

- Bishop of Thetford's eye: Herman, *De Mirac. S. Eadmundi*, XXVI, pp. 62-4.
- 116 Broodiness taken for insanity: William, *Mirac. S. Thomae*, II, 43, p. 204.
- Psychologically induced illness: on hypochondria, see examples given in *Divine Healing* (SW), pp. 33-45 (nos. 7-10, 12-17, 20, 26); and the comments of R. A. Hunter and I. Macalpine, 'Valentine Greatraks', *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*, Ix (1956), pp. 361-8. On the physiological effects of shock see the important article by W. B. Cannon, 'Voodoo death', *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xiv (1942), pp. 169-81; H. Webster, *Taboo: a sociological study*, Stanford, 1942; C. Levi-Strauss, *Anthropologie Structurale*, Paris, 1958, pp. 183-204. The examples in the text are from *Mirac. S. Thomae*, III, 63, pp. 167-8 (Luciana Torel); Philip, *Mirac. S. Frideswidæ*, XCVII, p. 586. William, *op. cit.*, IV, 4, pp. 351-16 (Nicholas of Dover).
- 117 Sickness aggravated by stress: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, V, 272, pp. 434-5. Cf. similar case in *Miracles de Rocamadour*, II, 18, p. 210. On sickness and stress, J. D. Frank, *Persuasion and healing. A comparative study of psychotherapy*, London, 1961, pp. 38-9.
- 118 'Hope invited...': Thomas of Monmouth, *Mirac. S. Willelmi*, VI, 16, p. 254.
- 'Faith-healing': in general, Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-53, 64-74; J. Gillin, 'Magical fright', *Psychiatry*, ii (1948), pp. 389-94. On its role in modern clinical medicine, L. Lasagna *et al.*, 'A study of the placebo response', *American Journal of Medicine*, xvi (1954), pp. 770-9.
- Placebos (false relics): Caesarius, *Diad. Mirac.*, VIII, 70, vol. ii, p. 140. Benedict, *Mirac. S. Thomae*, IV, 47, p. 217; but such deceptions did not always work, see William, *Mirac. S. Thomae*, V, 14, pp. 384-5.
- 119 Relapses: Benedict, *op. cit.*, II, 49, IV, 3, 21, pp. 95, 183, 199-200. William, *op. cit.*, II, 56, VI, 72, pp. 219, 471. *Mirac. S. Gilberti*, II, 15, p. 66 (Sempringham). William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, V, 270, pp. 429-31.
- 120 Six factors: *Divine healing* (SW), pp. 10-13. See the valuable discussions of seventeenth-century miracles in Thomas, pp. 204-11, and M. Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, Paris, 1924, pp. 420-9.

6. Origins and Ideals

- 122 Scholars at Jerusalem: Eusebius, *Hist. Ecl.*, IV, xxvi, 13-14, VI, xx, I, xxvii, pp. 386-8, 566, 580. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, LIV, LXII, *PL*, xxiii, 664-8, 673.
- 'Footsteps of the Master': Origen, *In Joannem*, VI, 24, *PG*, xiv, 269.
- 'No other sentiment...': Paulinus, *Ep.* XLIV, 14, pp. 402-3.
- Etheria: see her *Pregr.*, III, 5-6, X, 7, XXIII, 5, pp. 40, 52, 70.
- Holy Week services: *Ibid.*, XXIV-XLIX, pp. 71-101.
- Jerome and Paula: Jerome, *In Lib. Paralipomenon*, praefat., *PL*, xxix, 401; *Epp.* XLVI, 9, LVII, 2, CVIII, 9-10, vol. i, pp. 339, 529, vol. ii, pp. 314-18.
- Footprints preserved: Paulinus, *Epp.*, XLIX, 14, XXXI, 4, pp. 402-3, 271-2. Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, I, xxiii, 3-5, p. 247.
- Following Gospels in Holy Land: Bede, *Hist. Ecl.*, V, 15, p. 506; Adamnan, *op. cit.*, I, xxv, 1-8, pp. 251-3 (Arculf), *BBB*, i, 151 (thirteenth-century Franciscan). Faber, *Evangelarium*, vol. i, pp. 25-6.
- Meditation on humanity of Christ: *Vita Richardi Abbatis*, XVIII, pp. 288-9; cf. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, XVIII, p. 393.
- Antenoris, *Vita S. Silvestri*, I, 6-9, p. 30 (not historically reliable).
- Benincasa, *Vita S. Rayneri*, VI, 48, p. 436.
- 128 'Imitatio Christi': Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, XXI, pp. 395-6 (Richard of St. Vannes). Benincasa, *op. cit.*, IV, 47, p. 436. On baptism in the Jordan, see *infra*. *Vita S. Bonae*, I, 13, *AA*, Ss. May, vol. vii, p. 149. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, III, 235, pp. 292-3 (Fulk Nerra). Theoderic of Wurzburg, *De Lois Sanctis*, XXV, p. 63 (flagellation on Mt. Sion). Robert of Torigny, *Chron.*, vol. ii, p. 51 (Henry II).
- Stations of the Cross: Ernoul, *Chron.*, XVII, p. 206 (1231). Ricoldo, *Liber Peregrinationis*, VI, p. 112. Ogier d'Anglure, *Saint Voyage*, pp. 13-14.
- 129 Sacchetti's allegory: in *Sermoni*, LXVIII, pp. 165-6.
- 130 'enter into the mind...': Thomas of Celano, *De Mirac. B. Francis*, II, 2, *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. x, Quaracchi, 1926-41, p. 273.
- Pilgrimage as escape from civilization: Jerome, *Contra Joannem*, XLI, *PL*, xxiii, 393. *Vie de S. Mélanie*, II, 19, p. 168. Jerome, *Ep.* XLVI, 12, vol. i, pp. 342-3.

- Impact of *Life of St. Anthony*: Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII, vi. 14-15, ed. P. Knoll, CSEL, xxxiii, Vienna, 1896, pp. 181-3.
- Jerome's circle and the desert hermits: Jerome, *Epp.* CXXVII, 5, CVIII, 14, vol. iii, pp. 149-50, vol. ii, pp. 324-5 (Paula). Palladius, *Hist. Lausiacae*, XLVI, vol. ii, pp. 134-5 (elder Melania). Etheria, *Peregr.*, XVII, 2, p. 60. *Vie de S. Mélanie*, II, 39, p. 200.
- 131 Pilgrimage as self-exile: Jerome, *Contra Iovinianum*, XLI, PL, xxiii, 393; *Ep.* LVIII, 2-4, vol. i, pp. 529-33.
- 132 Four Anglo-Saxon kings: Caedwalla of Wessex (Bede, *Hist. Ecl.*, V, 7, pp. 470-2). Ceated of Mercia and Offa of Wessex (*ibid.*, V, 19, p. 516). Ine of Wessex (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, p. 27). Ratchis: *Lith. Pont.*, vol. i, pp. 433-4.
- Karloman: *Annales Regni Francorum*, pp. 6-7. On Eudoxia, see J. B. Bury, *History of the later Roman Empire*, London, 1923, vol. i, pp. 226-31.
- Irish concept of self-exile: Columban, *Sermo VIII*, *Opera*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, Dublin, 1957, pp. 94-6. Dermatus, *Exhortatoria*, MD, *Thes.* i, 341-2 ('be exiles...'). *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, p. 53 (three pilgrims of 891).
- 133 'Going to Rome involves...': Gougaud, pp. 158-9. Egbert: Bede, *Hist. Ecl.*, III, 27, pp. 312-14. Wandering peculiarly Irish: Heiric's letter in *RHF*, vii, 563. Gozbert, *Mira.* S. Gadh, II, 47, *MGH. SS.* ii, 30. Anglo-Saxons in Ireland: Bede, *Hist. Ecl.*, III, 27, IV, 4, pp. 313, 346-8. Alcuin, *Ep.* CCLXXXVII, ed. E. Duenmüller, *MGH. Epp.* iv, 445-6. Celtic influence: *Vita S. Siginanni*, VIII, p. 386 (saec. ix). *Vita S. Wandregisili*, II, 9, *Aa. Ss.* July, vol. V, p. 274. *Vita S. Cadroac*, XX, *Aa. Ss.* OSB., vol. vii, p. 494.
- 134 Wandering forbidden: *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, vol. i, pp. 35, 102, 133, vol. ii, p. 122.
- 135 Everard de Breteuil: Guibert, *De Vita Sua*, I, 9, pp. 25-6. Damian's views are contained in *De Contemptu Saeculi* (*Opusc. XII*), IX-XIV, PL, clxv, 260-7. For later criticism of monk-pilgrims, see St. Bernard, *Epp.* LVI, CCCIC, cols. 162-3, 612-13. Cf. miracle stories with the same moral, e.g. *Chron. Mon. Casinensis*, II, 11, p. 636; M. Valla, 'Les Lyonnais à Compostelle', *BHP* (1964), pp. 240-1n.

7. The Penitential Pilgrimage

- 136 Legal distinctions: Peter of Joncels quoted in Du Cange, *Glossarium* (OS), vol. vi, p. 269. Cf. Alfonso X, *Siete Partidas*, I, xxiv, 1, vol. 1 (1), fol. 151^{vo}.
- Early penitential exiles: Jerome, *Ep.* CXLVII, vol. iii, pp. 312-29. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Mariani*, XIX, PG, cxiv, 452-3 (late).
- Cf. Kötting (3), p. 330.
- 137 Irish penitentials: G. Le Bras, 'Pénitentiels', *DTC*, xii, 1162-5. Vogel (2), pp. 44-8, 53-6. Public and private penance: Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa*, III, xxxiv, 6, Avignon, 1715, pp. 642-3; cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, III (suppl.), q. xxviii, a. 3, vol. xii, p. 53. *Canterbury Tales*, p. 572.
- Especially used for clerics or noblemen: Peter Damian, *Vita S. Romualdi*, VII, 37-8, *Aa. Ss.* Feb., vol. ii, p. 112; on Damian's own sentences, *Lib. VII*, *Ep.* XVII, PL, cxlv, 455; *Opusc. V*, PL, cxlv, 98. Bernold, *Chron.*, *MGH. SS.* v, 428, 429-30 (Thierry) and for scandalous crimes: Rigaud, *Reg. Visitationum*, pp. 164, 325-6, 344, 425-6, 477, 579, 665. On Cologne synod of 1279, Hefele, vol. vi, p. 262. Raynald, *Annales*, An. 1319 (no. 27), vol. v, p. 123 (Roger da Bonito). Clement V, *Reg.* 7503, Rome, 1884-92, vol. vi, pp. 420-1 (Nogaret).
- 139 Eleventh-century penitential practice: C. Vogel, 'Les rites de la pénitence publique aux x^e et xi^e siècles', *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y. J. Riou, Poitiers, 1966, vol. i, pp. 137-44. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Clunians and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 122-8, points out the importance of this for the expansion of monasticism. Cf. H. E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 31-4.
- 140 Penitential pilgrims of eleventh century: Helgaud, *Vita Roberti Regis*, XXX, *RHF*, x, 114-15. Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. Ecl.*, III, ed. Chibnall, vol. ii, p. 10 (Robert of Normandy). *Encomium Emmae*, II, 40, ed. A. Campbell, Camden Soc. 3rd. series, vol. lxxii, London, 1949, p. 36 (Canute).
- 141 Fulk Nerra: Glaber, *Hist.*, II, 4, p. 32. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, III, 235, pp. 292-3. On the complex chronology of