacle demand, or the number of levites, or the ceremonies of the priests, or finally the modern rites of Holy Church, except that the power of spiritual understanding be sought in them? And to put it another way, mystery lies hidden in the ministry, since the profound meaning of allegorical contemplation is contained in the functions of public worship.

A short epilogue at the end of this work

(43) Once again let me briefly sum up what I set out to explain, that it be more clearly understood, passing over those points which can be found in the exposition of the learned commentators. The vice of arrogance is a familiar thing to many readers, especially in one possessed of the graces of eloquence, whose unbridled tongue courses through the open fields of Scripture, allowing the spirit of pride to invade

94. Cf. Ex 28.36–38.

his heart set on popular adulation. While directing others along the right road, he himself is forced to detour into error and confusion. That is why we customarily say to readers in the refectory: "May God take from you the spirit of pride."[95] But that humility might offset the danger of pride, at the very start of the reading the lector rightly asks in the spirit of submissiveness that he be blessed, not by the priest, but by one whom he will delegate.

(44) The Church, moreover, uses the priestly greeting so that the priest may show that he is at peace with the whole assembly of the faithful. For in the gospel the Lord commands: "And when you stand in prayer, forgive whatever you have against anybody, so that your Father in heaven may forgive your failings too."[96] And again: "If you are bringing your offering to the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your offering before the altar, go and be reconciled with your brother first, and then come back and present your offering."[97] Therefore, to show that he has not only taken this precept of the Lord to heart, but that he might also demonstrate it externally in public rite, before the priest offers his sacrifices of earnest prayers he indicates by the exchange of mutual greetings that he is one with the congregation in the bonds of fraternal charity. Wherefore, whether they are present or not, with the eyes of the spirit he beholds all as present for whom he intends to pray; nor, because of their spiritual fellowship, does he consider any to be absent whom he joins with himself in prayer. Therefore, with the vision of faith he greets and accepts a greeting from those whom he sees before him as spiritually present. So, let no brother who lives as a solitary in his cell fear to use the common language of the Church; for though he be spatially separated from the assembly of the faithful, the unity of faith unites him in charity with all; and although others are not physically present, they are with him through the mystery of the Church's unity.

95. *Benedicti Regula* 38, 106.
96. Mk 11.25.
97. Mt 5.23–24.

In praise of the eremitic life[98]

(45) But while I treat of these matters, I should like to include a few ideas on the value of the solitary life, stating what I think about this crown of virtuous living, and briefly indicating my thoughts in words of praise rather than in terms of debate. The solitary life is indeed the school of heavenly learning and a training in the arts of God. God is there, where one learns where life is heading, and one attains there to the knowledge of the highest truth. The hermitage is truly a paradise of delights,[99] where like various savory spices or the perfume of red-glowing flowers the fragrant scents of virtue give forth their odor.[100] There the roses of charity blaze in crimson glory; there the lilies of chastity glisten in snow-white beauty, and with them the violets of humility, since they are content with lowly spots, are never disturbed by the wind; there the myrrh of perfect penance gives forth its fragrance and the incense of incessant praying fills the air.

(46) But why do I speak of each of these individually, since all the buds of holy virtue clad in a rainbow of colors gleam there, and because it is always green, they thrive beyond all description. O hermitage, delight of holy souls and inexhaustible sweetness for our spiritual sense of taste! You are the Chaldean furnace[101] where holy young men by their prayers curb the passion of raging fires, and by the ardor of their faith extinguish the massive flames crackling around them; where indeed the bonds are burned away and the limbs do not feel the heat, for sins are purged and the soul is inspired to a hymn in praise of God, saying: "You have broken my

98. The apostrophe to the eremitic life that follows is found as a separate work in some 30 MSS down to the age of printing. No direct model could be located, but perhaps Damian was influenced by the ideas of Jerome, contained in the latter's letters. Thus in Letters 57, 72, and 98 Damian refers to Jerome's letter to Heliodorus (ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 [1910], 44–62, no. 14), in which he praises the eremitic life. Della Santa, *Idea monastica* 188 and Cantin, *Sciences séculières* 353 note an influence from the ideas of Eucherius. In some nine MSS this text is attributed to a certain Basilius, and in one MS to a Blasius.

99. Cf. Ezek 28.13.

100. Cf. Prudentius, *Cath.* 3.21ff.

101. Cf. Dan 3.

fetters, O Lord, I will offer you the thanksgiving sacrifice."[102] You are the kiln in which the vessels of the heavenly king are fashioned, where they acquire an everlasting luster under the hammer blows of penance and the shaving file of wholesome correction. In it also the rust of a worn-out soul is consumed and the rough dross of sin falls away. Indeed, "the kiln tests the work of the potter and the test of just men is the trial of affliction."[103]

(47) O cell, storehouse of heavenly merchants, where all those wares are found for which we gain possession of the land of the living. O happy exchange, where earthly wares are bartered for heavenly ones, passing things for those that are eternal. Blessed indeed the fair where one can buy everlasting life, for whose purchase even the little that we have is a fair price; where a short span of bodily affliction can buy the heavenly banquet, and a few tears can gain unending laughter; where earthly possessions are stripped away and we enter upon the patrimony of our eternal inheritance. O cell, wondrous workshop of spiritual effort, in which certainly the human soul restores within itself the image of its creator and regains its original purity; where dull senses recover their subtle sharpness, and where the unleavened sincerity[104] of our tainted nature is repaired. Your gift it is that our lips appear pallid from fasting, but that our souls are fattened with the richness of God's grace; that the man of clean heart sees God, when before, wrapped up in his own darkness, he did not know even himself. You cause a man to return to his origins and call him back from the depths of his exile to the heights of his former dignity. You bring it about that man at the summit of contemplation sees all the things of earth passing beneath him, and beholds himself also passing away in that very stream of change.

(48) O cell, you are the tent of the holy army, the battle line of the victorious array, the camp of God, the tower of David, built as a fortress, hung round with a thousand bucklers, and

102. Ps 116.16–17.
103. Sir 27.6.
104. Cf. 1 Cor 5.8.

each the shield of a hero.[105] You are God's battlefield, the arena of spiritual combat, a spectacle for angels,[106] the wrestling ring where brave men are engaged, where the spirit comes to grips with the flesh, and the strong man is overcome by weakness. You are a rampart for those rushing to battle, a bulwark for the brave, a defense for fighters who know not the word 'surrender.' Let the barbarous fury of the surrounding enemy rage, let them advance under cover and hurl their missiles, and let the brandishing swords press like a forest around you. Those who stand within you, armed with the breastplate of faith, dance for joy under the unconquerable protection of Christ their commander and celebrate the victory over an enemy that has already gone down to certain defeat. To them, indeed, it was said: "The Lord will do the fighting for you; you have only to keep still."[107] Or, if there is only one: "Have no fear," he replied, "there are more on our side than on theirs."[108] O hermitage, you are the death of vice and undoubtedly the stimulant and life of virtue. The law exalts you and prophecy stands in awe, and all who have reached the summit of perfection know your value. To you, moreover, Moses was indebted for twice receiving the Decalogue;[109] because of you Elijah recognized the manifestation of the Lord as he passed by;[110] by you Elisha was granted a double share of his master's spirit.[111]

(49) And what more should I say? Once, at the very beginning of the world's redemption, the Savior of the world made his herald a dweller in the desert, so that with the dawn of the new age the morning star might come forth from you, after whom would come the rising of the full sun to illumine a dark world with its radiant splendor. You are the Jacob's ladder[112] that leads men to heaven and brings down to us the assistance of angels. You are the golden road on which man returns to his fatherland; you are the course that leads to their crown for those who run well. O eremitic life, you are

105. Cf. Cant 4.4
106. Cf. 1 Cor 4.9.
107. Exod 14.14.
108. 2 Kgs 6.16.
109. Cf. Exod 34.1–5.
110. Cf. 1 Kgs 19.11.
111. Cf. 2 Kgs 2.10.
112. Cf. Gen 28.12.

the bath of souls, the death of sin, and the purgatory of all that is foul. You purify the hidden places of the soul, you wash away the squalor of sin, and cause men's souls to shine with angelic brightness. The cell is indeed the meeting place of God and men, the cross-road where those in the flesh encounter heavenly spirits. For there the citizens of heaven gather to join the conversation of men, where they speak not with fleshly tongues, but without voicing their words, disclose the eloquent secrets of the mind. The cell, finally, is an accessory to the secret deliberation of God with men.

(50) How fair a sight it is to see a brother in his cell, chanting the psalms of Matins and serving as a picket before the camp of God. He watches the course of the stars in the heavens as the course of the psalms proceeds from his lips. And as the stars, early and late, rise and set until the approach of day, so the psalms come forth from his lips as from the East and run in step with the stars until at last they reach their setting. He performs his service, and the star carries out its assigned function; he by his chanting reaches out in spirit toward the inaccessible light;[113] the star in constant succession to its neighbor restores for his sight the light of day. And while both proceed toward their goals by different paths, the very elements of the world seem in their subservient way to be in harmony with the servant of God. The cell, moreover, witnesses how much the heart is aflame with the love of God, and whether one seeks his presence with the urgency of perfect devotion. It knows when the soul of man is showered with the dew of heavenly grace and when it is watered by the rain of the tears of compunction. There, even though tears do not pour from bodily eyes, a heartfelt sorrow is still not deprived of the fruit of tears; for that which is not gathered from the branch that is outwardly accessible, is always present at the very root of the heart that is fresh with moisture. It is enough that the soul be tearful even though one is not always able to weep. The cell is the workshop where precious stones are polished, so that afterwards they may be set in the temple walls without the sound of hammer blows.

113. Cf. 1 Tim 6.16.

(51) O cell, you almost rival the sepulchre of the Lord by receiving those who are dead in sin and by the breath of the Holy Spirit cause them to live again for God. You are a tomb set apart from the troubles and vexations of this life, but you open the way to heavenly life. Those who escape the shipwreck on this earthly sea find in you a tranquil haven. Those who escape wounded from the violence of battle see you as the chamber of a powerful physician. As soon as one comes under the shadow of your roof with a perfect heart, every injury to the wounded soul, every affliction of the inner man is certainly cured. Jeremiah had you in mind when he said: "It is good to wait in silence for the Lord to save. It is good for a man to bear the yoke from youth onwards; he will sit in solitude and silence because he has raised himself above himself."[114] Indeed, he who dwells in you lifts himself up above himself, because the soul that hungers for God lifts itself above the vision of earthly things and supports itself at the peak of divine contemplation, separates itself from the affairs of this world, and soars to the heights on the wings of heavenly desire. And when he is engaged in looking upon Him who is above all,[115] man rises above himself as well as above all the vileness of this earthly vale.

(52) O cell, you are a dwelling totally devoted to the spirit, where you make proud men humble, gluttons sober, cruel men kind, angry men mild, and hateful men fervent in fraternal charity. You are the curb of an idle tongue, and you bind lustful loins with the cincture of brightest chastity. You inspire light-headed men to again become serious, jesters to give up their buffoonery, and garrulous men to restrain themselves in strictest silence. You are the nurse of fasting and vigils, the guardian of patience, the mistress of purest simplicity, to whom fraud and duplicity are quite unknown. You hold the vagrant restrained by the chains of Christ, and cause the morally undisciplined to curb their depravity. You know how to lift men to the heights of perfection and to bring them to the pinnacle of complete holiness. You make a man

114. Lam 3.26–28.

115. Cf. Rom 9.5.

smooth and polished, and insure that no lack of proportion in manners be found in him. You also make of them dressed stones, fit for building the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, who never appear unstable by reason of the fickleness of their actions, but always stand constant in the serious observance of their holy calling. You inspire men to be strangers to themselves, and cause vessels of vice to be filled with the flowers of virtue. You are black but lovely like the tents of Kedar, like the pavilions of Solomon.[116] You are like the bath of the shorn,[117] and the pools of Heshbon.[118] "Your eyes are like doves at a pool of water, bathed in milk, at rest near the bountiful waters."[119]

(53) For you are the mirror of souls in which the soul of man, beholding itself in all clarity, supplies what is wanting, represses what is superfluous, straightens what is askance, and orders what is misshapen. You are the bridal chamber where the dowry of the Holy Spirit is given and the happy soul is united with its heavenly bridegroom. The upright love you, and those who fly from you are deprived of the light of truth and know not where to step. "May I never speak again if I forget you, if I do not count you the greatest of my joys."[120] This also are we pleased to sing of you with a joyful heart, joining the same prophet who said: "This is my rest forever; here will I stay for this is the home I have chosen."[121] "How beautiful you are, how charming, my love, my delight."[122] In symbolizing you, beauty adorned the face of Rachel,[123] and Mary chose the better part that will never be taken from her.[124] You are a bed of spices, a fountain that makes the gardens fertile, a pomegranate. For although your skin appears bitter to those who know you not, yet something great lies hidden within when one comes to the center of sweetness. O hermitage, you are an escape from persecution, a resort of quiet for those who labor, consolation for the sor-

116. Cant 1.4.
117. Cf. Cant 4.2.
118. Cf. Cant 7.4.
119. Cant 5.12.
120. Ps 137.6.
121. Ps 132.14.
122. Cant 7.6.
123. Cf. Gen 29.17.
124. Cf. Lk 10.42.

rowing, a place of refreshment far from the heat of the world, the renunciation of sinning, and the freedom of souls. David sought you out when he encountered the evil of this world and bore the burden of a dark and fearful heart: "Behold, I have fled afar off and made my home in the desert."[125]

(54) And why should I mention others, when the Redeemer of men himself deigned at the beginning of his public life to visit you and make you sacred by his dwelling within you? For after washing in the waters of baptism in which he was washed, as the evangelist states, the Spirit at once drove him into the desert: "And he remained in the desert for forty days and forty nights, and was tempted by Satan, and he was with wild beasts."[126] Therefore, let the world acknowledge its debt to you since it knows very well from where it received the Lord as he began to preach and perform his miracles. O hermitage, a dwelling awesome to evil spirits, where the cells of monks are raised like rows of tents in a camp, like the towers of Sion and the defenses of Jerusalem against the Assyrians and in the face of Damascus. And when in these cells various duties are performed in harmony, where here one is chanting, there one is praying, in another one is writing, and in still others various kinds of manual labor are performed, who will not recognize how well suited to the hermitage are the words of God which say: "How fair are your tents, O Jacob! and how fair your dwellings, Israel! Like shaded valleys, like gardens by the banks of a river, like tents that the Lord has pitched, like cedars beside the waters."[127] And what more may I say of you, O eremitic life, holy life, angelic life, blessed life, preserve of souls, hall of heavenly gems, and court of the senators of the spirit. Your fragrance excels that of all herbs, your flavor is sweeter to the taste of the enlightened soul than dripping honeycombs or any honey. And whatever more may be said of you is unequal to the honor you deserve, for no carnal tongue can adequately express what the soul invisibly perceives of you, nor can the mouth of man ever explain how

125. Ps 55.7.
126. Mk 1.13.
127. Num 24.5–6.

savory you are to the spiritual taste at the heart of one's being. They have known you who love you; they proclaim your praises who delightfully rest in the embraces of your love.

(55) For the rest, how can they know you who are ignorant of themselves? I, too, admit that I am unable to praise you properly, but one thing, O blessed life, I know for certain and affirm beyond the shadow of a doubt: that whoever strives to persevere in his desire to love you, indeed dwells in you, but that God dwells in him. The devil with his temptations is subject to him and groans to see him on his way to the place from which he himself was expelled. The victor over devils becomes the companion of the angels; the outcast of earth becomes the heir of paradise; he who denies himself becomes the disciple of Christ. And because he now walks in his footsteps, when his course is run, will without doubt be raised to the glory of his company. And to say it again with assurance: whoever for the love of God observes the solitary life to the end of his days, after departing his fleshly dwelling will arrive at an eternal edifice, a house not built by hands[128] in heaven.

The disputation closes with an apostrophe to the hermit Leo

(56) So now, dear father, I have given you a question to solve suggested by the inquiry of the brothers. But in the meantime I have not deferred saying what I think, not, to be sure, to teach others while usurping the authority of the master, but rather that I might clearly disclose to you what I think in my inexperience. Therefore, whatever is included in the foregoing disputation, was stated, not with the purpose of asserting, but was held up, as it were, for your inspection; it is not a definitive statement, but a dissertation airing its reasons.

(57) Wherefore, my dear father, carefully inspect all that I have somehow put together, and if my assumptions are false, do not hesitate to erase them with a sharp knife; or if, thanks to you, they perhaps conform to sound teaching, confirm

128. Cf. 2 Cor 5.1.

them with your authority. I could have been more brief in what I have said here at length, but I must admit that it was a pleasure, while I had the opportunity, to prolong speaking with your sweet self. We gladly linger at pounding spices, especially if he whom we serve is himself sweet to the smell.

(58) May almighty God direct his servant Leo by a secret inspiration to shed a few tears or breathe a few sighs each day for miserable me. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

LETTER 29

Peter Damian to Peter, the abbot of a monastery in Classe. While he was still prior at Fonte Avellana, he wrote to the abbot accusing him of giving sanctuary in his monastery to a fugitive member of his congregation. Assuring the abbot that all will be forgiven if the monk is sent back, he nevertheless threatens to refer the matter to the forthcoming Roman synod if he is not returned.

(ca. 1049–1057)[1]

TO THE VENERABLE ABBOT, Peter,[2] the monk Peter the Sinner sends greetings in the Lord.

(2) I marvel at your revered prudence, venerable brother, that while the whole world is filled with monks, you support this monk of mine in his opposition to me, despite my repeated demands of you, and the frequent blows of excommunication inflicted on him by the Apostolic See and the Roman pontiffs.[3] Of course, the human race's first parent, though permitted to eat of all the trees in paradise save one, despised the fruit of the other trees and chose to eat only of that which had been forbidden him.[4]

(3) And so you too, even though perhaps you do not accept those whom you could properly receive, have no fear of admitting one who was in such an alarming way forbidden you. And you are not at all concerned if a soul for which Christ died should perish,[5] so long as you could have him under

1. This date is suggested by Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 153.

2. It is clear from the rubric in the MSS: "He demands the return of a certain fugitive monk from a monastery in Classe," that the recipient was an abbot in Classe. The *Collectanea* of John of Lodi also reveals his name as Peter. In Classe there were two monasteries, St. Apollinaris and St. Severus, but in the time frame of this letter no record was found of an abbot named Peter in either monastery.

3. There is no written evidence of these condemnations.

4. Cf. Gen 3.6.

5. Cf. 1 Cor 8.11.

your jurisdiction. Similarly, when the prostitute, who had removed the other woman's child, was before Solomon, she preferred having it dismembered by the king's sword rather than returned to the bosom of its mother.[6] She obviously belittled the destruction of the baby who was about to die, so long as she could still be called its mother. Following her example, why do you too nurse him whom you have not borne, or like the partridge, why do you brood over him whom you have not begotten? For it is natural to the partridge to steal eggs from another nest and brood over them as her own until the young emerge. But when the chicks hear the call of their mother, they recognize her by their natural instinct and, rejecting their spurious mother, quickly return to their true mother.[7] Hence Jeremiah says: "The partridge broods over the eggs it has not laid. A man amasses wealth unjustly, and before his days are half done he must leave it, and prove but a fool at the last."[8] Except that this passage may apply to a person who belongs to the group that steals from the membership of others, it seems to refer primarily to the author of all evil.[9] For the devil, like a professor on the chair of pestilence,[10] usurped the office of teaching men whom he had not made, and by teaching them false doctrine brooded over them whom he had not begotten through creation. He amassed wealth unjustly, because while wishing to grow rich from things that belonged to another, he violated the rule of justice. But before his days were half over he will have to abandon them. The devil, it seems, still lives, since the sword of the last judgment has not yet run him through. And so, though not yet dead, he has already abandoned his wealth, since the human race has now for the most part returned to its Creator. But at the last he will prove a fool, for, as the apostle says: "The Lord Jesus will kill him with the breath of

6. Cf. 1 Kgs 3.16–28.

7. Since Damian refers to the legend of the partridge in his own words, one cannot cite his source. The story is also found in Ambrose, *Hexameron* 6.3, 211 and in Ambrose, *Epistola* 1.32 (PL 16, 1071A).

8. Jer 17.11.

9. For this interpretation, see Jerome, *Ieremias* 167.

10. Cf. Ps 1.1.

his mouth and destroy him by the radiance of his coming."[11] And the prophet: "With the breath from his lips," he says, "he shall slay the wicked."[12]

(4) Humanity, therefore, deserts a teacher who usurps his office and returns to the rightful one when he condemns a new false doctrine and comes back to the origins of his creation. Therefore it is aptly added: "A throne of glory, exalted from the beginning, the place of our sanctification, the hope of Israel."[13] Therefore God, who is the beginning of glory, is the hope of Israel, for as the human race at the origins of creation sprang from him, so it returns to him through the mystery of our new redemption. He, therefore, who from the beginning sat exalted on the lofty throne of glory and instructed mankind, is the hope awaited by Israel, that in the place of our sanctification, that is, in the holy church, he may again teach that same mankind. To which point the psalmist says: "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn again to the Lord; all the nations shall bow down before him."[14] So whoever breaks trust and takes away another's student, surely imitates the example of the Antichrist. And as he, like the partridge, loses what belongs to another, so this man after the law has had its say, will not retain what he has stolen.

(5) Call to mind, venerable father, that in your presence this brother, first before the holy altar in the church, and again before the cross in his cell vowed that he would be guilty of excommunication if he later purposely violated the obedience promised me as prior. Take care, therefore, lest he who is wrapped in the chains of so many excommunications defile such a holy and venerable monastery as yours, and the itching that accompanies a deadly leprosy spread through your ascetical and devoted community. As the voice of God said to the people of Israel: "You have a thing accursed among you, Israel; you cannot stand against your enemies

11. 2 Thess 2.8.
12. Is 11.4.
13. Jer 17.12.
14. Ps 22.28. For Damian's "all the nations" in place of the Vulgate's "all the families," see Sabatier 2, 45.

until you have rid yourselves of him who is defiled by this crime."[15]

(6) On the other hand, I who must not crave the death of a fallen brother, with compassion for his calamity lament for him with all my being. And not only will I forgive him, but if he comes to his senses, I am also prepared to lay down my life to gain his salvation.

(7) In your charity, therefore, and that of your holy brothers whose servant I am, let him return to me only with some written explanation from you, and he need have no fear that I will be anything but kind and gentle and loving to him. Otherwise, with the Roman synod approaching,[16] if . . . But I do not wish to threaten; let it be enough in the meantime that in all humility I earnestly request that you do not disadvantage me.

15. Josh 7.13. For Damian's variant from the Vulgate, see *Biblia sacra* 4, 71, with reference to this letter.

16. On the question of the approaching synod, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 81.

LETTER 30

Peter Damian to G, the bishop of Osimo. After returning to Fonte Avellana from a recent visit with the bishop, Damian learned of the death of many people in his area. Taking occasion from this disaster, he implored the unreformed bishop, for whom he has deep concern, not to defer his conversion in the face of sudden and unprovided death. If he converts, he will have Damian as a life-long friend; if not, Damian will have nothing more to do with him.

(April, 1049)[1]

TO SIR G⟨ISLERIUS⟩,[2] the most reverend bishop of Osimo, Peter, for whatever it is worth, his servant and son.

(2) My dear friend, after I left you I learned that many people in our area had died. As a result, while thinking also of you, I was terrified lest, God forbid, something similar should happen to you, and the judgment of God should condemn me for so often deferring judgment after a period of truce, and hold me guilty of another's death. Wherefore, I beg you, dear father, by the all powerful Jesus, by his angels, by the fiery throne of his majesty[3] from which "he will judge

1. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 40.

2. It is not quite certain that the bishop of Osimo here addressed as G. bears the name Gislerius. In 1022 a Bishop Gislerius of Osimo is referred to in Gregorius of Catino, *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. U. Balzani (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 33 [1903], 253f.). The name appears again in 1037; see Bartoccetti, *Serie* 15, 108 and Schwartz, *Bistümer* 248. Whether he is to be identified with the bishop of Osimo, referred to in Peter Damian, Letter 26 in 1047, a man involved in unspeakable crimes, whom Damian asks the pope to depose, is also uncertain. But the bishop of 1047 and the recipient of this letter are held to be the same by P. Compagnoni, *Memorie istorico-critiche della chiesa e de'vescovi di Osimo* 1 (1782), 333f.; Prete, *S. Pier Damiani* 123f.; Grillantini, *Osimo* 139ff.; and Palazzini, *Chiesa Marchigiana* 171f. See also Reindel, *Neue Literatur* 409.

3. Cf. Dan 7.9.

the living and the dead,"[4] do not practice self-deception. Do not delay any longer, nor by putting off the remedy for your salvation from day to day corrupt your soul, but enter quickly, while yet you can, into the harbor of reform lest sudden disaster overtake you while you wait, lest the waves of unexpected death engulf you, and you be swallowed up in the fiery pit of hell.

(3) Alas, my dear father, why am I unable to obtain from God that he give you introspection and permit you to be aware of the bed of calamity in which you carelessly rest? Certainly if it were clearly visible to you that death were close at hand, lying in wait for you behind your back, you would abandon without delay whatever in this world was pleasing to you, whatever in this deceitful life allured you. But I act imprudently if I presume to teach someone more learned than myself. One thing I will say, my dear father, and do not become angry: if you decide to change your life, as long as you live you will have me at your feet as a servant, a son, as one humbly at your service. But if you refuse, I wish never again to gather with you lest, God forbid, I should scatter in disagreement with my God.[5] Nor do I ever wish to be a friend to him who will be separated from the company of God.

4. 2 Tim 4.1.

5. Cf. Mt 12.30.

INDICES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Aaron, 42, 79, 220
Abraham, 41, 70, 111, 181
Adam, 40, 70
Adam, monk, 19
Adriaen, M., 44, 47, 56
Adso Dervensis, 186
Agnes, empress, 4, 5, 11, 13, 22
Alberic, deacon, 12, 19
Alberic de Trois Fontaines, 86
Alcuin, 248
Alexander II, pope, 10–13, 18, 30
Alfanus of Salerno, 13, 19
Altaner, B., 149
Amadesius, 87
Amalarius, 169, 259, 260
Ambrose, 10, 22, 116, 119, 151, 169, 291
Ambrose, hermit, 22
Amelric, senator, 140, 171
Amiani, P. M., 92
Amos, 75
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, 14
Andrew, apostle, 106
Anselm, 191
Anno of Cologne, 11, 18
Anselm of Baggio, 10
Anspach, A. E., 42
Antichrist, 18, 186
Anton, H. H., 84
Archigenes, 227
Arialdus, 14
Ariprandus, 15
Atto, 236
Athanasius, 149
Aubert, R., 92
Augsburg, 30
Augustine, 9, 38, 45, 54, 66, 111, 116, 169, 177, 198, 201, 218, 242, 252
Autenrieth, J., 18
Babylon, 45, 248
Baix, F., 10
Balaam, 65
Balboni, D., 6, 37, 95, 236
Bamberg, library, 23
Bargellini, E., 255
Barnabas, 105
Baronius, C., 24
Bartoccetti, L., 132
Baruch, 219
Bavaria, 22
Bayeux Tapestry, 13
Bede, 117, 169, 270
Benedict, 6, 31, 135, 136, 154
Benedict VIII, pope, 269
Benedict IX, pope, 8, 88, 90–92, 124, 125, 130
Benedict X, antipope, 9
Beno, 91
Benson, R., 144
Benzinger, J., 125
Berger, S., 71
Bern of Reichenau, 195
Berschin, W., 173, 183, 189
Bertha, 11
Bertolini, M. G., 84, 86
Betz, J., 47
Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 22
Bigne, M. de la, 24
Biron, R., 147, 259, 265
Bischoff, B., 130
Bishop, E., 157
Blanche, countess, 18, 28
Bloch, H., 90
Bloomfield, M. W., 146
Blum, O. J., 19, 146–148, 159, 166, 198
Blumenkrantz, B., 33, 40, 62
Boaga, E., 7
Boaz, 60

Boehmer, H., 155
Boesch Gajano, S., 159
Boethius, 118
Bonazzi, G., 4
Boniface of Tuscany, 84, 86
Bonizo, 191
Bonushomo of Cesena, 197
Borino, G. B., 11, 91, 97, 125, 130, 194
Botti, F., 4
Boye, M., 88
Bratke, E., 46
Braun, R., 41
Bresslau, H., 124
Brinktrine, I., 269
Brezzi, P., 31
Browe, P., 40, 42
Bulst-Thiele, M. L., 11
Bultot, R., 197, 220, 224
Burchard, 144, 173, 176, 177, 179, 182, 185, 189, 191, 242, 243, 272
Burchi, P., 129
Buroni, G., 86
Buzzi, G., 87, 97, 100
Byzantium, 14

Cabaniss, A., 259
Cacciamani, G., 7, 9, 86
Cadalus of Parma, 10, 12, 30
Caesar, 47
Cain, 225
Calati, B., 95
Camaldoli, 7
Canossa, 84
Cantin, A., 4, 30, 117, 172, 197, 198, 216, 257, 281
Capitani, O., 9, 10, 88, 128, 154, 160, 161, 163, 165, 194, 195
Cappelletti, G., 87, 92, 143
Caretta, A., 19
Cassiodorus, 30, 56
Castello, diocese, 132
Catholic University of America, vii
Chalcedon, council, 242
Chaldeans, 45
Champeaux, E., 173, 174
Chasteigner, J. de, 8
Chiappelli, L., 137
Chraska, W., 62
Christ, 50, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 63–65, 68, 69, 72, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 235
Christiani, E., 135
Ciacci, G., 135
Clarus, 124
Clement II, pope, 8, 87, 130, 132, 244
Clement VIII, pope, 24
Cluny, 25, 154
Compagnoni, P., 246
Conrad II, emperor, 8
Conrat, M., 172
Constable, G., 15
Constantine III Leichudes, 13
Constantine IX, emperor, 13
Constantinople, 13
Constantinople IV, council, 14
Coturri, E., 137
Cyprian, 38, 44, 46, 48, 67, 201, 262

Dabin, P., 269
Damianus, 3, 4, 15, 16
Daniel, 46, 52, 61, 62, 149, 201, 211
Danielou, J., 47
Dante Alighieri, 5
Darius, 62
David, 13, 42, 47, 51, 53–58, 60, 75–77, 195, 219, 232
Davidsohn, R., 91, 137
Della Santa, M., 6, 67, 101, 145, 159, 161–165, 168–170, 227, 236, 281
Desiderius of Monte Cassino, 12, 19, 21, 29, 30
Diogenes Laertius, 257
Dölger, F. J., 147
Dominicus Loricatus, 18
Dormeier, H., 96
Dressler, F., 3, 10, 23, 76, 87, 101, 227, 244, 245, 257
Dressler, H., vii
Dvornick, F., 14, 106

Edom, 66
Edwards, G. R., 29
Eglon, 249
Egypt, 49, 50, 77, 79

Eichstätt, 8, 87
Einaudi, G., 5
Eisenhofer, L., 259, 261
Eli, highpriest, 141
Elijah, 165, 231
Elisha, 105
Elze, R., 125
Emilia, 86
Emmanuel, 44
England, 13
Enoch, 42, 225
Epaphroditus, 107
Ephraim, 74
Erdmann, C., 16, 195
Ernout, A., 15
Esau, 52
Ethiopia, 49, 50
Eucherius, 281
Euclid, 257
Euphrates, 59
Eusebius, 43
Evagrius, 38, 46, 61, 78
Ezekiel, 72, 78, 240

Faenza, 4, 12
Falce, A., 84, 86
Fano, diocese, 90, 92, 132, 246
Fellerer, K. G., 118
Ferretti, W., 255, 256
Ficker, J., 236
Fischer, B., 276
Fischer, K., 244
Flamion, J., 106
Florence, 11, 172
Florus of Lyons, 260, 267
Foglietti, R., 84, 171
Fois, M., 87, 125, 246, 249
Fonte Avellana, 5–7, 14, 16, 19, 21–23, 26, 86, 87, 93, 113, 125, 159–170, 259
Fornasari, G., 10, 85, 146, 262
Fortunius, A., 125
Fossombroni, diocese, 143
Fournier, P., 177, 189
Fraidl, F., 62
Frankfurt, 11
Fries, H., 47
Fuhrmann, H., viii, 88, 168, 173, 182
Fulbert, 62

Gabriel, 62
Gaetani, C., vii, 17, 24–26, 37, 90
Gams, P. B., 132
Gatto, L., 95, 227, 236, 247
Gaudemet, J., 172
Gaudenzi, A., 171, 172
Gebhard of Ravenna, 5, 8, 87, 90, 92, 100
Gebizo, 17
Gehasi, 131, 135
Gerard of Blanche, 108
Gerard, bishop, 9, 135
Gérold, T., 148
Gerstenberg, O., 140
Gherardesca family, 135
Giabbani, A., 6, 148, 159, 165
Gibelli, A., 132
Gihon, 59
Giovanelli, G., 91, 124
Giselbertus, 100
Gislerius of Osimo, 208, 294
Goldhammer, A., 29
Goez, W., 84, 135
Gomorrah, 41
Gonsette, J., 197, 257
Gratian, 144, 191
Grégoire, R., 95
Gregory I, pope, 38, 109, 169, 182–184, 240, 242, 250
Gregory VI, pope, 88, 91, 92, 130, 143, 245
Gregory VII, pope, 18
Gregory of Tour, 106
Grimlaicus, 273
Grillantini, C., 246, 294
Gross, J., 115
Grundmann, H., 248
Gualazzini, U., 4
Gubbio, 5, 93
Gugumus, J. E., 6
Guido, count, 138
Guido of Pomposa, 6, 8
Guilla, Countess, 27
Guttenberg, E. von, 244

Habakkuk, 44, 51
Haimo, 169
Halkin, F., 91
Halley's comet, 13
Hallinger, K., 161

Hannah, 141
Hauck, A., 126
Hefele, C. J., 11
Hegesippus, 80
Henry II, emperor, 269
Henry III, emperor, 4, 8, 13, 84, 86, 88, 97, 130, 194, 195, 244
Henry IV, king, 11
Henry of Ravenna, 28
Hermann of Reichenau, 88, 97, 194
Herrmann, K. J., 88, 124, 125, 130
Hildebert of Lavardin, 29
Hildebrand, 9–11, 14, 18, 19, 26, 91
Hildebrand, count, 135, 136
Hillgarth, J. N., 61
Hittorp, M., 255
Hoffmann, H., 15, 90, 129, 195
Hofmeister, A., 11
Holder-Egger, O., 11
Holtzmann, W., 90
Holy Cross, Congregation, 7
Holy Spirit, 56
Honorius II, antipope, 10, 11, 30
Honestus of Pomposa, 37, 82, 247
Hopper, V. F., 250
Hosea, 77
Hrabanus Maurus, 119, 182, 218
Hugo of Fano, 92
Humbert, 13
Hunfried, abp. of Ravenna, 196

Ignesti, G., 255
Innocent I, pope, 191
Isaac, 41
Isidore of Seville, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47–55, 57, 58, 60–62, 64–69, 73–78, 114, 116–119, 154, 173, 176, 189, 224, 242
Isaiah, 42, 44, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 60, 63, 73–75, 78, 200, 202, 213, 240
Israel, 46, 48–51, 66, 77, 82
Ivo, 4

Jacob, 41, 45–47, 50, 52, 66, 78
Jaffé, P., 4
James, 205, 214, 217
James of Alphaeus, 120
Jedin, H., 24
Jenal, G., 11
Jeremiah, 46, 72, 77, 81, 105, 121, 240, 250
Jericho, 224, 225
Jerome, 38, 44, 47, 50, 51, 60, 75, 77, 106, 148, 169, 219, 220, 224, 226, 252, 254, 281, 291
Jerusalem, 45, 51, 62, 71, 74
Jesse, 58
Job, 65, 181
Joel, 78
John XVIII, pope, 125
John the Baptist, 110, 111
John Cassian, 168
John of Cesena, 127, 171
John the Deacon, 182, 184
John the Evangelist, 105
John of Fécamp, 6
John of Lodi, 4–6, 15, 17, 19, 20, 25, 86, 197, 290
John, prior, 18
Jonadab, 121
Jordan, 59
Joseph, 52
Joseph, son of Jacob, 104
Josephus, 80
Joshua, 104, 224, 225
Judah, 51, 77
Judas, 75
Julian of Toledo, 62
Julianus Pomerius, 148
Jungmann, J. A., 259, 261, 265, 266, 269, 278
Justin Martyr, 78
Justinian, 172, 178, 179, 182, 183, 191, 227
Juvenal, 227, 257

Kedorlaomer, 218
Kehr, P., 97, 124, 195
Kempf, F., 9
Kingery, V., vii
Kölmel, W., 99
Kolping, A., 255, 259–260, 262, 266, 273
Krappe, A. H., 136
Kromayer, H., 126
Kroymann, E., 40

Laghi, P., 6, 95

Lambert, 92
Lampert of Hersfeld, 11
Landulfus, 80
Lanzoni, F., 86, 127, 145
Laqua, H. P., 8, 87, 96–98, 100–102, 125, 127, 128, 131, 147, 150, 156, 168, 195, 246
Lassus, L. A., 255, 256
Laurent, V., 14
Lawrence of Amalfi, 90, 91, 132
Leclercq, J., 3, 11, 95, 96, 126, 158, 159, 198
Le Goff, J., 29
Leo I, pope, 144, 242
Leo IX, pope, 8, 13
Leo, hermit, 38
Leo of Sitria, 255
Leonardi, C., 86
Leporace, T. G., 86
Lewy, H., 80
Lilii, G., 85
Lippomano, L., 23
Little, L. K., 33, 146
Liupard, hermit, 22
Löwe, H., 117
Lohmeyer, E., 186
Lokrantz, M., 29, 86, 125, 158
Lot, 41, 120
Lothar, count, 137
Lubac, H. de, 71, 138, 262, 267
Lucchesi, G., 3–7, 9–12, 14, 17–20, 37, 58, 63, 84, 87, 90–93, 95, 97, 109, 113, 124, 127, 128, 130, 134, 135, 140, 143, 145, 146, 171, 175, 194, 197, 208, 216, 227, 236, 244, 247, 293
Lyons, 25

Mâcon, bishop of, 11
Macrobius, 116, 117, 119
Maccarrone, M., 245
McNamara, M., 62
McNulty, P., 25, 255
Mähl, S., 151
Mai, A., 25
Mainardus of Pomposa, 31, 37, 227
Mainfredus, 4, 108
Malachi, 74, 200, 211
Mallau, H. H., 220
Mamre, 41
Manaresi, C., 137
Marches, 8, 244, 245
Marinus, 4
Mark, 150
Martianus Capella, 117
Martini, G., 269
Mary, 73, 152, 157, 158
Massa, E., 20
Mathilda of Tuscany, 18
Mathis, A., 91
Mazzotti, M., 5
Meier-Welcker, H., 125
Melk, monastery, 22
Mercati, G., 20
Messiah, 46, 62
Meyer, H., 250
Micah, 45
Miccoli, G., 37, 38, 128, 131, 135, 156, 159, 255
Michael Cerularius, 13
Migne, J. P., 90
Milan, 10, 14
Mittarelli, J. B.—A. Costadoni, 99, 100, 129, 135, 171, 227, 244, 256
Moab, 66
Mombritius, B., 40
Mommsen, T., 43
Monte Cassino, 12, 29, 30
Moos, P. von, 140
Moses, 40–42, 47, 49, 59, 70, 71, 79–81, 104, 108, 111, 180, 181, 188, 217, 221, 238
Mount Suavicinum, 18
Müller-Christensen, S., 244
Muzi, G., 132

Naaman, 135
Nardi, B., 31
Nebuchadnezzar, 61
Nebuzaradan, 249
Neukirch, F., 18, 84, 87, 93, 101, 109, 124, 127, 130, 135, 143, 159, 256
Newton, F., 90
Nicholas II, pope, 8, 9, 18, 29
Nichomachus, 257
Noah, 42, 120, 170
Normans, 13
North, R., 248

Obadiah, 51
Obed, 60
Odilo of Cluny, 11
Oefele, E. V., 11
Ovid, 116
Owens, G., 149

Palazzini, P., 8, 10, 11, 86, 129, 144, 152, 156, 160, 161, 165, 166, 168, 172, 173, 178, 185, 245, 294
Papias, 118, 270
Paris, 22
Parma, 4, 117
Paschasius, 169
Patarins, 10
Paul, 39, 66, 105, 107, 108, 121, 122, 139, 216, 218, 222, 224
Pavia, synod, 88
Payer, P. J., 26, 27
Pesaro, 90, 92, 132
Peter, apostle, 13, 105, 149, 241
Peter, abbot, 290
Peter, chancellor, 124
Peter Damian, vii, ix, 3–12, 14–33, 37, 40, 62, 63, 69, 71, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 109, 113, 117, 119, 124, 127, 128, 130, 134, 140, 143, 145, 151, 152, 159, 161, 171, 173, 194, 197, 208, 216, 227, 236, 244, 247, 255, 290, 294
Petra, 60
Petra Pertusa, 6
Petrocchi, M., 159, 168
Petrus Cerebrosus, 109
Philip, 249
Philo, 151
Photius, 14
Pierucci, C., 6, 7, 159, 164, 165, 168, 169, 259
Physiologus, 30
Pilate, 47
Pilgrim of Cologne, 124
Pincherle, A., 24
Pishon, 59
Plato, 257
Pomposa, monastery, 63, 95
Poole, R. L., 88, 126, 130
Posnanski, A., 47
Poukens, J. B., 269
Pranger, M. B., 255
Prete, S., 92, 132, 208, 245, 294
Prosper, 169
Prou, M., 38
Prudentius, 281
Pseudo-Alcuin, 260, 267, 278
Pythagoras, 118, 257

Quentin, H., 71
Quincy College, vii, viii
Quodvultdeus, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 52, 61

Raby, F., 78
Rahner, K., 29
Rainerius, priest, 135
Ravenna, 3, 4, 6, 8, 87, 88, 97, 98, 171, 172
Rechabites, 121
Reconquista, 13
Regensburg, university, vii, 3
Regino, 173, 179, 182, 185
Reijners, G. Q., 78
Reindel, K., vii, viii, xxi, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 15–17, 19–25, 31, 90, 130, 227, 286, 294
Remegius, 169
Remegius of Auxerre, 259
Resnick, I. M., 31
Robert Guiscard, 13
Rodelinda, 3, 4
Rodulfus Glaber, 38
Rodulfus of Gubbio, 17, 18
Rome, 9, 11, 125, 126
Romuald, 6, 7, 113, 145, 256
Roschini, G., 158
Rufinus, 43, 201
Ruth, 60
Ruysschaert, J., 24
Ryan, J. J., 14, 28, 126, 173, 176, 177, 179, 183–185, 191, 240, 242, 243, 255, 272, 273

Sabatier, P., 33, 44, 46–48, 50, 51, 55–57, 59, 71, 75, 78, 98, 99, 111, 138, 154, 201, 218, 220, 292
Sabeans, 49, 50
Sackur, E., 91

St. Apollinaris in Classe, 38, 90, 92, 99
S. Maria *foris portam*, 12
S. Maria in Porto, 5
S. Nicolò, monastery, 24
St. Vincent, monastery, 6, 7, 84, 86
Salmon, P., 150
Samaritani, A., 37, 38, 87, 95, 129, 226, 227, 247
Samuel, 165
Santifaller, L., 124
Savioli, A., 12
Schmale, F. J., 15, 130, 143, 194
Schmidt, T., 10, 12
Schneider, C., 195
Schramm, P. E., 140, 195
Schulze, P., 151
Schwartz, E., 43
Schwartz, G., 11, 87, 127, 132, 171, 294
Schwarz, U., 90
Schwarzmeier, H., 145
Scipio, G. C., 253
Segui, G., 61
Seir, 66
Séjourné, P., 189
Sensi, M., 143
Sheerin, D., viii
Sheth, 66
Silvester, 15
Simon, magician, 131
Sinai, 80
Sirach, 59
Sodom, 41
Solmi, A., 140
Solomon, 54–56, 64, 120, 121, 123, 197, 204, 206, 215, 225, 238
Somigli, C., 10
Spain, 14
Specht, W., 244
Spinelli, G., 5, 87
Stadlhuber, J., 157
Steger, H., 195
Steindorff, E., 86, 92, 97, 195, 244
Stephen IX, pope, 9
Stephen, cardinal, 19
Stephen, hermit, 7
Stuiber, A., 149
Suavicino, 93
Sufficia, 3
Sutri, synod, 8, 130
Synagogue, 48
Syracusa, 24
Szövérffy, J., 78

Tabacco, G., 6, 7, 22, 23, 161, 164, 168
Taft, R., 147
Tamassia, N., 128, 172
Tebaldus, 17
Tellenbach, G., 195
Tertullian, 38, 40, 62, 66–68, 78
Tetgrimus, count, 145
Teuzo, 18
Teuzolinus, 4
Thackery, H. St.J., 80
Theodosius of Sinigaglia, 17
Thiele, W., 44, 71, 75
Thomasius, J. M., 75
Tigris, 59
Timothy, 39
Titus, 39, 80
Tobias, 181
Tocci, L. M., 86
Toledo, council, 243
Třeštík, D., 90
Tuscany, 84, 86

Ughelli, F., 87, 91, 143
Uguccio, marquis, 28
Ullmann, W., 276
Urbino, 101

Vallombrosa, 11
Van Doren, R., 132
Vatican library, 21, 25
Vega, A. C., 42
Venantius Fortunatus, 78
Vergil, 122
Vernarecci, A., 92, 132
Vespasian, 62, 80
Vetter, W., 118
Vicaire, M. H., 131
Victor III, pope, 21
Vienna, University of, 22
Violante, C., 10, 97, 128, 194, 245
Viridomarus, king, 253
Vitaletti, G., 169, 259

Wadstein, E., 128

Waimar of Salerno, 90
Wasserschleben, F. W. H., 176
Weber, R., 44, 56
Weicker, G., 136
Weisbach, F. H., 249
Wenzel, S., 146
Widger of Ravenna, 97, 194, 195
Willard, H. M., 90, 138
William, hermit, 113
William the Conqueror, 13
Wilmart, A., 5, 11, 22, 24
Wippel, J. F., 26
Wolter, A. B., 26
Woody, K., 10, 159, 168, 245, 259

Zattoni, G., 87
Zechariah, 53, 56, 74, 75, 81, 149, 234
Ziegler, A. K., vii
Zimmermann, G., 159
Zimmermann, H., 136
Zion, 45, 47, 51, 52, 57, 74

INDEX OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

(Books of the Old Testament)

Genesis
1.1: 115
1.2: 115,252
1.7: 116
1.21: 176
1.24: 176
1.26: 40
2.21–22: 176
3.1: 217
3.6: 290
3.15: 103
4.7: 138
4.17: 225
5.1–2: 40
8.9: 252
8.10–11: 131
9.20: 120
9.21: 120
11.5: 40
11.7: 41
14: 218
15.16: 181, 187
18.1: 41
18.2: 41
18.3–4: 41
19.18–19: 41
19.24: 41
19.36: 120
26.4: 54
27: 232
27.21–22: 268
27.27: 262
28.12: 283
28.20–21: 233
29.17: 286
39–41: 104
43.32: 217
45.26: 104
46.34: 217
49.10: 47
50.22–23: 180
50.23: 180

Exodus
3ff.: 104
3.6: 41
7.9–12: 192
7.12: 220
10.21: 37
14.14: 283
16.3: 248
16.31: 249
19.18: 248
25.10: 100
27.7–8: 71
28.36–38: 279
30.33: 47
30.34–35: 221
30.36: 221
30.37: 222
30.38: 222
32.27–29: 80
32.31–32: 108
34.1–5: 283

Leviticus
18.17: 190
25.4–5: 250
25.9–10: 251
25.10: 70
25.10–11: 248
26.11–12: 260
27.2: 237
27.28: 237

Numbers
6.22–26: 42
6.27: 43
11.6: 253
11.8: 149
12.3: 104
14.1–4: 79
14.33–34: 80
20.14: 274
21.1–2: 275
22–24: 65
24.5–6 287
24.15–19: 66
25.8: 80
26.57–58: 188
30.3: 239
36.4: 248

Deuteronomy
10.3: 100
11.29: 82
15.1–9: 69
18.15: 47, 111
19.15: 133
21.15–17: 223
23.21–23: 238
28.28: 49
28.31: 48
28.32: 48
28.65–66: 47
29.4: 49
31.28–29: 82

Joshua
1.1–9: 104
6.26: 224
7.13: 293

Joshua (*continued*)
22.10–22: 270
22.24–25: 271
22.28: 271

Judges
3.12: 249
3.21: 249
6.12: 260
16.28–31: 253

Ruth
2.4: 260
4.13–17: 60

1 Samuel
1.27–28: 141
2.20: 141
2.21: 141
6.14: 232
8.6: 105
13.14: 195
15.9: 249
15.33: 249
19.8: 253

2 Samuel
4.5–6: 253
7.12: 55
7.16: 55
8.14: 219
12.6: 109
12.22–23: 142
19.43: 275
23.1: 55

1 Kings
3.16–28: 291
17.9: 98
17.18: 98
19.11: 283
21.27–29: 231
22.10: 231

2 Kings
2.10: 283
4.1–7: 262
5.19–26: 131
5.27: 135
6.16: 283
25.8–12: 249

1 Chronicles
10.13–14: 195
16.31: 131
17.3–4: 55
17.10–14: 55
17.11: 55

2 Chronicles
15.2: 260

Ezra
3.23: 4

Tobit
14.15: 181

Job
1: 232
2: 232
9.10: 160
10.21: 202
16.9–12, 14: 65
26.13: 42
38: 232
42.16: 181

Psalms
1.1: 291
2.5: 204, 213
2.7–8: 53
8.6: 74
18.6: 73
21.8–9: 48
21.17–18: 48
21.19: 76
21.28: 292
27.4: 250
28.3: 153
30.12–13: 235
32.6: 42, 44
34.1: 264
34.3: 264
40.10: 75
44.2: 44, 57
44.7: 58
44.14: 229
44.14–15: 230
48.8–9: 135
49.3–4: 200, 210
54.13–14: 75
55.7: 287
57.1: 269
66.7–8: 42
66.8: 42
67.1: 269
67.2: 43
67.19: 78
68.18: 154
68.22: 76
70.1: 269
71.2: 54
71.5: 54
71.14: 54
71.17: 54
73.22: 183
76.11: 239
81.2: 264
85.2: 50
85.12: 257
86.1–2: 263
86.5: 57
88.4–5: 56
88.26–30: 56
88.36–38: 57
95.1: 264
95.13: 79
104.8: 181
108.13: 189
109.1: 58
109.3: 58
109.4: 58
110.4: 272
116.16–17: 282
117.22: 52
119.21: 225, 241
119.62: 153
119.103: 254
119.164: 153, 157
131.11: 54
132.14: 286
137.6: 286

Proverbs
1.24–28: 205, 214
3.25–26: 122
6.1–2: 239

15.8: 134
20.1: 120
20.21: 225
23.29–30: 114
23.31–32: 114
24.16: 147
26.11: 241
28.14: 207
30.5: 123
31.4–5: 121

Ecclesiastes
7.14: 207
10.4: 235
11.2: 226
11.4: 234
11.8: 85
12.11: 198

Song of Songs (Cant)
1.4: 286
2.2: 125
2.6: 225
3.7–8: 123, 152
4.2: 286
4.4: 123, 283
4.11: 254
4.15: 254
5.12: 286
6.3: 230
7.4: 286
7.6: 286

Wisdom
2.12–22: 65
5.3: 206, 215
5.6–15: 206

Sirach
5.8–9: 238
10.14–15: 237
12.1: 238
17.21–22: 237
17.23–24: 238
18.22: 238
19.2: 120
24.33–37: 59
27.6: 282
34.21: 134
34.23: 134
43.25: 59
43.28–36: 59
47.13: 60

Isaiah
1.4: 240
2.2–3: 45
2.2–4: 45
2.3: 45
2.5: 46
2.11–19: 204, 213
4.1: 262
5.22: 121
6.3: 42, 154
6.9–10: 49
7.14: 44
9.6–7: 73
10.22: 82
11.1–3: 53
11.3–5: 75
11.4: 292
11.6: 73
11.10: 58
13.9–13: 200, 211
15.9: 60
16.1: 60
20.2: 232
20.3: 232
28.16: 52
29.11: 249
29.14–15: 218
33.18–19: 218
34.8–10: 202
35.1–2: 75
41.18: 75
42.14: 204, 213
44.3: 78
45.8: 51
45.13: 49
45.22–24: 50
45.25–26: 50
48.14–15: 45
48.16–18: 45
49.6: 50
49.9: 47
51.5: 50
53.1–10, 12: 64
53.4: 48
55.3–5: 53
55.11: 44
58.7: 111
62.1: 51
64.1–2: 51
66.2: 252
66.24: 202, 213

Jeremiah
2.13: 241
2.19: 241
7.24: 240
11.18–19: 76
17.11: 291
17.12: 292
23.5: 51
23.6: 57
25.11–12: 81
31.22: 72
31.31–33: 7
35.1–2: 121
35.5: 121
35.6: 121
35.18–19: 122

Lamentations
3.26–28: 285
4.4: 250
4.20: 65

Baruch
3.14: 220
3.23: 219
3.36–38: 46

Ezekiel
1.9: 240
11.19: 39, 52
16.10–11: 230
21.4: 204
28.13: 281
32.27: 202
36.25: 78
36.26: 39, 52
44.1–2: 73

Daniel
2.21: 131
2.34: 52
3: 281
3.20: 248
3.46–47: 248

Daniel (*continued*)
3.47: 250
3.47–48: 252
3.92: 61, 248
4.14: 131
6.11: 149
7.9: 294
7.9–10: 201, 211
7.13–14: 61
7.13–15: 201, 211
9.1–27: 62
9.24: 46
9.25–26: 61
10: 254
10.19: 261

Hosea
6.1–3: 77
11.1: 74
13.14: 77

Joel
2.28–29: 78

Amos
2.6: 75

Obadiah
16–18: 52

Micah
4.1–3: 45
4.2: 45

Habakkuk
2.2–3: 51
3.2: 99
3.5: 44
3.18: 44

Zephaniah
1.14–16: 198, 209
1.18: 204, 213

Zechariah
1.12–13: 81
3.3–5: 234
3.8–9: 56
6.12–13: 56
9.9–10: 74
11.12: 75
11.13: 76
12.10: 76
13.2: 54
13.6: 76
13.7: 76

Malachi
1.10–11: 54
3.1–2: 74
3.1–3: 201, 211
4.1–2: 201, 211

(Books of the New Testament)

Matthew
1.3–4: 188
1.23: 44
2.15: 74
3.10: 102
5.17: 66
5.23–24: 280
6.2: 102
6.33: 225
7.13: 168
10.3: 120
10.10: 232
10.12: 261
11.7–8: 229
11.12: 110
11.13: 110
12.30: 295
13.13: 49
16.19: 275
16.26: 237
18.16: 60, 133
21.9: 106
21.12: 132, 195
21.44: 52
22.13: 203, 213
23.10: 102
23.39: 106
24.27: 199, 209
24.29: 199, 209
25.1–13: 207
25.6: 148
25.7: 148
25.12: 204, 214
25.41: 204, 214
27.40: 47
27.42: 47
27.45: 149
27.46–50: 150
28.19: 103
28.20: 260

Mark
1.13: 217
3.18: 120
4.11: 38
11.15: 132, 195
11.25: 280
15.25: 149, 150
15.34–37: 150

Luke
1.15: 163
1.17: 229
1.28: 260
1.46: 152
1.68–79: 149
2.7: 233
2.14: 98, 131
3.11: 110
6.15: 120
7.24–25: 229
7.26: 111
9.58: 252
9.62: 238
10.5: 261
10.34: 228

10.42: 286
12.49: 52
13.7: 102
14.8: 103
14.10: 235
16.8: 217
16.19: 110
16.24: 254
16.19–23: 228
16.19–25: 235
16.20–21: 110
16.29: 111
17.4: 147
18.1: 153
19.45: 132, 195
21.5–6: 71
23.11: 233, 235
23.21: 150
23.30: 199
23–30: 210
23.44: 149
23.44–46: 150
24.36: 261
24.21: 246

John
1.20: 105
1.29: 60, 68
2.14–16: 132
2.15: 195
4.7: 132
5.46: 111
6.15: 106
6.57: 267
7.39: 110
10.15: 108
10.27–28: 217
12.24: 249
12.35: 185
14.23: 252
17.20–22: 263
18.10–11: 88
19.6: 150
19.14: 150
19.15: 37
19.30: 150
19.34: 118
20.4: 268
20.20: 261
21.16–17: 217

Acts
1.13: 120
2.15: 149
2.3: 248
5.15: 105
7.56: 268
8.18–23: 131
8.30–31: 249
10.9–17: 149
12.2–3: 276
12.4: 276
12.21–23: 233
13.46: 49
14.10: 105
14.12: 105
14.14: 105
19.33: 38
20.26: 139
26.18: 245
28.26: 49

Romans
2.25–29: 66
5.5: 263
6.4: 69, 222
8.6–7: 258
8.7: 218
8.21: 235
9.3–4: 108
9.5: 285
9.27: 82
12.3: 218
12.16: 235
13.12: 149
15.4: 103

1 Corinthians
1.17: 216
1.21: 218, 258
2.15: 275
3.22–23: 277
4.9: 283
5.7: 68
5.8: 282
6.2–3: 277
6.9–10: 272
6.13: 254
7.6: 121
7.39: 272
8.1: 197
8.11: 290
9.26: 122
10.17: 267
10.24: 107
11.16: 39
11.31–32: 207
12.12: 175
12.12–13: 269
14.16: 278
15.52: 70

2 Corinthians
3.6: 258
5.1: 288
5.17: 69
5.19: 249
6.2: 205, 214
6.16: 260
10.3–5: 219
10.10: 107
11.2: 262

Galatians
4.3: 277
4.14–15: 107
5.19–21: 224
5.22–23: 224
6.7–8: 238

Ephesians
2.19: 220
4.4: 176, 266
4.8: 78
5.5: 272
5.8: 115
5.18: 121
6.11–13: 123
6.14–17: 123

Philippians
2.13: 159
2.21: 143
2.29: 107
3.8: 216

Colossians
1.16: 200, 210
1.24: 269
2.9: 50

Colossians (*continued*)
2.11: 66
2.17: 69
3.1–2: 222

1 Thessalonians
4.16: 70
4.16: 251
5.2: 151
5.12–13: 107

2 Thessalonians
1.7–9: 202
2.8: 292
5.17: 153

1 Timothy
2.5: 106
5.22: 139
5.23: 120, 163
6.8: 232
6.16: 214

2 Timothy
2.3: 88
2.9: 268
2.23: 39
2.24–26: 39
4.1: 295
4.22: 260

Titus
3.9: 39

Hebrews
2.11: 263
3.12: 241
9.11: 272
10.27: 202
11.6: 38
13.13: 233

James
3.15: 217
3.17: 218
5.1–3: 205, 228
5.5: 205, 214

1 Peter
3.3–4: 230
3.9: 241

2 Peter
2.20–23: 241
3.7: 199, 209
3.10: 199, 209

1 John
5.6: 118
5.8: 118

Jude
1.14–15: 199, 209

Revelation
1.7: 199, 210
3.12: 275
3.15–16: 239
4.8: 154
6.16: 199, 210
14.1: 127
17.4: 231
22.17: 103