Arming for God: The Imagery of Spiritual Warfare from the Monastery to the Pulpit, c.1100–1250

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Abstract: This thesis examines the emergence of knightly arms and castles as allegories of spiritual warfare in early twelfth-century monasticism, and their reappearance in lay preaching and pastoral care up to c.1250. It investigates the relationship between allegorical spiritual arms and real-world military practice as evidenced in chivalric literature and in modern studies of medieval military history, highlighting how meanings ascribed to arms shifted based on audience. Castle allegories for spiritual warfare are then analysed, demonstrating how the representation of virtues as arms found further expression and audience through repurposing as moralised fortifications.

The emergence of the mounted knight as an allegory for spiritual soldiery in the early twelfth century complicated the scriptural and patristic foundations of medieval spiritual warfare. After exploring this development, the thesis examines virtues ascribed to knightly arms in medieval spiritual arming texts, and their intended meanings for different audiences. It analyses the additions of the horse and lance to the spiritual panoply, exploring how these were employed to convey themes including bodily discipline and heavenly aspiration, first to monastic and later to lay audiences. Castle allegories are then traced from monastic origins to lay preaching and pastoral care, through the differing moralisations of defensive architecture. Fortification imagery witnesses a particularly defensive conceptualisation of spiritual warfare, one especially prescribed for female audiences in the Middle English *Ancrene Wisse* and related texts.

By situating these allegories within broader monastic and pastoral reform movements, the thesis sheds light on the transmission and adaptation of ideas from scripture and patristic thought to the laity, via the monasteries and schools. It argues that these allegories were not only tools of moral instruction but also reflections of clerical engagement with contemporary military practices, offering new insights into the relationship between medieval religious and chivalric cultures.

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List of Abbreviations

Anselmi Opera	Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmidtt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1940-51) (cited by volume and page number)
AW	*Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, ed. Bella Millett and Richard Dance, EETS 325, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2005). Modern English Translation: *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, trans. Bella Millett (Exeter, 2009)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CdA	*Le Chateau d'Amour de Robert Grosseteste, Évêque de Lincoln*, ed. J. Murray (Paris, 1918). English Translation: 'Robert Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman Treatise on the Loss and Restoration of Creation, Commonly Known as *Le Château d'Amour*: An English Prose Translation', trans. Evelyn Mackie, in Maura O'Carroll (ed.), Robert Grosseteste and the Beginnings of a British Theological Tradition (Rome, 2003), pp. 151-79
CM	Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 1872-83) (cited by volume and page number)
De re militari	Ralph Niger*, De Re Militari et Triplici via Peregrinationis Ierosolimitane (1187/88),* ed. Ludwig Schmugge (Berlin, 1976)
Decrees	*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils Volume 1: Nicaea I to Lateran V,* ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner (London, 1990)
EETS	Early English Text Society
Epistolae	Robert Grosseteste*, Epistolae,* ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1861). English Translation: *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln,* trans. F.A.C. Mantello and Joseph Goering (Toronto, 2010)
HWM	*The History of William Marshal,* ed. A.J. Holden and trans. S. Gregory, 3 Vols. (London, 2002)
Memorials	*Memorials of St. Anselm,* ed. R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt (London, 1969)
Moralia	Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob,* ed. M. Adriaen, CCCM 143, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 1979) (cited by Book, chapter, and verse)
OV	Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1968–80)
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina,* ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841–64)
Roland	*La Chanson de Roland*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Librairie Générale Française, 1990). English Translation: *The Song of Roland*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess (London, 1990)

RW	Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum: Ab Anno Domini MCLIV Annoque Henrici Anglorum Regis Secundi Primo,* ed. Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1886-89) (cited by volume and page number)
SBO	Bernard of Clairvaux*, Sancti Bernardi Opera,* ed. Jean Leclercq, H.M. Rochais and C.H. Talbot, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77) (cited by volume and page number)
SW	*Sawles Warde: An Early English Homily Edited from the Bodley, Royal and Cotton MSs.,* ed. R.M. Wilson (Leeds, 1938)

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'I've got a war inside my head,
It's got to set your soul free'

Kyuss, "Green Machine" (1992)

Introduction

A mid-thirteenth century (c.1235-c.1255) bi-folio illustration found in British Library Harley MS 3244 includes a striking image of a mounted knight (Figure 1), each piece of his equipment labelled, preparing to battle against a host of monsters representing vices, led by the seven capital sins.[1] The knight's opposition to the monstrous vices and the positive spiritual qualities ascribed to his horse and equipment identify him as partaking in a spiritual, rather than worldly, battle. The Harleian knight can be considered a knightly rendering of the *miles Christi*, the 'soldier of Christ' from 2 Timothy 2:3.[2] This title had been adopted and self-applied by the earliest Christian monastic communities to

Figure 1: Knight facing off against Capital Sins, BL Harley MS 3244, ff. 27v-28r.

[1] The main studies of this image and the manuscript in which it is found are: Michael Evans, 'An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's Summa of Vice: Harleian MS 3244', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), pp. 14-68.; and Diane Elizabeth Heath, 'Boundary Blurring Between the Monstrous, the Marvellous, and the Miraculous: The Battle Between Virtues and Vices in a Thirteenth-Century Theological Miscellany', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural*, 9 (2020), pp. 11-52. The image's significance has also been discussed in the introduction to Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 1-4.

[2] It is worth noting at the outset that for most of the Middle Ages, the Latin Vulgate Bible of Jerome was not uniformly used. Other Latin versions were extant and there was variance in the content and order of books included, see: John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2010), p. 29. However, for a common point of reference for the reader, all references to biblical passages and their translations in what follows are taken from the *Vulgate Douay-Rheims Bible*. Online. Available at: http://drbo.org/drl/index.htm.

describe their spiritual struggles, as well as being ascribed to early Christian martyrs.[3] Parts of the knight's equipment, including his horse and its harness, are labelled with positive spiritual and moral virtues, qualities, and practices. The core of these can be traced to moralised equipment from scripture, specifically the 'shield of faith' (*scutum fidei*) and 'sword of the spirit, the word of God' (*gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei*) from the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the 'armour of faith and charity (*loricam fidei et caritatis*) and 'helm of the hope for salvation' (*galeam spem salutis*) from the first Epistle to the Thessalonians.[4]

The use of a knight as an allegory for the spiritual warrior is, however, a somewhat curious choice. Knights were frequent targets of clerical polemic, with recurrent criticisms of what were perceived as sinful and worldly lives characterised by greed, violence, and ostentatious vanities. For instance, the Benedictine monk and chronicler William of Malmesbury (d.c.1143) complained in his *Gesta regum Anglorum* about the knights at the royal courts of William Rufus and Henry I, claiming their long hair and luxurious clothing were both unmanly and went against scripture.[5] In monastic thought, spiritual progress was directly associated with masculinity, and giving in to the weakness of the body with femininity.[6] William's criticisms of knights' inseparable worldliness and femininity do not immediately present a picture of knighthood that seems worthy of symbolising the idea of the *miles Christi*. Furthermore, the sources for the remainder of the Harleian knight's labelled equipment are difficult to immediately identify. While scriptural precedents account for the armour, helmet, shield and sword, neither lance nor horse appear as moralised arms in the Bible. Lance and horse were, however, integral components of the identity and practice of knighthood, the aristocratic mounted warrior class who had risen to dominate military and social culture in western Europe beginning in the late eleventh century.[7] Notably, the first allegorisation of spiritual qualities as a knightly panoply of war, including a lance and horse, appears in the early twelfth-century *Similitudo militis* associated

[3] On the adoption of the term *milites Christi* by the earliest monastic communities and by early martyrs see: Juanita Feros Ruys, *Demons in the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 2017), pp. 13-29; Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 9-28, 72-9; David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), p. 182; Franco Cardini, 'The Warrior and the Knight', in Jacques Le Goff (ed.), *The Medieval World*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (London, 1990), p. 78. The importance of John Cassian and other patristic authors in the conceptualisation of spiritual warfare is discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, pp. 38-9. On military imagery in the early Church more generally see: Adolf Harnack, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*, trans. David M. Gracie (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 27-64.

[4] Ephesians 6:16-17; 1 Thessalonians 5:8.

[5] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), Vol. 1., pp. 558-60. This theme is expanded upon in Chapter 1, pp. 58-63.

[6] Barbara Newman, 'Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth Century', *Traditio*, 45 (1989-90), pp. 115-6.

[7] On the growing battlefield dominance of heavy cavalry from c.1100 onwards see: J.F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn., trans. Summer Willard and S. C. M. Southern (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 19. The growth in knights' battlefield and social prestige c.1100–1250 are discussed at greater length in Chapter 1, pp. 43-4.

with the circle of Anselm of Canterbury, dated c.1100 and no later than 1130.[8] Discussions of knightly equipment as allegories for virtues and positive behaviours then re-occur throughout the twelfth century and into the mid-thirteenth, first in monastic settings and then increasingly in the context of preaching and pastoral care.

The Harleian knight represents effectively the last (and the only visual) rendition of a moralised knightly allegory for spiritual warfare in the Middle Ages. Knights' appearances as spiritual allegories are therefore bracketed within c.1100–c.1250, a period encompassing significant and far-reaching change in both religious and military culture and practices within Latin Christendom. Referred to by Richard Southern as an 'age of growth' that began in c.1100, the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are characterised by remarkable leaps forward in economic, military, spiritual and educational spheres.[9] Transformations in 'warfare, holiness, and masculinity' which took place against this backdrop have been noted by Katherine Allen Smith, and all of these intersect with the employment of the knight as spiritual allegory.[10] Southern's point that the monastic thought of the twelfth century can be characterised by '…an emphasis on personal experience, an appeal to the individual conscience, a delving into the roots of the inner life' seems particularly poignant when considering how contemporary monastic authors were seemingly renewing their conceptualisation of the spiritual battle.[11] As such, the emergence of the knight and of knightly warfare as spiritual warfare metaphors during this period deserves further investigation, to better understand the ways in which the religious reforms of this period interacted with the simultaneously emergent ideals and practices of Christian knighthood.

Existing Work

Direct analyses of medieval thought concerning spiritual warfare, and particularly of the allegories used to discuss it, are limited. While the general study of medieval symbolism and allegory has been extensive, warfare allegories have been largely overlooked.[12] Where the metaphorical language of

[8] *Memorials*, pp. 97-102. On the dating of the text and the collections it appeared in: *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13. More on the *Similitudo militis* follows below, p. 20, and in Chapter 1, pp. 44-5.
[9] R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970, reprinted 1990), pp. 34-6. Studies of this period emphasise the transformations European Christian society underwent in almost all areas. See for example: Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996); Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, 1993); R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953).
[10] Katherine Allen Smith, 'Saints in Shining Armor: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, ca. 1050–1250', *Speculum*, 83 (2008), pp. 584-5.
[11] Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 218.
[12] See for instance: Jeremy Tambling, *Allegory* (Abingdon, 2010), pp. 1-39; Mary Carr, K.P. Clarke and Marco Nievergelt (eds.), *On Allegory: Some Medieval Aspects and Approaches* (Newcastle, 2008); Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2003); Jon Whitman, *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Oxford, 1987); Paul Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape: A Study in Medieval Allegory* (London, 1971); Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton, 1966).

warfare has been studied, scriptural, patristic, and medieval spiritual warfare has generally been approached in two ways. First, gendered and psychological approaches, commonly explaining Christian military allegory as an outlet of aggressive masculinity otherwise denied to clerics (especially monks); a response to a perceived shortcoming in the 'manliness' of monastic living.[13] Second, by historians of rhetoric and symbolism who have analysed how warfare metaphors (among others) were employed to make ideological claims about the superiority of the monastic life.[14] Katherine Allen Smith's 2011 book *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* sought a methodological middle ground between the main approaches to the monastic use of warfare metaphor, exploring the relationship between medieval monastic thought and the contemporary practices of war, focusing especially on the period c.900–1200. Analysing the development and employment of warfare in monastic texts, Smith sought to clarify how monks defined their spiritual purpose through their relationship with worldly war. She contended that the crusading idea and the foundation of the military orders offered new conceptual models for the spiritual warrior in the early twelfth century, which threatened the monastic monopoly on spiritual warfare.[15] Furthermore, she argues that the sudden appearance of knightly military arms and practices within monastic language during this same period reflected a new imagination of the *miles Christi* as a contemporary mounted knight.

In a scholastic context, spiritual warfare in the twelfth century has also been touched on in John Hosler's study of John of Salisbury (d.1180), which presents a comprehensive framework of the military thought and knowledge possessed by this twelfth-century English cleric.[16] Hosler surveys John's employment of military terminology and what it reveals about his knowledge and views of warfare. One of Hosler's key findings is the recurrence of metaphors invoking the language of warfare and arms in describing *milites Christi* who, for John of Salisbury, were clerics possessing ideal spiritual qualities, the term being most frequently employed to refer to Thomas Becket.[17] Hosler also notes that in accordance with wider contemporary belief, John frequently highlights the importance of prayer as the most important of the 'weapons of proper Christian warfare'.[18] The idea of prayer as a spiritual weapon, and its associations with the employment of worldly weapons and warfare has

[13] Katherine Allen Smith, 'Spiritual Warriors in Citadels of Faith: Martial Rhetoric and Monastic Masculinity in the Long Twelfth Century', in Jennifer D. Thibodeaux (ed.), *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (London, 2010), pp. 86-110; Jacqueline Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity', in Katherine J. Lewis and P.H. Cullum (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 24-42; Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 160-1; Smith, 'Saints in Shining Armour', pp. 591-2; *idem*., *Medieval Monastic Culture*, p. 119.
[14] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (New York, 1998); Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 29-37; Morton W. Bloomfield, 'A Grammatical Approach to Personification Allegory', *Philology*, 60 (1963), pp. 161-71.
[15] Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 71-113.
[16] John D. Hosler, *John of Salisbury: Military Authority of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Leiden, 2013).
[17] *Ibid*., pp. 127-44
[18] *Ibid*., p. 131.

also been examined by Cecilia Gaposchkin, who analysed how liturgy directed prayers 'back home' to aid with combatting crusaders' worldly enemies.[19] These 'invisible weapons' of prayer were only efficacious against the crusade's worldly and spiritual enemies when wielded by the virtuous, and Gaposchkin demonstrates that especially in the century after the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the promotion and display of virtue became a key aim of the Church's liturgical programme.[20]

Discussions of spiritual warfare appear with some frequency in studies of the devil and demons, but such studies address ancient history, scripture, and Antiquity as much, if not more, than they do the Middle Ages. For instance, Thomas Yoder Neufeld explored the development of the arms and armour of God, and what he called the 'divine warrior' trope, from Isaiah 59 to Ephesians 6.[21] Neil Forsyth has traced the roots of the idea of the devil as a spiritual adversary from the earliest myths, through the Old and New Testaments, to the solidification of this concept in the patristic texts of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[22] One example of a medieval study is Jeffrey Russell's wide-ranging study, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (1984) which also offers comparisons of thought about the devil within a wider cultural and geographic scope than simply Europe.[23] In more recent years, Juanita Feros Ruys' *Demons in the Middle Ages* studied a specifically medieval Christian understanding of demons as characterisations of evil. Her work explored how demons were conceived of in the monastery, in the schools and universities, as well as in wider 'popular' thoughts, beliefs, and superstitions. Though demons themselves are the focus, there is some discussion of how medieval monks conceived of spiritual warfare.[24] Unlike Smith's study, however, Feros Ruys does not contend as much with the militarised language itself, rather the broader ideas of how the devil and demons were conceived of within monastically authored texts.

In contrast to the knightly spiritual arming allegories, more studies exist concerning allegorical castles from the same period, perhaps most notably and extensively as part of Christiania Whitehead's *Castles of the Mind* (2003).[25] Whitehead has noted how the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the appearance of unprecedented allegories based on medieval rather than scriptural structures, including churches, cloisters, and castles.[26] As defensive fortifications, castles provided particularly apt metaphors for topics pertaining to spiritual warfare. The first major study of castle allegories, particularly in a religious context, was Roberta Cornelius's doctoral thesis, 'The Figurative Castle',

[19] M. Cecila Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, 2017).
[20] Ibid., pp. 192-225. For an interpretation of earlier, monastic liturgy as a means of spiritual defence against monks' own bodies, see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression', *Viator*, 2 (1971), p. 154.
[21] Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld, *'Put on the Armour of God': The Divine Warrior from Isaiah to Ephesians* (Sheffield, 1997).
[22] Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, 1987).
[23] Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1984), see especially pp. 92-244.
[24] Feros Ruys, *Demons*, pp. 33-57.
[25] Christiania Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind: A Study of Medieval Architectural Allegory* (Cardiff, 2003)
[26] *Idem*., 'Making a Cloister of the Soul in Medieval Religious Treatises', *Medium Ævum*, 67 (1998), p. 2.

which provides a detailed overview of several castle allegories from roughly the early twelfth century onwards throughout the Middle Ages.[27] The castle allegories explored by Cornelius have been analysed in greater detail in more recent years, including by Whitehead in her monograph *Castles of the Mind*, and religious castle allegories in particular by Abigail Wheatley in a chapter of her book *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England*.[28] Whitehead has also described the allegorisation of medieval buildings during this period as a 'freeing from the boundaries of the scriptures', expanding exegesis and moralisation to a variety of contemporary objects.[29] A study of this process on the knight and his arms from the same period is, however, lacking.

Regarding the interactions between the knighthood and the Church, a more significant body of work exists, characterised by two main approaches. The first of these is development and perpetuation of the crusading idea. In any study pertaining to knights' relationships with the Church, or knightly piety, the historian must contend with what Steven Isaac has called 'the cross-wearing elephant in the room: the crusades'.[30] Crusade scholarship has frequently examined the relationship between the institutional Church and the warrior class as one of clerical reformers seeking to temper and direct the often-violent excesses of warrior culture.[31] Beginning in the late tenth century with the Truce and Peace of God movements, it is generally perceived as having culminated in the crusade idea at the end of the eleventh century and with the foundation of the military orders in the first third of the twelfth.[32] This approach sees the eleventh century, and particularly the reforming papacy of Gregory VII (1073–1085), as a critical development not only in clerical direction of earthly warfare, but in what constituted acceptable forms of knightly Christian piety, and in the subsequent ideological elevation of the knighthood. Crusade scholarship, at times somewhat self-referencing, has seen later scholars, most notably Jonathan Riley-Smith and Marcus Bull, continuing to perceive crusade as a culmination and turning-point in the sanctification of warfare.[33]

The second approach to interactions between the knighthood and the Church is composed of wider studies of knightly piety, especially studies of Christianity's influence on the nascent phenomenon of

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[27] Roberta D. Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle: A Study in the Medieval Allegory of the Edifice with Especial Reference to Religious Writings* (PhD Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1930: reprinted Lavis, 2010).
[28] Abigail Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York, 2004), pp. 87-116; Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, pp. 78-111. See also: Jill Mann, 'Allegorical Buildings in Medieval Literature', *Medium Ævum*, 63 (1994), pp. 191-210. For an overview of the castle allegory in monastic writing on spiritual warfare see also: Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 147-53. These are explored in more depth in Chapter 4, below, pp. 145-6.
[29] Whitehead, 'Making a Cloister', p. 2.
[30] Steven Isaac, 'The Afterlife of the Medieval Christian Warrior', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 20 (2022), p. 28.
[31] Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977).
[32] Smith has divided this period into two distinct phases, the first (c.970–1073) encompassing a renewal of ecclesiastical authority in western Europe following the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, and the second (1073-c.1130) the development of the crusade idea and the emergence of the military orders: *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 100-3.
[33] Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1993). Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997) and *idem.*, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986).

chivalry. Studies directly addressing wider clerical interactions with knighthood beyond (though not at all ignoring) crusade have often perceived the Church as a moralising and mollifying force on the more violent tendencies of knighthood, having some significant degree of influence on the emergent chivalric culture of the warrior aristocracy. Yet at the same time, scholars have also identified a fierce streak of independence, at times even direct anticlericalism, within knightly beliefs and acts of piety. For example, a chapter in Maurice Keen's authoritative study of chivalry examined the Church's concern with directing and limiting where, when, and how martial energies could be expended. Like the crusade scholars above, Keen noted a process culminating in the crusade idea, which in turn cemented the prestigious social place and function of mounted warriors in the clerical worldview.[34] Keen also concluded, however, that knightly forms and views of piety had more in common with older, earlier medieval Christian 'heroic ethics' than with the ecclesiastical attempts to direct knightly violence in the eleventh century so widely lauded in crusade scholarship. Keen argued that crusade simply added another option to knightly forms of piety and did not, as eleventh-century clerical reformers hoped, transform the knighthood into something completely different. Furthermore, he found that aristocratic warrior ideals of heroism and courtliness continued to permeate chivalry and chivalric literature even in matters of religion.[35]

Similar themes have been explored by David Bachrach, though with the focus more on the wider practice of warfare itself than on aristocratic, chivalric culture. His 2002 study, *Religion and the Conduct of War*, evaluates the role of religion in Christian warfare from the fourth to the early thirteenth centuries.[36] Bachrach examines not only how Christianity came to accommodate violence as the Middle Ages progressed, not least through crusade, but questions how and to what extent Christian warriors tried to justify their practice of war and violence against the pacifist messages of Christianity. Richard Kaeuper's *Holy Warriors* (2009) examined the complicated and interconnected influences between chivalry and religious reform from the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth.[37] Like Keen and Bachrach, Kaeuper's study questioned how the violence inherent in chivalric culture was accommodated by the Church, and the parallel process by which knights accepted, modified, or in some cases largely ignored certain religious precepts and doctrines that their worldly function as warriors could not accommodate.

Finally, the real-world military equipment and practice of the knight, allegorised as virtues and other positive qualities in the knightly arming allegories, have been the subject of significant study over many decades. The study of military history, weaponry and battlefield techniques requires contending

[34] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 44-63.
[35] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 54-7.
[36] David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge, 2002).
[37] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*. This builds on and expands a section from one of Kaeuper's earlier works: *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 41-88.

with for the following study: it is essential to lay down the pre-conditions of medieval understandings of these technologies and techniques in order to gain a fuller picture of how and why they were allegorised as certain qualities. Warfare in this period is widely agreed as being characterised by skirmishes and sieges, and the mounted form of raiding known as *chevauchée*, with medieval generals largely choosing to avoid pitched battles where possible.[38] All of this has a significant bearing on the development of the allegories of warfare during this period. So too does an understanding of the more specialist literature on arms and equipment, which generally agrees, for example, that armour came to cover more of knights' bodies, that lances became heavier, and shields became smaller as leg armour became more common.[39] Medieval horses, not least the knightly warhorse which represents arguably the most significant of the 'additions' to the spiritual warrior during the period studied, have also been the subject of an extensive and growing body of literature. One of the most significant early studies is that made by R.H.C. Davies, who made the important point that as something so integral to the knight, studying the horse becomes a necessity to more fully understand knightly warfare, mentalities, ways of life and the ways in which knights functioned and were perceived by others in society.[40] Since Davies, there have been a number of studies that have focused on horses, yet for something so integral to the function of not only the knight but of wider medieval society, it has

[38] The following is not an exhaustive list, but see especially: Catherine Hanley, *War and Combat, 1150–1270: The Evidence from Old French Literature* (Cambridge, 2003); John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000–1300* (London, 1999) and *idem*., *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994); Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in Western Europe in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (London, 1996); Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996); Phillipe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (London, 1985); Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*.

[39] For wider surveys of military arms and technologies pertaining to the period studied, see for instance: Ralph Moffat, 'Arms and Armour', in Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (eds.), *A Companion to Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 2019), pp. 159-85; Kelly DeVries and Robert Douglas Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, 2nd edn. (Toronto, 2012); Jim Bradbury, *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Warfare* (Abingdon, 2006); Andrew Ayton, 'Arms, Armour and Horses', in Maurice Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 186-208. The body of specialist literature includes studies on individual pieces of equipment, see for example on the sword: Robert W. Jones, *A Cultural History of the Medieval Sword: Power, Piety and Play* (Woodbridge, 2023); Ian Peirce, 'The Development of the Medieval Sword c.850–1300', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 139-58; Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 1964, reprinted 1994). On armour: Claude Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London, 1958). On the lance and its uses: Jürg Gassmann, 'Mounted Combat in Transition: The Transformation of the Eleventh Century', in Anastasija Ropa and Timothy Dawson (eds.), *The Horse in Premodern European Culture* (Berlin, 2019), pp. 71-86; Mamuka Tsurtsumia, 'Couched Lance and Mounted Shock Combat in the East: The Georgian Experience', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 12 (2014), pp. 81-108. Again, this is by no means an exhaustive list, and further specialist studies may be referred to in what follows.

[40] R. H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* (London, 1989), p. 6.

recently been argued by Sally Harvey that scholarly understanding of the horse is 'not yet fully integrated into the general perception of the eleventh and twelfth centuries'.[41]

Location and Contribution of the Present Study

As the above survey demonstrates, the warrior aristocracy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their piety and their arms, have been a topic of great interest for several historians. Much of the resulting scholarship has concerned ecclesiastical attempts to harness and direct martial energy, and how the knights the Church sought to control in such ways reacted to the promulgation of religious doctrines.[42] Many of these approaches have constituted attempts to understand knightly reactions to, and reconstruct their interactions with, clerical doctrines arising from periods of religious reform. The goal has often been to gain a clearer comprehension of knightly piety, outlooks, ideologies and mentalities in a period largely dominated by clerical voices and opinions. However, there are far fewer studies of the clerical understandings of, and reactions to, simultaneous secular developments. The extent to which aristocratic warrior culture and practices permeated clerical understandings, imaginations and outlooks deserves further study, not least because of the significant changes both Church and knighthood underwent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This same period is characterised by extensive religious reforms and the growth in new forms of piety, in the first part largely monastic, and later, alongside the rise in scholastic inquiry and the growth of the schools, an emphasis on clerical education and lay pastoral care. The thesis that follows takes place within the envelope of these reforms. The Gregorian reforms (c.1050–1080) lie just outside the period studied here, but their legacy has a prolonged and pronounced effect on it, not least in the *status quo* between Church and knighthood as it stood c.1100. At the period marking the beginning of the present study, a recently and increasingly centralised Church authority with firm beliefs about its role in lay affairs existed, and the crusade idea which raised new concepts of who could constitute a *miles Christi*, and

[41] Sally Harvey, 'Horses, Knights and Tactics', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 41 (2019), pp. 1-2. Further studies of the horse, particularly in military settings during this period include: Jürg Gassmann, 'Vegetius, Arrian and the Battlefield Cavalry Formations of Medieval Europe', in Anastasija Ropa and Timothy Dawson (eds.), *Echoing Hooves: Studies on Horses and their Effects on Medieval Societies* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 179-203 (see also the wider volume); Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1999), and *idem.*, *The Medieval Warhorse: From Byzantium to the Crusades* (London, 1994); Matthew Bennett 'The Medieval Warhorse Reconsidered', in Stephen Church and Ruth Harvey (eds.), *Medieval Knighthood V* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 19-40. There is also the Medieval Warhorse Project, 'Warhorse: The Archaeology of a Medieval Revolution' of the University of Exeter, undertaking archaeological research into the development of horses in medieval society. Online, available at: https://medievalwarhorse.exeter.ac.uk/ (Accessed 16 November 2024). They have a forthcoming edited volume: Oliver H. Creighton et al., *Medieval Warhorse: Equestrian Landscapes, Material Culture and Zooarchaeology in Britain, AD 800–1550* (Liverpool, 2025).

[42] On the importance of studying these topics, see Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, p. 3.

how, had already come into being.[43] The period which followed the Gregorian reforms, often referred to as a 'twelfth-century renaissance' following Charles Homer Haskins, is one that has been studied extensively, and the contours of these findings require outlining to understand the wider backdrop within which this study is set.[44]

The rise in new monastic orders characterised the period 1050–1150; these provide crucial context for the appearance of the first spiritual arming allegories in the early twelfth century. The flourishing of new forms of monasticism has formerly been referred to as a 'crisis of cenobitism', but a more nuanced picture has emerged since the 1980s as studies of individual monasteries revealed issues with the 'crisis' approach to monastic reform.[45] Nonetheless, the emergence of more rigorous new orders is widely regarded as having been seen by the reformers of their day as a necessary revitalisation of the monastic life, an attempt to further retreat from the world to focus on the spiritual function of monasticism.[46] The emergence of the military orders in the years following the First Crusade offered another novel form of religious community, and was closely connected with the new relationship between knighthood and the Church that followed the success of the crusade.[47] It is within this extensive context of new forms of monasticism and other religious life, closely connected with both a religious form of warfare, and a renewed desire among religious to retreat from the world and focus on spiritual matters, that the first spiritual arming allegories appear.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were also transformative periods in the definition, understanding, and ideal conduct of the knighthood. The Church attempted to influence, through clerical strictures,

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[43] The Gregorian reforms are outlined in detail elsewhere, see for instance: Malcolm Barber, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050–1320* (2nd edn., London, 2004) pp. 83-93, 112-8; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 495-658; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 79-133. On the development of crusade and new meanings of *miles Christi* see: Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 38-57; I. S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History* 58 (1973), pp. 169-92.

[44] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927). See also: R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999); Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge MA, 1982).

[45] Much of the historiography concerning the idea of a 'crisis' in medieval monastic life during this period has been summarised in Giles Constable, *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, 1976), p. 41. For the arguments against this: Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, 2013) and *idem*., 'Crises of Cenobitism: Abbatial Leadership and Monastic Competition in Late Eleventh-Century Flanders', *English Historical Review*, 127(525) (2012), pp. 259-84; C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (Harlow, 2001), pp. 83-206; Cristina Sereno, 'La 'crisi de cenobitismo': un problema storiographico', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 104 (2002), pp. 32-83; John Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150', *Speculum*, 61(2) (1986), pp. 269-304; Constable, *Reformation*, pp. 44-124; Southern, *Western Society*, pp. 250-5.

[46] See especially: Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi, 2nd edn. (New York, 1977); Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 146-206; Constable, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 88-167.

[47] On the military orders, the main studies remain: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John* (London, 1999); Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994). See also: Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 207-16. On the later expansion of the orders and beyond the Holy Land: Alan Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992).

what constituted this ideal conduct. At the same time, a general and widely felt strengthening of royal authorities brought about more hierarchically stratified societies which carried important connotations for the social (and increasingly noble) status associated with knighthood. Martin Aurell has suggested that through these twin processes of centralising authority, 'the ideology and the composition of the group which embodied knighthood were equally transformed', becoming more clearly self-defined and self-recognising, and increasingly restricted to the nobility.[48] The period also saw an inseparably interrelated process to this 'nobilising' of the mounted warrior, in the germination of the complicated social, military and religious phenomenon of chivalry. This term, which could refer to a body of mounted warriors and their military practice, also defined the knighthood's religiously-infused code of honour and behaviour.[49] The development of chivalry in its social and religious sense was not a process separate from religious reform, yet neither were the aristocratic warrior class averse to outbursts of independence from what they perceived as clerical interference in their lives, at times exhibiting fiercely independent anticlericalism in matters of piety.[50]

Both idealised pictures of Christian knighthood and instances of areas where knights exhibited a streak of anticlericalism are evident in the vernacular literature that the aristocracy patronised and enjoyed during this period.[51] The main genres are the *chansons de geste* which are widely agreed on as having been written down in France during the early twelfth century, and later in the same century the appearance of the romances.[52] These sources cannot and should not be studied in glorious isolation from the religious reforms of the period in which they begin to appear. Working across both vernacular literature and clerically-produced Latin texts in this period has been identified as essential for a fuller understanding of the knighthood.[53] For instance, Stefan Vander Elst has compared the *chansons de geste* with chronicle narratives of crusade, discovering that crusade chroniclers drew on themes of

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[48] Martin Aurell, *The Lettered Knight: Knowledge and Aristocratic Behaviour in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. Jean-Charles Khalifa and Jeremy Price (Budapest, 2017), pp. 17-18. On the relationship between these processes and the development of the knighthood and knightly culture see also: David Crouch, *The Chivalric Turn: Conduct and Hegemony in Europe Before 1300* (Oxford, 2019), and *idem*., *The English Aristocracy 1070–1272: A Social Transformation* (London, 2011).

[49] Much of this has been traced above but the key studies remain: Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors* and *idem., Chivalry and Violence*; Keen, *Chivalry*.

[50] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 6.

[51] Ian Short, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Henry II', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (eds.), *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 340-61; Rosalind Field, 'Children of Anarchy: Anglo-Norman Romance in the Twelfth Century', in Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (eds.), *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 249-62; Hanley, *War and Combat*, pp. 1-2. On the performance of *chansons* and romances see: Aurell, *Lettered Knight*, pp. 105-7.

[52] The origins and development of these are traced in several studies, see for example: Catherine M. Jones, *An Introduction to the Chansons de Geste* (Gainesville, 2014); Green, D.H., *The Beginnings of Medieval Romance: Fact and Fiction, 1150-1220* (Cambridge, 2002); Simon Gaunt, *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature* (London, 2001); Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford, 1995); William Calin, *A Muse for Heroes: Nine Centuries of the Epic in France* (Toronto, 1983), especially pp. 14-15, 37-44; M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963). See also Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, pp. 229-34.

[53] On the shortcomings of using only clerical texts to understand the knighthood, see: Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 7-9; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 51.

vassalage and military service from the *chansons* to portray the crusade in ways that would aid knightly recruitment to the newly-founded crusader states in the Holy Land.[54] Kaeuper in particular has been a proponent of utilising chivalric literature alongside other sources such as moral *exempla* from sermons and narrative chronicles to more fully understand the lived experience and ideals of knights.[55] The same literature has also been used to further our understanding of military technologies and practices of the time.[56]

The latter half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth witnessed further religious reforms, and further developments in education, lay piety, and religious literature. In the late twelfth century, scholastic theologians increasingly pivoted towards a concern with the practical application of their theology among the laity, a concern institutionalised through the reforms of the Third (1179) and Fourth (1215) Lateran Councils. The Third Lateran Council affected lay society more indirectly, in its focus on the education of parish clergy; the Fourth reiterated these reforms while enforcing annual confession and relevant penance at least once a year.[57] Much of the work in the field of what has been called practical, applied, or 'moral' theology during this period comes from Leonard Boyle, who dubbed the period 1179–1215 as the 'Inter-Conciliar period', one which gave rise to a genre of pastoral works he termed *pastoralia*.[58] These texts represented the practical, 'on-the-ground' outcome of the scholastic genres of *summae*, *distinctiones*, and other compilations of theology and canon law that had been the intellectual output of the schools in the preceding decades. The late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries saw scholastically trained clergy, especially in the circle of Peter the Chanter

[54] Stefan Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100–1400* (Philadelphia, 2017); see also Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, pp. 120-3.
[55] See, for instance: Richard W. Kaeuper, 'Literature as Essential Evidence for Understanding Chivalry', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 5 (2007), pp. 1-15; *idem*., 'The Societal Meaning of Chivalry in Romance: Northwestern Europe', in Roberta L. Krueger (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 97-114; *idem*., *Holy Warriors*¸pp. 7-9. See also: Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 2-3. For something of a counterpoint concerning overreliance on chivalric literature, see: Jean Flori, 'La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons du geste du XII^{e} siècle: étude historique du vocabulaire', *Le Moyen Age*, 81 (1975), p. 211; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 229-31.
[56] Rosemary Ascherl, 'The Technology of Chivalry in Reality and Romance', in Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches* (Kalamazoo, 1988), pp. 263-311.
[57] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils Volume 1: Nicaea I to Lateran V*, ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner (London, 1990), pp. 212, 220, 245. On the Third Lateran Council see especially: Danica Summerlin, *The Canons of the Third Lateran Council of 1179: Their Origins and Reception* (Cambridge, 2019).
[58] Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179–1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals', in Filippo Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), pp. 45-56; *idem*., 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in Thomas J. Heffernan (ed.), *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 30-43; *idem*., *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200–1400* (London, 1981). On pastoral care as a product of the schools, see also: Joseph W. Goering, *William de Montibus: The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992).

(d.1197), focus increasingly on the development and application of their guiding theologies for the edification and salvation of the laity.[59]

The appearance of the mendicant orders in the early thirteenth century provided the Church with its requisite network of preachers and confessors to enforce the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. Much of the *pastoralia* developed by the preceding scholastic generation was employed and built upon with further works by members of the new orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars. Both orders rapidly proliferated through European towns and cities, and studies of the mendicants have allowed historians to understand how they were educated, how they preached, and how they effectively integrated themselves across Latin Christendom in a very short time.[60] Where many of the eleventh- and early twelfth-century theological developments were the product of the monasteries, and the scholastic theologians of the cathedral schools took precedence in the later twelfth century, it was the mendicants who occupied the forefront of new knowledge in the thirteenth, not only theology but increasingly in natural philosophy. The mendicants were crucial in spreading concepts to the laity that had been developed earlier in the monasteries and schools. Not only did they act as preachers and confessors, but also produced religious works in the vernacular for a laity that was increasingly keen for a more hands-on approach to their own salvation. Joseph Goering has suggested that the growth in *pastoralia* in the thirteenth century implies not only clerical but lay demand for such works, demonstrated by the growth in texts for direct lay usage, through which can be seen the direct transmission of scholastically and monastically formulated ideas into practical theology.[61]

This thesis contends with this same process of transmission of knowledge towards a practical, pastoral application, in this case ideas and concepts of spiritual warfare. The underpinning of medieval conceptions of spiritual warfare, which was essentially a metaphor for the rational soul's struggles against the body and the temptations that assail it, is largely scriptural and patristic.[62] Scriptural passages concerning spiritual warfare, such as Ephesians 6, remained unchanging, but were layered in commentary and exegesis over the centuries: patristic, monastic, and then scholastic.[63] The present study analyses the allegories of knights and castles that added to these layers of exegesis in the twelfth

[59] Other important figures in England and France include Robert de Courçon (d. 1219), Gerald of Wales (d. c.1223), Stephen Langton (d. 1228) and Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240): John W. Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective', in Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham, (eds), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge MA, 1982), pp. 138-72; *idem*., *Masters Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970).

[60] On mendicant origins, preaching and confessionary missions, and their expansion see: William H. Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2018); Michèle M. Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study": Dominican Education Before 1350* (Toronto, 1998); C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Medieval Society* (London, 1994); Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994); Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975).

[61] Goering, *William de Montibus*, pp. 59-67.

[62] The background of spiritual warfare is traced in Chapter 1, pp. 32-5.

[63] On the patristic and monastic part of this to c.1200: Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 19-23.

and thirteenth centuries. Through a lens of spiritual warfare, it seeks to better understand how theological ideas travelled from the monastery to the laity via the schools over this same period. Tracing how such novel monastic allegories of knights and castles were employed and repurposed offers an opportunity to understand which monastic texts were being read in the schools, and how the ideas in those texts were reformulated for lay consumption through preaching and other forms of pastoral care. It also offers the opportunity to contend with how and why the virtues and qualities allegorised were interpreted for different audiences. As pointed out, historians have worked extensively to understand knightly piety and responses to Church reforms in this period, despite the limited source base for directly encountering knightly outlooks. An additional aim of exploring these allegories is to reveal more about the less frequently studied opposite; the degree and extent of clerical understandings of knightly warfare.

Knight and *miles*: A Note on Terminology

Above and in what follows, the term 'knight' has been employed extensively. While this is almost exclusively used as translation of the Latin *miles*, there is existing scholarly debate about the translation of this term from sources written during the period studied, particularly the earlier part of the twelfth century. The word 'knight' comes from the Old English *cniht*, a largely social term with no original military connotation, denoting a form of paid servant; yet following the Norman Conquest, *cniht* increasingly came to refer to the armed, mounted followers of Norman barons, developing further in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries into a caste of warrior nobility delineated equally a social standing inseparable from their military function.[64] Richard Barber and Marcus Bull have separately questioned whether we can count all mounted warriors of the post-Carolingian era, increasingly referred to as *milites* in contemporary Latin sources, as 'knights', finding little direct correlation of *miles* with noble status up to c.1100.[65] Certainly for the earlier period the distinction is less clear. Phillipe Contamine has warned: 'It is by no means certain that all those called … *milites* in the sources were true knights in the social sense of the term'.[66]

The *miles* at the beginning of the period studied here, then, is generally accepted as a term for those who fought in a certain way, on horse with shield, lance, and sword. However, over the course of the twelfth century, *miles* and *milites* were terms increasingly employed as a marker of social distinction among warriors; those of noble birth with the best equipment were the *milites* or *chevaliers*, while a

[64] Stephen Morillo, 'Milites, Knights and Samurai: Military Terminology, Comparative History, and the Problem of Translation', in Richard P. Abels and Bernard S. Bachrach (eds.), *The Normans and their Adversaries at War* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 173-5; Hanley, *War and Combat*, p. 23.
[65] Richard Barber, 'When is a Knight not a Knight?' in Stephen Church and Ruth Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood V* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 7-9; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 8-17.
[66] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 68-9.

whole host of other terms such as *servientes loricati* or *serjans a cheval* to describe mounted soldiers who fulfilled similar battlefield function, but not similar social standing.[67] Hosler found in John of Salisbury's works that *miles* was associated with social prestige, an honorific inextricably bound with military function: 'a person of honour given the particular task of defending both commonwealth and Church'.[68] By the mid-thirteenth century, while the Latin *miles* continued to refer to socially prestigious mounted warriors, a number of vernacular terminologies had by then emerged which reflected gradations of social status within the knighthood itself.[69]

The increased social prestige associated with the military function of the term *miles* in clerical sources is of particular importance for this study; these were clerical imaginations of the spiritual soldiery, and as it will be argued, reflected the most prestigious warriors of their day. Because the term *miles* carried both military and social functions, its use in spiritual arming texts of this period demonstrates that not only did *miles Christi* refer to the way in which the spiritual warrior was allegorised as fighting (from horseback with lance, sword and shield), but also reflected the growing prestige associated with this function, and as such, *miles* was perceived as an adequate metaphor for the importance clerics placed on the spiritual battle. Rather than make complicated distinctions between the meanings of the term *miles* based on the period in which a particular source was written, which may well represent a thesis-length study in itself, this thesis defines the knight partly by function. In that respect, it follows John Gillingham's definition in defining the knight: '…a well-armed soldier, a man who possessed horse, hauberk, sword and helmet'.[70] In addition to that function, the term as employed in this study also refers to the social prestige of the knighthood, as a secular nobility who were initiated into a military elite through ritualised granting of arms, especially the sword-belt, and a group possessing certain ethics around honour, bravery, loyalty, and magnanimity.

The Present Study: Overview of Key Sources

Much of this thesis concerns entire 'sets' of allegorical knightly arms, texts describing the spiritual qualities ascribed to each piece of equipment within a panoply of weapons and armour. These do not represent a particularly large body of works during the period studied, though some appeared in collections that were very widely copied and utilised throughout the Middle Ages. At the same time, militant language in matters of the spirit was exceptionally commonplace in religious texts, especially

[67] Michael Prestwich: '*Miles in armis strenuus*: The Knight at War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), p. 204; R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 106-7; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 27-8.
[68] Hosler, *John of Salisbury*, pp. 12-22. Quotation is from p. 13.
[69] Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 13-18.
[70] John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 187.

among monastic sources given the patristic background of medieval monastic thought.[71] Though largely unaccounted for in scholarship, the appearance of knightly arming allegories in the twelfth century reflects the same trend in allegorical writing observed by Whitehead with regards to edifice allegories. Like castles and cloisters, knights were a feature of contemporary life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they did not escape the allegorising treatment of clerical writers. First appearing within monastic texts c.1100–1150, the spiritual knight and his arms then reappear in works concerned with lay preaching and pastoral care from c.1188–1250.

The monastic texts are mostly derived from Anselm of Canterbury (d.1109) and Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153), monastic thinkers with significant impact in the Middle Ages, whose legacy remains influential today.[72] The collections in which their knightly arming allegories appear remained widespread and popular throughout the Middle Ages; this popularity enables speculation on the later re-emergence of these ideas in pastoral care contexts. As noted above, the first of the spiritual knightly arming allegories to appear is *Similitudo militis*, in existence no later than 1130. Though almost certainly not authored by Anselm himself, this short treatise circulated widely in the *De humanis moribus per similitudines* (hereafter *De moribus*) collection of similitudes, and in its later expansion, the *De similitudinibus*.[73] *Similitudo militis* allegorises the entire panoply of the twelfth-century knight: horse, bridle, saddle, spurs, armour, helmet, shield, lance and sword. The armour of justice (*lorica iustitiae*), shield of faith (*scutum fidei*) and sword of the word of God (*gladium…verbum Dei*) remained unchanged from Ephesians 6, while the helmet 'of blessed hope' (*beatam spem*) was derived from 1 Thessalonians 5:8. The lance and horse were unprecedented additions to the spiritual arms; the horse being employed as a metaphor for the body, the spurs and various pieces of harness allegorised as methods of bodily control, and the lance being an allegory for perseverance (*perseverantia*) in good works. In the works of Bernard of Clairvaux, meanwhile, spiritual armings, references to knightly equipment, and spiritual warfare in the form of castles occur mainly in his *Parabolae* ('Parables') and *Sententiae* ('Sentences').[74] Horses and lances make frequent appearances in these, which were records and summaries of Bernard's sermons that had been recorded either by

[71] Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 2-3.
[72] For a perspective on the employment of contemporary military metaphor in the thought of Anselm and his circle, see the recent study by Alastair R.E. Forbes, 'Monks and *Milites*', in Ian Logan and Alastair R.E. Forbes (eds.), *Anselm of Canterbury: Nature, Order and the Divine*, Anselm Studies and Texts Volume 8 (Leiden, 2024), pp. 403-28. More generally on Anselm, his works and thought, see particularly: Margaret Healy-Varley, Giles E.M. Gasper and George Younge (eds.), *Anselm of Canterbury: Communities, Contemporaries and Criticism*, Anselm Studies and Texts Volume 3. (Leiden, 2022); Eileen C. Sweeney, *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word* (Washington DC, 2012); R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990). On Bernard: Brian Patrick McGuire, *Bernard of Clairvaux: An Inner Life* (London, 2020); *idem*., 'Bernard's Life and Works: A Review', in Brian Patrick McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 18-61; Jean Leclercq, 'General Introduction to the Works of Saint Bernard (I-III)', trans. Elias Dietz, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 40(1) (2005), pp. 3-25, 243-51; 365-93; G.R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford, 2000).
[73] Southern and Schmitt have proposed the compilations were made by an amanuensis, possibly Boso of Bec: *Memorials*, pp. 6-8, 11-13, 97 n. 218. Smith has dated it to 'around 1100': Smith, 'Saints in Shining Armor', p. 581.
[74] Edited in *SBO*, 6.2.

himself, his listeners, or his secretaries.[75] In a sense, Bernard's preaching outside the monastery, not least in promotion of the Second Crusade, means that his allegories of spiritual warfare also prefigure the preaching and pastoral care texts explored in this study.[76]

The second group of knightly arming allegories explored in this study dates from c.1188-c.1255. These are primarily authored by scholastically educated clerics either for preaching purposes or more direct lay consumption, the latter including texts written in the vernacular. This second period encompasses the reforms of the Third (1179) and Fourth (1215) Lateran Councils, and their increased emphasis on both clerical education and lay pastoral care. The first new appearance of the spiritual knight in this context is in Book I of the English secular cleric Ralph Niger's (d.c.1199) tract against the Third Crusade, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane* ('On Warfare and the Threefold Path of Jerusalem Pilgrimage', henceforth *De re militari*), probably written in early 1188.[77] Half of *De re militari*'s first book is devoted to an incredibly extensive knightly arming allegory, including all the components from *Similitudo militis* but also extending to details such as the leg armour, the straps and ties which hold on the armour, the visor of the helmet, and also battlefield practices. These, Ralph explains, come from his own experience in aristocratic courts, things he had witnessed 'in tournaments and certain sieges' (*in torneamentis et quibusdam obsidionibus*).[78] This firsthand experience of knightly arms and practices gives Book I of *De re militari* further significance as a well-informed clerical observation of knightly culture. *De re militari* did not achieve anything close to the circulation of the monastic collections associated with Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux, however, being extant in only two manuscripts.[79]

A spiritual arming that did enjoy much wider circulation is found in the late twelfth-century *Summa de arte praedicatoria* ('Art of Preaching', hereafter *Arte praedicatoria*) of Alan of Lille (d.1202/3).[80] Essentially a reference manual for would-be preachers, the *Arte praedicatoria* was a particularly novel text for its time, and one which would become highly influential. The *Arte praedicatoria* is divided into chapters concerning various sins, virtues, behaviours and practices, such as lying,

[75] On this, see Leclercq, 'General Introduction (III)', p. 9. On *sententiae* as summaries of sermons more generally, and how they differed from scholastic *sententiae* see: *Idem*., *Love of Learning*, pp. 208-14.
[76] McGuire, *Bernard*, pp. 181-205; Evans, *Bernard*, pp. 5, 16.
[77] Ralph's career and the dating of the text are discussed in Ludwig Schmugge's introduction to *De re militari*, pp. 3-17, and in the introduction to the translation: *On Warfare and the Threefold Path of Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, trans. John D. Cotts (Abingdon, 2023), pp. 4-13. An argument concerning *De re militari*'s overall purpose and its relation to preaching follows below in Chapter 1, pp. 46-52.
[78] *De re militari*, p. 93.
[79] Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 27, ff. 119-59; Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library MS 15, ff. 2-30. These are discussed in *De re militari*, p. 17; and see also Cotts' Introduction to *On Warfare*, pp. 12-13.
[80] Alan of Lille, *Summa de Arte Praedicatoria*, *PL* 210 cols. 111-198. Many of Alan's works began life as scholastic lectures, and as such underwent various updates, revisions and abbreviations, as a result the work is difficult to date with any confidence, though is understood to have been compiled in something like its current form after Alan's death. See G. R. Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1983), p. viii; and the Introduction to *Anticlaudianus or the Good and Perfect Man*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973), p. 17.

almsgiving, and fasting. The latter part of the work concerns *sermones ad status*, model sermons tailored to different audiences; it is in the chapter on preaching to knights that the spiritual arming occurs, amongst a whole host of militaristic metaphors for spiritual struggle. One of the key messages of the model sermon to knights was an exhortation to spiritual service, with extensive parallels drawn between knights' worldly service (*militiam corporalem*) and the spiritual service (*militiam spiritualem*) they were bound to as Christians.[81] The preacher is advised to draw on examples of warrior saints and encourage the knight to: 'put on the armour of faith, let him be girt about with the sword of the word of God, armed with the lance of charity, let him put on the helmet of salvation'.[82] While the spiritual arms are far less detailed than those of *De re militari* or *Similitudo militis*, the widespread influence of the *Arte praedicatoria* renders it an important source in the context of lay preaching, and in its context of bringing concepts of spiritual arms directly to worldly arms-bearers themselves. The spiritual arms are again referred to in a letter of 1231–2 from Robert Grosseteste (d.1253) to Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (d.1234).[83] Grosseteste, who became bishop of Lincoln in 1235, wrote extensively on theology and science and was also a fierce proponent of proper pastoral care to the many souls in his diocese of Lincoln.[84] This letter was written during a period when he was lector to the Franciscans at Oxford. Its content concerns a description of the joys of Heaven, followed by instructions for virtues that the Marshal must adopt to attain it, allegorised as arms to be put on and a horse to be mounted.

Castle and siege allegories for spiritual warfare also appear in the monasteries in the twelfth century, often associated with the same authors as the knight allegories. The short text *De regno et villa et castello et dungione* ('Of the Kingdom, Town, Castle and *Donjon* (Keep)', hereafter *De regno*) also appears in the Anselmian *De moribus* and *De similitudinibus* collections, where the castle represents the spiritual safety of the monastery and monastic life.[85] In two of his *Parabolae*, Bernard of Clairvaux employs besieged castles as metaphors for the safety of the monastic life on the monk's progress towards God.[86] Another Cistercian, Ælred of Rievaulx (1110–1167) wrote a sermon for the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary which encouraged monks to emulate the Virgin by

[81] *PL*, 210, col. 186.
[82] *PL*, 210, col. 187: 'induatur lorica fidei, accingatur gladio verbi Dei, armetur lancea charitatis, assumat galeat salutis'.
[83] *Grosseteste Epistolae*, pp. 38-41. On Grosseteste, see especially: R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986). On his letters see the Introduction to: *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, trans. F.A.C. Mantello and Joseph Goering (Toronto, 2010), pp. 3-25. For an account of Richard Marshal: David Carpenter, *Henry III: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule 1207–1258* (New Haven, 2020), pp. 135-52; Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c.1215-c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 11-21; Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics 1205–1238* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 327-440.
[84] On his scientific works see: *The Scientific Works of Robert Grosseteste*, ed. Giles E.M. Gasper, Tom C.B. McLeish, Hannah E. Smithson and Sigbjørn O. Sønnesyn, 6 vols. (Oxford, 2019 and forthcoming). On pastoral care: Philippa M. Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln: An English Bishop's Pastoral Vision* (Leiden, 2019).
[85] *Memorials*, pp. 66-7.
[86] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 261-73.

building within themselves a castle (*castellum*) consisting of a ditch of humility, wall of chastity, and a tower of charity.[87]

Imagery of castles and sieges constitute a recurrent theme in another key source for this study, the Middle English *Ancrene Wisse* and the associated 'Katherine Group' texts.[88] Following Bella Millett's usage, when referred to as a whole in this study these texts and the other associated group of Middle English texts known as the 'Wooing Group' will be called the *Ancrene Wisse* Group.[89] *Ancrene Wisse*, a detailed guide or Rule for anchoresses, was probably first composed by a Dominican friar sometime in the 1220s for three aristocratic sisters who had chosen to live an anchoritic life.[90] A widely popular text, it was copied and extracts made from it for several different audiences, in Latin and French as well as English. Along with its focus on a militarised imagery of enclosure in the form of castle and siege allegories, *Ancrene Wisse* also demonstrates the first recorded appearance of the 'Christ-knight' figure, which would grow in popularity throughout the later Middle Ages.[91] The closely associated 'Katherine Group' is a collection of five texts; three saints' lives, a tract on virginity entitled *Hali Meiðhad* ('Holy Maidenhood') and a treatise on protecting the soul *Sawles Warde* ('Soul's Ward' or 'Guardianship of the Soul'). While the collection is named for the first of the saints' lives included in it, its importance to this study is in the language of fortification and siege employed in *Hali Meiðhad* and *Sawles Warde*.[92] The *Ancrene Wisse* Group texts are also notable for their deployment of earlier patristic and monastic conceptions of spiritual warfare, especially in relation to edifice allegories.

The final castle allegory to be considered is another work of Robert Grosseteste, an Anglo-Norman verse account of Creation and redemption commonly known as *Château d'amour* ('The Castle of

[87] *Sermo XVII: In assumptione beatae Mariae*, *PL* 195, cols. 303A-309A.
[88] *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 402 with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, ed. Bella Millett and Richard Dance, EETS 325, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 2005). The five Katherine Group texts have recently been edited and translated to modern English from the earliest extant manuscript, see: *The Katherine Group (MS Bodley 34)*, ed. and trans. Emily Rebekah Huber and Elizabeth Robertson (Kalamazoo, 2016).
[89] See the Introduction to: *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, trans. Bella Millett (Exeter, 2009), p. ix.
[90] A concise summary of questions of authorship, audience and purpose of *Ancrene Wisse* is found in: *Guide for Anchoresses*, pp. ix-xxxvii.
[91] For studies on the Christ-knight figure in *Ancrene Wisse*, see: Catherine Innes-Parker, 'Ancrene Wisse and Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd: The Thirteenth-Century Female Reader and the Lover-Knight', in Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (eds.), *Women, the Book and the Godly* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 137-48; and *idem.*, 'The Lady and the King: Ancrene Wisse's Parable of the Royal Wooing Re-Examined', *English Studies*, 75(6) (1994), pp. 509-22; Dennis Rygiel, 'The Allegory of Christ the Lover-Knight in "Ancrene Wisse": An Experiment in Stylistic Analysis', *Studies in Philology*, 73(4) (1976), pp. 343-64; Rosemary Woolf, 'The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature', *The Review of English Studies*, 13(49) (1962), pp. 1-16. See also: Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c.1150–1300* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 96-8.
[92] *Hali Meiðhad*, ed. Bella Millett, Early English Text Society 284 (Oxford, 1982); *Sawles Warde: An Early English Homily Edited from the Bodley, Royal and Cotton MSs.*, ed. R. M. Wilson (Leeds, 1938).

Love').[93] In this text, which itself states it was written for a less Latinate audience, the castle is employed as a detailed allegory for the Virgin Mary.[94] Where Ælred of Rievaulx's Virgin-as-castle allegory encouraged emulation of the Virgin's virtues as spiritual refuge, Grosseteste casts the Virgin herself as impregnable refuge for the spirit. The soul, under attack from the world, the flesh, and the devil, seeks refuge within the castle of the Virgin, which is impregnable from siege due to its four turrets representing the cardinal virtues, seven barbicans representing all seven virtues, three baileys symbolising her virginity, chastity, and matrimony, and her deep surrounding moat of voluntary poverty.

In accordance with the methodology (outlined below), comparisons with the technology and practices of warfare from chivalric literature form a significant facet of this research. The key non-spiritual sources engaged with include material drawn from vernacular chivalric genres including *chansons de geste*. These are chosen for their extensive descriptions of combat, and because they were the cultural material the secular aristocracy were familiar with, but in addition were often written by clerics.[95] A notable source is the *Chanson de Roland* or Song of Roland; seemingly composed in the mid-eleventh century and with extant manuscripts from the early twelfth, it is one of the earliest and most well-known *chansons de geste*, depicting the deeds of Roland in battle against the Muslims at Roncevaux.[96] The early Arthurian romances of Chrétien de Troyes provide further comparative information and are drawn on extensively, in particular the detailed arming scenes of his *Erec et Enide* (c.1170).[97] Later continuations of Chrétien's *Perceval* are also drawn upon.[98] The Prose *Lancelot* (c.1200), associated with but not part of the Lancelot-Grail cycle of immense popularity in the later Middle Ages, comprises another important comparative source, not least because it features a moralised (though

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[93] *Le chateau d'amour de Robert Grosseteste, Évêque de Lincoln*, ed. J. Murray (Paris, 1918). English Translation: 'Robert Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman Treatise on the Loss and Restoration of Creation, Commonly Known as Le Château d'Amour: An English Prose Translation', trans. Evelyn Mackie, in Maura O'Carroll (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste and the Beginnings of a British Theological Tradition* (Rome, 2003), pp. 151-79; Southern, *Grosseteste*, pp. 224-30. On the dating, purpose, and intended audience of the text see: Giles E.M. Gasper, 'How to Teach the Franciscans: Robert Grosseteste and the Oxford Community of Franciscans, c.1229-35', in Lydia Schumacher (ed.), *Early Thirteenth-Century English Franciscan Thought* (Berlin, 2021), pp. 68-70; Evelyn Mackie, 'Robert Grosseteste's Chasteu d'Amur: A Text in Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2002), pp. 47-57; Christiania Whitehead, 'A Fortress and a Shield: The Representation of the Virgin in the Château d'amour of Robert Grosseteste', in Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead (eds.), *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 112-3.

[94] See for example: *CdA*, ll. 20-1, 483, 519, 1495. Questions of audience for this text are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, p. 170.

[95] See: Christopher Baswell, 'Marvels of Translation and Crises of Transition in the Romances of Antiquity', in Roberta L. Kreuger (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 32-5 and *idem*., *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the* Aeneid *from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge, 1995).

[96] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. and trans. (Modern French) Ian Short (Librairie Générale Française, 1990). English Translation: *The Song of Roland*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess (London, 1990).

[97] *Erec et Enide*, ed. and trans. (Modern French) Jean-Marie Fritz (Paris, 1992). English Translation: *Eric and Enide*, trans. Burton Raffel (New Haven, 1997).

[98] Gerbert de Montreuil, *La continuation de Perceval: Quatrième continuation*, ed. Frédérique le Nan (Geneva, 2014). English Translation: *The Complete Story of the Grail:Chrétien de Troyes' Perceval and its Continuations*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 339-475.

not spiritual) set of knightly arms which are explained to Lancelot by the Lady of the Lake, as metaphors for the knightly duty to protect the poor and the Church.[99] Finally, the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* ('History of William the Marshal', completed c.1226 forms another crucial comparative source for this study, and is drawn on extensively.[100] This work, the first secular biography of the Middle Ages, tells the story of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (d.1219), and offers a highly detailed account of his military deeds in both tournaments and battles enabling for a comparative source on military practice to rival that of the *Chanson de Roland*, but for the practices of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Methodology and Research Questions

The survey of the existing and related fields of scholarship above reveals a significant foundation of understanding about religious reform, knightly piety, and medieval military technology and practice which a study of spiritual warfare allegories may draw upon. The indications of the scholarly lacunae which such a study might address, and how, have been outlined in existing work. Smith's study into the relationship between warfare and the monasteries to c.1200 provides an excellent starting point, but the topic could and should be extended into the scholastically driven shift to lay pastoral care. Goering has pointed out the importance of studying 'the process by which scholastic ideas became part and parcel of the everyday experience of medieval men and women'.[101] However, many of these scholastic ideas did not spring from nowhere but built on existing work; a more contemporary inheritance from the late eleventh and early twelfth century monastic thinkers, who in turn had inherited the patristic commentaries on scripture and added further exegesis to those.[102] The shift to pastoral care is part of a longer process of religious and educational reforms, a re-purposing and updating of existing ideas for new audiences. It is crucial to emphasise that this re-imagining of religious concepts was not limited to men; in the case of the *Ancrene Wisse* Group, these ideas were specifically directed towards pious lay women, underscoring the significance of spiritual warfare in the lives of female readers.

The allegories of arming and warfare in the key sources outlined above are those contemporary to their writers, drawing on warfare as it was practiced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As Kaeuper and others have pointed out, to understand the secular aristocracy more fully during the

[99] *Lancelot do Lac: The Non-Cyclic Old French Prose Romance*, ed. Elspeth Kennedy, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1980). English Translation: *Lancelot of the Lake*, trans. Corin Corley (Oxford, 1989).
[100] *The History of William Marshal*, ed. A.J. Holden and trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols. (London, 2002). See also: David Crouch, 'Writing a Biography in the Thirteenth Century: The Construction and Composition of the History of William Marshal', in David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 221-35, and *idem*., *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219*, 2nd edn. (London, 2002).
[101] Goering, *William de Montibus*, p. 57.
[102] Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 88.

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when much of what we know about them comes from clerical sources, we must utilise and take seriously depictions of knightly ideals and practices from chivalric literature. Additionally, an all-too frequent disconnect between studies of chivalric literature and of military history is in part due to the modern distinction between 'history' and 'literature' that was not evident to medieval people.[103] As Michael Clanchy explained in his authoritative study of the growth of medieval literacy, medieval writers 'cut across the lines' which scholarship draws across different types of writing.[104] We should strive to reconstruct and utilise the authorial intent and pre-conditions of intended audiences' understanding of texts; in this case, the extent of clerical knowledge of knightly warfare and their expectations of audiences' understanding of the same. This thesis adopts these approaches where appropriate, and as a result contours of the following study lean at times heavily on the literature of warfare, both chivalric literature and modern studies of medieval military practice. Primary source material from chivalric genres is important because these are the texts in which the practice and imaginative ideals of the knighthood are played out, providing a comparative framework against which clerical ideal of the same group are expressed in the spiritual treatises. The goal of this approach is to explore how spiritual warfare allegories drew on and related to worldly practice, to what extent, and why.

A study of allegory utilising the method outlined above, particularly chivalric literature, further allows for a window into clerical ideals and understanding concerning the knighthood. Clerically authored texts directed at the laity require reading both prescriptively and descriptively; they demonstrate both what the author wanted that laity to be as much as what they realistically recognised it to be. This is equally true for those texts explored in this study, which allegorise the aristocratic laity and their military practice. Drawing comparisons with the vernacular chivalric literature consumed and patronised by the knighthood themselves is important for conceptions of the *miles Christi*, the spiritual warrior, as a mounted knight. Kaeuper has asked the question: 'Do not the qualities ascribed to the ideal hero … reveal powerful ideals from the society that created him?'[105] Similar considerations can be applied to the spiritual warrior. It is important to explore the ideals of spiritual warfare in this period and identify the individuals to whom they are being applied. These ideals, naturally, may vary depending on the intended audience.

Questions of audience and application are especially pertinent given that much of this study also draws on sermons, both in lay preaching and monastic contexts. On the one hand, sermons are incredibly useful as they are numerous and interact with several facets of daily life, offering a variety

[103] Hanley, *War and Combat*, pp. 2-4.
[104] M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), pp. 82-3.
[105] Richard W. Kaeuper, 'William Marshal, Lancelot, and the Issue of Chivalric Identity', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 22 (2005), pp. 8-9.

of windows into medieval practice and thought.[106] However, the possible audiences for sermons are not always simple cases. Almost all extant sermons from this period, whether the full sermon itself, a summary in sentence form in the monastery, or scholastic *reportationes* which fulfil much the same role for scholastic sermons, were recorded by those who were both theologically trained and Latinate.[107] Questions exist around the extent to which such records of sermons accurately reflected their actual delivery, while evidence for both the performance and reception of sermons are entirely lost to us.[108] Similarly unrecoverable are the unrecorded discussions between clerics and those they ministered to, whether laity or other clergy in community. In almost all cases, all the historian can work with are records of what preachers may or may not have actually said to their audience, or as in the case of Grosseteste's letter to Richard Marshal, documents that were intended for a recipient but were 'document[s] in public circulation' rather than private communications.[109] Reconstruction of what Augustine Thompson has termed 'mental furniture', that is, the ideas, understandings, and pre-conceptions of an audience, is an immensely difficult task.[110] Nonetheless, by exploring the existence and use of allegories within sermons using the method outlined above, this thesis attempts to reconstruct an element of this mental furniture, namely the clerical understanding of worldly warfare. Clerical descriptions of arming and weapons in the texts explored in this thesis will help reveal something of the pre-conditions of clerical thought on such topics. The same can be attempted for the virtues allegorised as such arms. Abstract concepts like justice may well have held different meanings in the monastery compared to their interpretation by an audience of knights hearing a sermon.

Allegory itself helps reconstruct some of this mental furniture, and part of the goal of this thesis is an exploration of what the terminology used in the primary sources could conjure up in the medieval imagination. This in turn may reveal something of the clerical understanding of knightly culture and practice. Leclercq's description of the power of the medieval imagination is relevant here:

> …in the men of the Middle Ages [the imagination] was vigorous and active. It permitted them to picture, to 'make present', to see beings with all the details provided by the texts: the colours and dimensions of things, the clothing, bearing and actions of the people, the complex environment in which they move. They liked to describe them and, so to speak, recreate them, giving very sharp relief to images and feelings.[111]

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[106] Carolyn Muessig, 'Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages: An Introduction', in Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 3-9.
[107] Augustine Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 15-17.
[108] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, p. 89; Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, pp. 42, 45-50; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 19.
[109] Southern, *Grosseteste*, p. 34
[110] Thompson, 'Texts to Preaching', pp. 20, 29.
[111] Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 93.

The power of this imagination is what is being utilised by the allegories explored in this study. As they utilised contemporary figures, in this case knights and castles, to communicate existing ideas of spiritual warfare to their intended audience, their use as teaching tools is an important element worth considering. In many cases the utilisation of allegory was not to reveal new knowledge but, as Southern has put it, to offer 'a firmer grasp and warmer embracing of old truths'.[112] In the pastoral context, allegory was useful in simplifying and removing excessive depth from the more abstract scholastic theological works, in order that key religious concepts could be more effectively communicated to less learned audiences. Exploring these allegories in their different contexts offers the chance to address further unclear issues. These include examining to what extent ideas of spiritual warfare evolved, and considering whether the practices and outcomes described in the texts explored are portrayed differently for audiences of monks, knights, or lay women.

Synopsis and Structure

This thesis explores the employment of knightly arms and to a lesser extent, of castles, as allegories for spiritual warfare in monastic and lay pastoral texts from England and France during the period c.1100–1250. The reason for this geographical focus is because religious sources from these areas indicate a strong religiosity among knights, or at least a clergy that wished to portray that; David Bachrach has argued that the emphasis on knightly piety in these sources suggests religion in the military life was an important factor to both authors and audiences.[113] From the perspective of utilising chivalric genres as a comparative material, it was the Anglo-Norman courts that produced so much of this literature which helped define chivalric ideals and practices.[114]The thesis examines both the sudden appearance of these allegorical figures in the early twelfth century monasteries and their subsequent re-emergence in the preaching and pastoral contexts of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. For both periods, much of its focus is on the ways in which knightly arms and armour were allegorised. These spiritual arms and equestrian equipment, which operated as allegories for virtues, behaviours, and other qualities, are examined against the battlefield uses of their real-world counterparts as evidenced in chivalric literature and military history. The aim of this approach is two-fold. On one level, to improve our understanding of clerics' knowledge of military practice, addressing questions of the 'realism' of such allegories and how effective these might have been for possible intended audiences, such as knightly recruits to the monastery, or listeners to later preacher addressing the secular knighthood. In addition, whether the virtues and other moral qualities ascribed to particular arms changed or carried different meanings for different audiences. This is not simply a

[112] Southern, *Grosseteste*, p. 44.
[113] Bachrach, *Conduct of War*, pp. 151-64.
[114] Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', in Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 14*, (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 229-49; Crouch, *English Aristocracy*, pp. 195-9.

study of allegory, but rather of a certain kind of allegory, in this case spiritual warfare, and how that can be used as a lens to study the transmission and adaptation of ideas from scripture and patristic thought, through the monasteries, the schools, and finally to the laity. Building on Smith's work in examining developments in the language of warfare in the medieval monastery, the thesis pursues these within the wider envelopes of reform, first monastic and then pastoral, to better understand facets of the monastic inheritance of the pastoral care movement that dominated the thirteenth century.

The first chapter expands on some key concepts outlined here in the Introduction, and discusses in more detail some of the sources involved in this study, particularly those in the preaching context. It first traces the history and nature of spiritual warfare in scripture and in patristic writing, exploring how humans were considered as prizes, participants, and battlefields in the spiritual battle. It also explores the development of the concept that such battle took place against a 'three-fold enemy': the flesh, the world, and the devil. In addition to the influence of patristic thought on spiritual warfare, the *Psychomachia* tradition of battling virtues and vices from the fourth- and fifth-century Roman poet Prudentius, is analysed.[115] Having examined the concepts of spiritual warfare inherited by Christian thinkers by c.1100, reasons behind the sudden appearance of knight allegories in the early twelfth century monastery are explored, including the influence of the crusading idea and the growth in monastic recruitment from the secular aristocracy. It then looks at the reappearance of the knight and his arms as spiritual warfare allegory in the context of lay preaching and pastoral care in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, attempting to accommodate these alongside clerical criticisms of the worldly knighthood through exploration of the figure of the knight in both textual and visual sources.

The second chapter undertakes a detailed exploration of the 'core' of the spiritual arms inherited from Ephesians in the knightly arming allegories, namely the armour, helmet, shield, and sword. As these arms remained part of the knightly panoply in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this chapter investigates the transformations of meanings attached to these as they moved from monastic to lay preaching and pastoral care purposes over the period. For example, the concept of justice, allegorised as armour, carried different connotations for monastic audiences than it did for the laity. The chapter also explores the development of the Trinitarian diagram known as the shield of faith (*scutum fidei*), and its strong associations with the Dominican order in early thirteenth century England.

The third chapter analyses the additions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the lance and most significantly, the horse, equipment not present in scriptural and patristic discussions of the spiritual warrior. The chapter explores two main themes that emerge in the allegorisation of the horse, the

[115] *The Psychomachia of Prudentius: Text, Commentary, and Glossary*, ed. Aaron Pelttari (Norman, 2019). English Translation: *Prudentius*, ed. and trans. H.J. Thomson, Vol. 2. (London, 1961).

'horse-as-body' idea that emerges in the *Glossa ordinaria* and *Similitudo militis*, and the 'horse of desire', usually desire for heaven', that is favoured in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux. Both of these allegories, and the relative allegorisations of the equestrian harness, are taken up by later writers. Ralph Niger's *De re militari*, for instance, draws more strongly on the *Similitudo militis* body-as-horse concept, while Alan of Lille and Robert Grosseteste's spiritual armings are more strongly influenced by the thought of Bernard of Clairvaux. Regarding the harness being control over the body, the same theme in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group is explored, with its stronger themes of bodily self-control.

The fourth chapter engages with the use and transmission of ideas of spiritual warfare within castle allegories from the period. It first examines the possible meanings of the Latin *castellum* in the medieval imagination, before exploring allegories of castles as representations of the spiritual safety offered by the monastic life. This is then continued into the thirteenth-century, where similar themes emerge in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group, though more concerned with bodily control than more abstract matters of virtues and spiritual defences. It draws a particular comparison between the pseudo-Anselmian *De custodia* and its Middle English adaptation, *Sawles Warde*, noting the stronger imagery of fortification and siege in the latter compared to its Latin predecessor. Finally, it investigates the emergence of the Virgin-as-castle allegory in the twelfth century, comparing Ælred of Rievaulx's allegory from his sermon on the assumption of the Virgin with Robert Grosseteste's *Château d'amour*, which also allegorises the Virgin as a fortification but drawing more on tropes from romances and for an audience of mendicants, or possibly knights.

Chapter 1 – The Emergence, Development, and Utility of the Spiritual Knight Allegory

This chapter follows on from concepts sketched out in the Introduction, first providing a fuller history of the concept of spiritual warfare from the Old Testament to the early Middle Ages. This allows for tracing developments concerning how the devil, demons, and the spiritual attacks they made against man were conceived of, particularly in the form of the three-fold enemy: the flesh, the world, and the devil. It explores the importance of passages from the Pauline Epistles, not least Ephesians 6, in developing these concepts, and then analyses the influence of patristic exegesis of these. It contends with early monastic writers' influence on the militarising language of spiritual warfare, concepts that would become popularised and homogenised through the spread of Benedictine monasticism in western Europe prior to c.1100. The first section also explores the tradition of *Psychomachia*, the fifth-century poem of Prudentius which personified virtues and vices as battling warriors within the mind.

The chapter then examines the appearance of the mounted knight in monastically authored spiritual warfare texts of the early twelfth century. In particular, the extended allegory of knightly arms presented in *Similitudo militis*, which added the horse and lance to the existing scriptural panoply of spiritual arms. This section focuses largely on how and why the knight suddenly appears as an imagination of the *miles Christi* during this period, and what analysis of the spiritual arms contributes to that. This is considered alongside how new definitions of the *miles Christi* emerged in the wake of the First Crusade, and the increase in monastic recruitment from knightly families in the form of young and retiring novitiates.

It also explores the figure of the knightly allegory in relation to the later twelfth and thirteenth century Church's concern with clerical education and lay preaching. Contending first with the most detailed of the knightly allegories in the form of Book I of Ralph Niger's *De re militari*, it argues that rather than being an anti-crusading polemic, Ralph's work constitutes a thought exercise for preachers considering promoting crusade. This is done with reference to the *Arte praedicatoria* of Alan of Lille, a far more popular work that prescribed highly similar solutions to the problem of a sinful knighthood through its *ad status* sermon to knights. In addition, it traces the influence of the earlier twelfth-century monastic knightly allegories through some of the language employed in these later sources. It then explores the appearance of the knightly allegory in more direct pastoral care contexts during the thirteenth century; the letter of Robert Grosseteste to Richard Marshal, and depictions of spiritual warfare and the Christ-knight figure in the *Ancrene Wisse*. It then comes full-circle to the Harley MS 3244 knight, suggesting that the image was designed for a Dominican friar who was encouraged to consider himself a *miles Christi* in the struggles inherent in his pastoral care work.

Finally, the question of knightly ambiguity in clerical thought is contended with. The paradox that the knight could operate as metaphor for the ideal spiritual warrior is considered alongside clerical criticisms of worldly knights. These not only often came from the same authors, but in the case of *De re militari* and *Arte praedicatoria*, even within the same texts where the knight and his arms were upheld as symbolising virtue and victory over sin. Though this paradox proves difficult to resolve, it is noted that the ideal is often presented alongside the reality as a form of remedy to sinful behaviour. This section also notes the ambiguity of the knight as a figure in religious art, seemingly representing both concepts or biblical figures, both good and evil. It contends that the appearance of the knight as both good and evil suggests that as visual symbol, the knight operated as an indicator of any form of combat, whether spiritual or worldly, in the clerical imagination.

The Three-Fold Enemy: The Scriptural Origins of Spiritual Warfare

Spiritual warfare and the allegorising of virtues as spiritual arms both originate in scripture, largely in the New Testament and the Epistles. The concept is more difficult to find evidence for in the Old Testament, where man does not explicitly 'arm' himself with virtues, but as a member of a 'chosen people' is protected against his worldly enemies by God's wrath. God appears as a warrior protecting the righteous in Exodus 15:3, 'the Lord is as a man of war' (*Dominus quasi vir pugnator*); Deuteronomy 32:23, 41-43 where He promises to spend his arrows against the enemies of His people; Judges 5:8 where He 'overthrew the gates of His enemies', and Psalm 17:15 where He 'sent forth his arrows' (*misit sagittas suas*) to aid David. Nonetheless, there are some instances where virtues are allegorised as arms in the Old Testament, though still depicted as being put on or taken up by God, rather than by man. For example, in Isaiah 59:17: '[God] put on justice as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon His head: He put on the garments of vengeance, and was clad with zeal as a cloak'.[1] While still very much a wrathful deity, God's taking up of arms in Isaiah 59 is notably different from the preceding examples; the virtues ascribed to the arms are ones able to be emulated by humans.[2] In a similar way, the protection of God as a divine warrior is evident in Wisdom 5:16-24 where 'justice' (*iustitia*), 'true judgement' (*iudicium certum*), and 'integrity' or 'righteousness' (*aequitatem*) make up God's arms, again qualities that humans can aspire to possess.[3]

Spiritual warfare as it would be understood in the Middle Ages only began to emerge in the New Testament, especially in the Pauline and, to a lesser extent, the Johannine Epistles. The core concept of spiritual warfare, that in temptation man was being assailed by invisible demonic enemies,

[1] 'Indutus est iustitia ut lorica, et galea salutis in capite eius; indutus est vestimentis ultionis, et opertus est quasi pallo zeli'.
[2] Yoder Neufeld, *Armour of God*, pp. 27-36.
[3] Yoder Neufeld, *Armour of God*, p. 61. NB: The Douay-Rheims Vulgate translates *aequitatem* as 'equity', but Yoder Neufeld argues that the Greek of the Septuagint offers a better translation as 'integrity' or 'righteousness'.

originated in Ephesians 6:12: 'For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of this world of darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places'.[4] The idea that man was assailed by spirits predates Christianity, and incorporates ideas from Jewish, Greek, and Roman mythology. The Greek spirit known as a *daimon* was the figure being drawn on in Ephesians and elsewhere; these were conceived of as mediators between gods and humans in ancient Greek belief, being situated in the air and possessing an invisible, incorporeal body.[5] These beliefs about the nature of demons were applied to the devil in Ephesians. For instance, in Ephesians 2:2, he is described as 'the prince of the power of this air, of the spirit that is now at work on the children of unbelief'.[6] The devil in the Pauline Epistles is both the tempter and the adversary of man, in 1 Thessalonians 3:5 being alluded to as 'he that tempts' (*is qui tentat*), and 1 Corinthians 7:5, where strength of community is promoted 'lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency' (*ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram*).

Some of the Epistles' imagery draws directly on the ideas of God as divine warrior from the Old Testament. The appearance of the 'helmet of the hope of salvation' (*galeam spem salutis*) in 1 Thessalonians 5:8 echoes the same in Isaiah 59:17. Yoder Neufeld has suggested that the appearance of the arms in 1 Thessalonians 5 served to connect the community of Thessalonians with the older, 'divine warrior' tropes of the New Testament, to urge them to continue in their beliefs against persecution or rival teachings.[7] Ephesians 6 similarly calls on its audience to take up God's powers by adopting the virtues: 'be strengthened in the Lord and in the might of his power' (*confortamini in Domino, et in potentia virtutis ejus*), which precedes the description of the nature of spiritual warfare and the arms of virtue with which it to be fought.[8] The key difference from the Old Testament is that it is the believer, not God, who 'arms' with these virtues to protect themselves and their Christian community, and they are protecting against spiritual, rather than worldly enemies. The arms in Ephesians provide the first spiritual 'panoply' of virtues:

> Therefore take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of justice, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace: in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of

[4] 'quoniam non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes, et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae, in caelestibus'. For an overview of the historical context in which Paul wrote, and issues around authorship and possible pseudoepigraphical authorship of the different Pauline Epistles, especially Ephesians and 1 Thessalonians, see: Yoder Neufeld, *Armour of God*, pp. 73, 94-7; Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, pp. 258-9, 279-84.
[5] Feros Ruys, *Demons*, pp. 5-9.
[6] 'principem potestatis aeris huius, spiritus, qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae'.
[7] Yoder Neufeld, *Armour of God*, pp. 54-6, 86-8.
[8] Yoder Neufeld, *Armour of God*, pp. 112-21, 125-8.

> salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God), by all prayer and supplication praying at all times in the spirit.[9]

However, allusions to Old Testament antecedents like Isaiah 59 account for only one facet of the development of the New Testament's spiritual arms. Militant and athletic motifs which permeate much of the Pauline language of spiritual struggle closely reflected the outlook of the first- and second-century 'honour-shame' Mediterranean societies within which the New Testament writers worked.[10] This approach derived partly from Stoic philosophy, particularly as expressed by the likes of Philo and Seneca.[11] For their original audiences, the Hellenic, Roman, and other Gentile 'honour-shame' communities, such language emphasised familiar and relatable ideals of militaristic obedience and selflessness.[12] Forsyth has suggested that the Epistles also fulfilled an evangelical purpose, combining 'insistence on moral purity … with a more fully developed cosmology of the kind that was current in other spiritual systems of the period, especially Gnosticism', encouraging others to join the spiritual fight against forces of evil through accepting Christianity.[13]

While the devil was recast in the Epistles as a leader of demons who attacked man with temptation, the ways in which the attacks themselves were thought of also demonstrates a change. Unlike worldly enemies that God protects against in the Old Testament, the Pauling spiritual attacks are conceived of as coming from within human bodies, and from the world in which those bodies existed. The spiritual battle constituted the struggles of the rational spirit to overcome the lustful and sinful nature of one's own flesh, as expressed in Galatians 5:17: 'For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary one to another: so that you do not do the things that you would'.[14] The idea that the spirit was prevented from achieving its goals by bodily and worldly lusts would become an important one in future Christian thought about spiritual warfare. That the physical world the flesh inhabited was also considered an adversary of the spirit is implicit in 1 John 2:15-17:

> Love not the world, nor the things which are in the world. If any man love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, is the concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father,

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[9] Ephesians 6:13-17: 'Propterea accipiter armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo, et in omnibus perfecti stare. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti loricam iustitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparatione Evangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium spiritus (quod est verbum Dei), per omnem orationem et obsecrationem orantes omni tempore in spiritu'.

[10] Raymond Hobbs, 'The Language of Warfare in the New Testament', in Philip F. Esler (ed.), *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in its Context* (London, 1995), pp. 263-4

[11] Victor C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 1, 157-86.

[12] Hobbs, 'The Language of Warfare', pp. 265-8.

[13] Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, pp. 282-3.

[14] 'Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem: haec enim sibi invicem adversantur, ut non quaecumque vultis, illa faciatis'.

> but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the concupiscence thereof: but he that doth the will of God, abideth forever.[15]

The flesh and the world therefore constituted the environment within which the spirit was trapped, from where and with which it could be assailed by the devil, who directed bodily urges for worldly things against the righteous desires of the spirit. That virtues transcended the world and the flesh to strike back at the devil is a concept evident in 2 Corinthians 10:4: 'For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty to God'.[16]

To summarise, the New Testament and particularly the Pauline Epistles provided the basis for Christian ideas of spiritual warfare. It is there that the concept of the devil as direct spiritual adversary arose, as both psychological and cosmological force who could influence the body and the world to attack the spirit. In these books of scripture, we see the root of what would later be frequently referred to by patristic and medieval authors as a 'three-fold enemy': the world, the flesh, and the devil.[17] No longer were the Old Testament ideas of a chosen people protected by God sufficient; humans fought against the devil's temptations within their own bodies, becoming at once participant, battlefield, and prize in the spiritual battle. Although this battle took place within the body and the world, it was fought with spiritual virtues conceived of as 'arms', abstract qualities of God that could be emulated by man through persistence in certain behaviours.

Development of an Idea: Patristic Commentaries and *Psychomachia*

Much of the exegesis that would prove significant in developing the concepts and imagery of spiritual warfare appeared in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, especially through Saints Jerome (c.345-c.420) and Augustine of Hippo (354-430), and early Christian monastic authors including Abba Poemen (c.340-c.450), Evagrius of Pontus (c.345-399) and particularly John Cassian (c.360-435).[18] One influential early outlier is the Greek Christian scholar Origen of Alexandria (c.185-c.253), whose commentaries on Ephesians were adapted and expanded by Jerome in his commentaries on the

[15] 'Nolite dirigere mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo: quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae: quae non est ex Patre, sed ex mundo est. Et mundus transit, et concupiscentia ejus: qui autem facit voluntatem Dei manet in aeternum'.
[16] 'In carne enim ambulantes, non secundum carnem militamus. Nam arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo'.
[17] On the development of the three-fold enemy concept, see: Siegfried Wenzel, 'Three Enemies of Man', *Mediaeval Studies*, 29 (1967), pp. 47-66. On medieval developments of the idea more specific to the period addressed by this thesis, see: Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950–1200* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 132-45.
[18] Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 16-23, 71-9. The development of concepts of spiritual warfare among the Desert Fathers is the main subject of Brakke, *Making of the Monk*.

same.[19] One of Origen's key contributions to later Christianity was to render the Old Testament Satan as a rebellious angel and adversarial figure opposed not only to God but to Man. This was set out clearly in the preface to his *De principiis* ('On First Principles'), an early treatise on the nature of Christian theology.[20] Like the Epistle to Ephesians, part of the purpose of *De principiis* was a refutation of rival belief systems, particularly Gnosticism, but it would significantly influence later Christian thought about the figure and nature of the devil.[21]

The constant battle between the rational spirit and the wilful body was a key theme of books 19, 21, and 22 of *De civitate Dei* ('The City of God'), one of Augustine's most extensive and widely influential works.[22] Augustine emphasised that while the body existed in the world it would oppose the spirit endlessly, requiring eternal vigilance. The imagery employed was warlike, for example in book 19:

> [Reason] by no means rules the vices without conflict … As long as is it necessary to rule the vices, then, there is no full and complete peace. This is true because our battle against the resisting vices is full of peril and because our triumph over defeated vices is still far from secure and effortless; it is only with an anxious and care-filled rule that we manage to hold them down.[23]

At the same time, Augustine made clear that a perfect victory could never be achieved in this world, and even a temporary reprieve could not be won by man alone without the help of God. As with the arming of God in Isaiah 59 and the arming of man with the same virtues in the Pauline Epistles, virtuous struggle could only ever be at best an attempt at emulating divine qualities. Drawing on Galatians 5:17, Augustine goes on to explain:

> …the desires of the flesh never cease to oppose the spirit or the desires of the spirit to oppose the flesh, and so we cannot do the things that we want, that is, ridding ourselves of all evil desire. Instead, as far as possible, we can only subdue evil desire by denying it our consent … we never hope to achieve victory in this war full of toils and dangers by our own powers; and we never attribute any victory that we do win to our own powers but only to the grace of [God].[24]

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[19] A comparative translation of Origen's and Jerome's commentaries on Ephesians, including a detailed introduction and commentary on the relationship between the texts is: *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, trans. Roland E. Heine (Oxford, 2002), see especially pp. 5-22. Origen's contribution to ideas of spiritual warfare through his influence on Jerome has also been noted in: Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 42-3; Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, p. 11.

[20] Origen, *On First Principles*, ed. and trans. John Behr, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2017), Preface.6.

[21] Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, pp. 358-83.

[22] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de civitate Dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonsus Kalb, CCCM 47, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1955). See especially: 19.4, 11-12; 21.15; 22.23.

[23] *De civitate*, 19.27: 'nequaquam sine conflictu vitiis imperator ... Et ideo, quamdiu vitiis imperator, plena pax non est, quia et illa, quae resistunt, periculoso debellantur proelio, et illa, quae victa sunt, nondum securo triumphantur otio, sed adhuc sollicito premuntur imperio'.

[24] *De civitate*, 22.23: 'non tamen desinit caro concupiscere adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem, ut non ea quae volumus faciamus, omnem malam concupiscientiam consumendo, sed eam nobis, quantum divinitus adiuti possumus, non ei consentiendo subdamus … ne in hoc bello laborum periculorumque plenissimo vel de viribus nostris speretur facienda victoria vel viribus nostris facta tribuatur, sed eius gratiae'.

Meanwhile, building extensively on Origen, Jerome's commentary on Ephesians 6:11 crystallised the idea that these same virtues protected the soul against diabolical attack. These virtues were all to be found in the examples shown by Christ, and so *imitatio Christi* ('imitation of Christ') was the surest form of spiritual protection:

> …it is most clearly confirmed that the whole armour of God with which we are now ordered to be clothed is understood of the Saviour, so that it is one and the same thing to say: 'put on the whole armour of God' and 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ'. If the girdle is truth, and the armour is justice, and our Saviour is called truth and justice (*cf.* John 14:6, 1 Corinthians 1:30) there can be no doubt that He Himself is both the girdle and the armour … The person who shall have been clothed with everything which has been understood of Christ will be able to resist all the plots of the devil.[25]

Ephesians 6 was central to patristic exegesis of other biblical mentions of arms and warfare, particularly those from the Old Testament which were readily reinterpreted as spiritual warfare fought against vice.[26] The Psalms provided a particularly rich source for such material, with Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* ('Commentary on the Psalms') and Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum* ('Explanation of the Psalms') both supplying extensive commentaries for each mention of warfare occurring therein.[27] For example, Cassiodorus interpreted the sword mentioned in Psalm 7:13, 'Unless you are converted, [God] will brandish his sword' (*Nisi convertamini, gladium suum vibravit*), as predicting the coming of Christ, and then connected it explicitly with the sword of the word of God from Ephesians 6:17.[28] Augustine similarly equated the gifts given to man by God with the arms described in Ephesians 6: 'we are armed with what we have been given by Him who made us. The apostle somewhere enumerates our pieces of armour, speaking of the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit'.[29] In his *Enarrationes*, Augustine's description of the invisible spiritual arms needed to combat the soul's invisible demonic enemies demonstrated the solidifying of the Pauline concept that the devil and demons possessed incorporeal bodies. This understanding would remain a significant pillar of the later medieval language of spiritual warfare, as illustrated by a comparison between Augustine's commentary and the twelfth-century *Similitudo militis*:

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[25] *S. Eusebii Hieronymii, Stridonensis presbyteri, commentariorum in epistolam ad Ephesios libri tres*, *PL* 26, cols. 543A-543B: 'manifestissime comprobatur, omnia arma Dei quibus nunc indui iubemur, intelligi Salvatorem; ut unum atque idem sit dixisse, induite vos omnia arma Dei; quasi dixerit, induite Dominum Iesum Christum. Si enim cingulum veritas est, et lorica iustitia est: Salvator autem et veritas, et iustitia nominatur, nulli dubium quin ipse et cingulum sit et lorica … Hunc enim qui iuxta omnia quae super eo intelliguntur, fuerit indutus, potens erit contra universas insidias diaboli repugnare'.

[26] Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 42-3.

[27] The Epistles and Psalms provided consistently attractive sources for exegesis throughout the Middle Ages, see: David Luscombe, 'Thought and Learning', in David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (eds.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 4: c.1024-c.1198, Part 1* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 489.; Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 25-6.

[28] *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, Vol 1. (Turnhout, 1958), pp. 85-6.

[29] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, Vol 1. (Turnhout, 1956), p. 300: 'Dicit haec quodam loco arma nostra apostolus, scutum fidei, et galeam salutis, et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei'.

> [The spiritual arms] are glorious weapons that have never known defeat, invincible and splendid; but spiritual and invisible arms, of course, since it is invisible enemies that we have to fight. When your enemy can be seen, you need visible arms. We are armed with faith in that which we cannot see, and we overthrow enemies we cannot see either. (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*).[30]

> Though these are arms of war, they are not temporal, but spiritual. They are not of the flesh but of the mind. For as the apostle teaches, we ought to 'compare spiritual things with spiritual' (1 Corinthians 2:13). For as we call our knight spiritual, we can be sure his adversary is similarly of the spirit. And so consequently what else follows, other than that such enemies should be fought against with spiritual arms? (*Similitudo militis*).[31]

Augustine was also central in associating virtue with intention, an idea which resonated with the allegorisation of virtuous living as spiritual arms. A virtue could not be cultivated through actions unless they were directed towards God; actions directed towards the will and the self were sins.[32] Spiritual 'arming', therefore, became a way to allegorise living rightly by directing one's actions towards God rather than the self. A similar idea is evident in a saying attributed to Abba Poemen, which makes clear that it is precisely when attempting to direct the will towards God that humans are spiritually attacked: '[Demons] do not wage war against us as long as we are doing our own wills. For our own wills have become the demons, and it is these that attack us in order that we may fulfil them'.[33]

Early monastic authors like Poemen were pivotal in strengthening the association of militarised, masculine imagery with spiritual struggles. Early monastic texts frequently cast monks as *milites Christi*, spiritual counterparts to earthly soldiers who battled against invisible demonic enemies on behalf of all Christians.[34] The *Collationes* ('Conferences') of John Cassian were replete with military language, frequently describing monks as *centuriones* ('centurions') and associating the spiritual struggles of monastic and eremitic Christianity with worldly military prestige. At the outset of the work, he refers to time spent in the monastery as 'our basic training and the beginnings of our spiritual soldiery'.[35] Like Augustine, Cassian made explicit that the weapons 'mighty to God' described in 2 Corinthians 10:4 are those of the spirit, and far stronger than those of the world. For Cassian, each monk, each spiritual 'centurion', must be properly armed in the spirit:

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[30] *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Vol 1., pp. 300-1: 'Armavit nos talibus amis, qualibus audistis, laudabilibus et invictis, insuperabilibus et splendidis; spiritualibus sane atque invisibilibus, quia et hostes invisibiles expugnamus. Si vides hostem tuum, videantur arma atua. Armamur earum rerum fide quas non videmus, et sternimus hostes quos non videmus'.

[31] *Memorials*, p. 100: 'Arma ista licet sint bellica, non sunt tamen temporalia, sed spiritualia. Non sunt carnalia, sed intellectualia. Sicut enim docet apostolus, spiritualibus spiritualia comparare debemus. Siquidem miles noster spiritualis dicitur, sed et eius adversarius nihilominus spiritualis esse creditur. Quid itaque consequentius, quam ut isti tales adversarii armis adversum se invicem dimicent spiritualibus?'

[32] Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, p. 399.

[33] Cited in Brakke, *Demons,* p. 147.

[34] Southern, *Western Society*, pp. 224-5.

[35] *Ioannis Cassiani abbatis Massilensis collationum XXIV collectio in tres partes divisa, PL* 49, col. 483A: 'ab ipso tyrocinio, ac rudimentis militiae spiritalis).

> Listen to what the blessed Apostle says about what kind of weapons this centurion has and for what military exercises they are used: 'The weapons of our warfare', he says, 'are not carnal but powerful to God'. He said what kind they were, that is, not carnal and weak but spiritual and powerful to God … if we want to fight the Lord's battles and serve among the gospel centurions, we too must always be armed when we march out.[36]

The militarised imagery associated with spiritual struggle by Cassian recurred in the monastic Rule of the sixth-century abbot of Montecassino, Benedict of Nursia (480-547).[37] At the outset of the Rule each monk is informed that he constitutes one member of a monastic force, who, 'renouncing his own will in order to fight for the Lord Christ, the true king, takes up brilliant and mighty weapons of obedience'.[38] The homogenisation and popularisation of Benedictine monasticism throughout western Europe in subsequent centuries meant that such imagery permeated monastic communities far from the original desert, ensuring monks continued to consider themselves as the *milites Christi* partaking in spiritual warfare.[39] Benedictine monasticism solidified the influence of the patristic authors mentioned above, encouraging monks to read both the works of the Desert Fathers as well as Jerome and Augustine.[40]

The sixth-century pope Gregory I (r.590-604), later Saint Gregory the Great, similarly set out the idea of arming with virtues against attack in his commentary on the Old Testament book of Job, *Moralia in Iob*.[41] The *Moralia* demonstrates the further solidification of ideas about the nature of the devil's and of demons' bodies, and of their ability to make spiritual attacks on man. In the book of Job, the devil is not a direct adversary, but instead is a tempter, who with divine permission wagers with God that he can tempt Job away from his faith.[42] The devil in *Moralia in Iob* is more directly adversarial, however, being more in line with concepts of the devil as inherited from New Testament scripture and earlier patristic works. Indeed, even by the sixth century, Christianity contended with a devil that encompassed a number of figures and aspects of evil: the tempter of Genesis and Job, a possessive spirit (Luke 22:3), earthly ruler (John 12:31), and the great monster of the book of Revelation who fought with the archangel Michael (Revelation 12:7-9). The devil most often portrayed in later medieval texts is commonly the latter of these. As Feros Ruys puts it: 'powerful, malevolent, the head

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[36] *PL* 49, cols. 674A-674B: 'Huius centurionis qualia arma sint, vel ad quae praeliorum exercitia praeparantur, audi beatem Apostolum praedicantem: Arma, inquit, militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo. Dixit qualia sunt, id est, non carnalia nec infirma, sed spiritalia et potentia Deo … si volumus bella Domini praeliari, et inter centuriones evangelicos militare'.
[37] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, 1958). See also Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 89-96.
[38] *Benedict*, Prologue 3: 'Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur, quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluntatibus Domino Christo vero regi militaturus oboedientiae fortissimo atquae praeclara arma sumis'.
[39] Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 23-4.
[40] Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 111-38.
[41] *Sancti Gregorii magni, moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCCM 143, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 1979). On Gregory's life, works, and wider influence on medieval and later Christian thought, see: Neil Bronwen and Matthew Dal Santo (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden, 2013); R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge, 1997).
[42] Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, pp. 107-23.

of an army of terrifying and monstrous beasts, the principle of evil in a battle to the death and beyond with the principle of good'.[43]

From the outset, Job's struggles are clearly aligned with the adversarial, militaristic conception of spiritual warfare. The catastrophes the devil inflicts on Job in attempting to draw him away from God are described by Gregory as Job's 'spiritual battle' (*spiritalis pugnae*).[44] Gregory also makes clear that Job is not only participant and prize in this battle but is also the battlefield itself.[45] Imagery of weapons and warfare recur throughout. Job's patience is described as a shield which protects against the darts of temptation launched at him from all sides, and though his body is outwardly prostrate from his wounds, he is described as 'standing inwardly erect, protected by the armour of his mind'.[46] Gregory uses Job's suffering to explain how each person is similarly attacked by the devil, a battle which begins at birth and lasts as long as people live in the world. Commenting on Job 7:1, 'The life of man upon earth is warfare' (*militia est vita hominis super terram*), Gregory explains how all earthly life is a constant temptation: 'the very human life itself is not said to have temptations but is proclaimed to be a temptation … it has already become what it endures'.[47] Though all souls are targets in the spiritual battle, Gregory makes clear that it is the clergy who willingly arm themselves to participate in it:

> Whoever hastens to equip himself for divine service, what else does he do other than prepare himself for battle against the ancient enemy, set free to receive blows in that battle after having suffered his thralldom quietly in captivity under the tyrant?[48]

A second and somewhat different depiction of virtue battling against vice, but one which also influenced later portrayals of spiritual warfare, was the allegorical poem *Psychomachia* written by Prudentius (b.348). Drawing on both the moral sense of Christian history and the Roman literary tradition (most notably Virgil's *Aeneid*), and expanding on Cyprian's (d.258) description of the mental struggle against sin, *Psychomachia* proved influential for subsequent representations of combat between virtue and vice in medieval text and art.[49] It describes a battle between the personified virtues and vices where, ultimately victorious, the virtues construct a city containing a temple dedicated to Wisdom. At the time of the poem's composition, the warfare between the virtues and vices operated

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[43] Feros Ruys, *Demons*, pp. 3-5.
[44] *Moralia*, Preface.I.3.
[45] *Moralia*, Preface.8; 2.VIII.13.
[46] *Moralia*, 3.X.17: 'erectus intrinsecus munimine permanent mentis'.
[47] *Moralia*, 8.VI.8: 'quod haec eadem vita hominis non temptationem habere dicitur, sed ipsa temptation esse … hoc est iam facta quod tolerat'.
[48] *Moralia*, 4.XXIII.42: 'Quisquis enim accingi in divino servitio properat, quid aliud quam se contra antique adversarii certamen parat ut liber in certamine ictus suspiciat, qui quietus sub tyrannide in captivitate serviebat?'.
[49] *Saint Cyprian: Treatises*, ed. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, 1958), pp. 195-221.; Macklin Smith, *Prudentius' Psychomachia: A Reexamination* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 3-4, 126-31.; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medeieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (London, 1939), p. 1.; Pelttari, *Psychomachia*, p. 17.

as a microcosm for the Church's struggle against Roman pagan traditions.[50] Notably, *Psychomachia* was written around the same time as many of the patristic commentaries on Old Testament and Psalmic warfare were being composed and circulated, and Macklin Smith has argued that the poem indicates a widely felt psychological shift in late- and post-Roman Christian thought, whereby metaphors of warfare came to 'refer unambiguously to inner mental states'.[51]

Psychomachia manuscripts seem to have entered England from Northern France at the beginning of the tenth century, though illustrated versions of the poem probably arrived slightly later, their arrival coinciding with the Benedictine reforms of that period.[52] While the case has been made for early royal

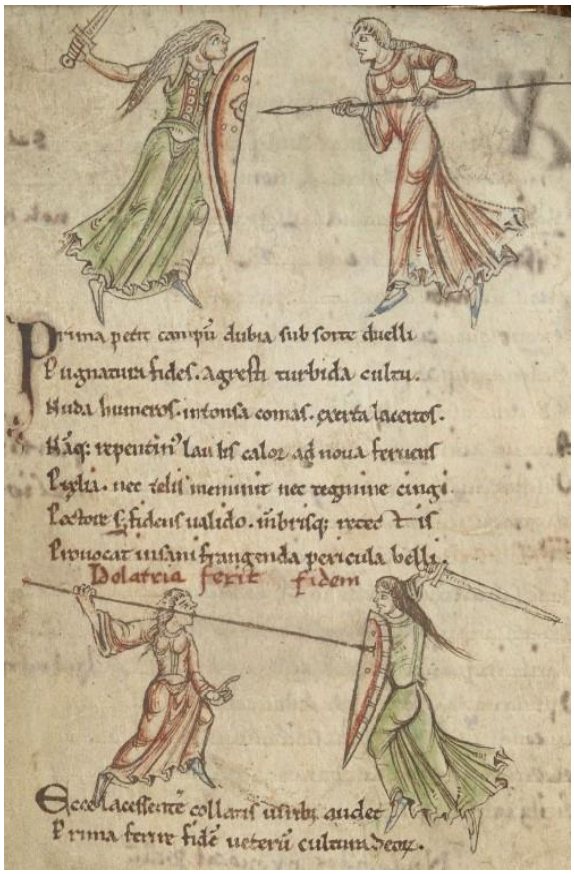

Figure 2: Armed personifications of virtues and vices in a twelfth-century manuscript of Psychomachia, BL Cotton MS Titus D XVI, f. 5v

ownership of *Psychomachia* manuscripts, due to the potential appeal of their 'explicit martiality', and the model of Faith fighting against the worship of the pagan gods (*veterum cultura deorum*), they were more likely to have been for monastic audiences, battling as *milites Christi* against the inner spiritual enemies represented by the vices.[53] In accordance with classical Roman practice, the

[50] Smith, *Psychomachia*, p. 6.
[51] Smith, *Psychomachia*, p. 113.
[52] Gernot R. Wieland, 'The Origin and Development of the Anglo-Saxon Psychomachia Illustrations', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), pp. 170-4.
[53] On the respective cases for lay and monastic ownership see: R. I. Page, 'On the Feasibility of a Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Glosses: The View from the Library', in R. Derolez (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Glossography* (Brussels, 1992), pp. 90-1 and Wieland, 'Anglo-Saxon Psychomachia', pp. 184-6.

personified vices and virtues were commonly portrayed as armed women, a tradition which continued in artistic renditions well into the twelfth century (Figure 2).[54] This differed from the other, more directly scriptural, tradition of spiritual warfare explored above where a militarised masculinity dominated the discourse.

By the early Middle Ages, then, the concept of spiritual warfare had been solidified into an idea that man was tempted by the devil, who utilised the body and the world as his weapons. The body itself was also the battleground within which spiritual warfare took place, with the soul both participant and prize in the wider, cosmic battle between God and the devil. Monks had adopted this idea particularly early, considering themselves the *milites Christi* who fought the spiritual battle armed with their virtuous practices, imagined as armour, helmet, shield, and sword. All Christians, however, were in what Gregory the Great called the 'battleline' against the devil, who attacked man endlessly with temptations often imagined as arrows or darts. However, the arms described were those of contemporary foot-soldiers, probably those of different eras and regions of the Roman Empire.[55]

The Mounted Knight as *miles Christi*, c.1100–1150

By the twelfth century, monks had at their disposal a long tradition of scripture and patristic exegesis on which to draw when imagining their spiritual struggles as warfare. On behalf of others, they performed liturgical rites and rounds of prayer to intercede with God by joining the spiritual battle against the devil. Monks fought spiritual warfare by giving themselves in 'living martyrdom' through the rigours of the monastic life, which continued to be described with the language of warfare.[56] Orderic Vitalis (1075–1142), for example, portrayed the monastery as a place where spiritual warfare would be rewarded with heavenly glory: 'Christ's garrisons struggle manfully against the devil. Assuredly, the harder the struggle of the spiritual warrior, the more glorious will be his victory, and the more precious his trophies in the court of Heaven'.[57] The warfare itself was partly against the impulses of the monks' own bodies, which were tested by the rigorous program of prayer and offices, and against the temptations of the world outside the monastery, while on a cosmic level their battle

[54] Katzenellenbogen, pp. 1-3. However, this begins to change significantly in some *Psychomachia* depictions during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see below, pp. 61-3.
[55] The arms of God described in Ephesians have been suggested as those of a first- or second-century Roman soldier by Hobbs, 'Language of Warfare', pp. 263-8. Cassian's frequent reference to 'centurions' (*centuriones*) may suggest a later Roman equivalent, though may possibly be a Classical wording adapted deliberately as a marker of traditional Roman masculinity, on which see: Brakke, *Demons*, p. 182. It has also been suggested that the arms of Ephesians 6 hearken more back to the Old Testament arms of God than they reflect those of a Roman soldier: Yoder Neufeld, *Arming for God*, pp. 131-42.
[56] Quotation from: Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression', *Viator*, 2 (1971), p. 145. See also: Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture*, pp. 23-37. See also: Southern, *Western Society*, pp. 224-30.
[57] OV. iii, p. 144: 'contra diabolum a castrensibus Christi viriliter dimicatur. Nulli dubium est quod probo agonithetae quanto acrior fuerit pugna tanta gloriosor erit victoria, tropheique maior merces in celesti curia'.

allowed them to intercede with God for the souls of those who were prayed for. Barbara Rosenwein has argued that, from a psychoanalytical perspective, the endless rounds of liturgy developed over centuries at Cluny may have functioned as a defence against the bodily impulses represented by the vices.[58]

However, the scriptural and patristic depictions of *milites Christi* and the spiritual arms with which they fought increasingly did not correspond with the fighting styles and equipment of the prestigious warrior elite at the outset of the twelfth century. By this period, the mounted, mailed knight with lance was coming to dominate European battlefields.[59] While the knight retained the armour, helmet, shield and sword moralised in scripture, he also fought from horseback with a lance. While the changing meaning of the word *miles* in this period is already set out in the Introduction above, it is important to understand how the knightly function became increasingly sacralised during the late eleventh and early twelfth century. This process is inseparably entwined with the emergence of the crusading idea at the end of the eleventh century, but the sudden appearance in clerical sources of the term *miles Christi* denoting a mounted knight reflects another important element of knightly sacralisation.

A non-monastic definition of the term *miles Christi* had also come into usage following the First Crusade, referring to knights who had, in taking the cross, been ecclesiastically sanctioned to battle the earthly enemies of Christ. This second connotation of *miles Christi* was sometimes utilised to describe the heavy cavalry wing of the crusading forces, the intended audience for the preaching of the First Crusade.[60] Prior to this, an innovation of Gregory VII were the *milites sancti Petri*, who wielded the sword in worldly service to the Church. This ecclesiastical sponsoring of violence in many ways marks the beginning of knightly sacralisation, and a blurring of spiritual and secular warrior ideals, increasingly evident by the turn of the twelfth century.[61] The appearance of the crusading idea in the late eleventh century by no means marked the sudden appearance of sacralised warfare; divinely sanctioned military action, pilgrimage and even absolution of sin for earthly fighting in defence of the Church predated Gregory VII. However, Gregory couches these ideas in the contemporary language of military vassal service as it existed in the late eleventh century, referring to the 'service' (*servitium*) and 'vassals' (*fideles*) of Christ and Saint Peter, and the 'warfare [in service of] of Christ' (*militia Christi*).[62] These terms were reflected in early accounts of the First Crusade. The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (hereafter *Gesta Francorum*) of the very early twelfth century refers to the crusading force as 'Christ's army' (*Christi militia*), and the knights within it are referred to by Bohemond of Taranto at one point as 'most valiant knights of Christ' (*fortissimi*

[58] Rosenwein, 'Cluniac Liturgy', p. 154.
[59] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p. 31.
[60] Bull, *Knight Piety*, pp. 17-18.
[61] Cardini, 'Warrior and Knight', pp. 78-9.
[62] Robinson, 'Soldiers of Christ', pp. 177-82; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 46-7.

milites Christi), and later by the author as 'knights of the true God' (*milites … veri Dei*).[63] The association of the term *milites* is implicit with a mounted function, the poorer soldiers in the army are referred to as *pedites* ('foot-soldiers'), who are tasked with setting up a defensible camp while the knights go out to skirmish with the Turks.[64] The text is probably authored by a knight, most likely a Norman hailing from southern Italy and a retainer in Bohemond's service, making its description of the knights as *milites Christi* an important indicator of how knights themselves perceived their position as crusaders.[65] Such developments indicate how ideas of what a *miles Christi* could be were being rapidly reframed in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, drawing more closely to an understanding of contemporary secular military culture and having significant connotations for conceptions of the *miles* in *miles Christi*.

The earliest of the appearances of the mounted knight with lance as metaphor for the spiritual warrior is the *Similitudo militis*. The horse in particular is described as a vital component of the warrior's equipment, reflecting its importance to the ways combat was thought about by the early twelfth century. Indeed, the horse's centrality is such that, although an unprecedented allegory in conceptions of spiritual warfare, it comes first and foremost among the knight's trappings: 'But what are those things which are necessary for the worldly knight? First among these a horse, which is so necessary for him that it may rightly be called his most faithful companion'.[66] The horse operates as a metaphor for the body in *Similitudo militis*, being referred to as the 'outer body of the inner man' and being entirely necessary for 'the knight of Christ [to overcome] the devil'.[67] The necessity of the horse in association with the function and conception of the *miles Christi* is particularly telling in this text. It would seem to indicate that by the early twelfth century, the term *miles Christi* was being directly and primarily associated with the mounted warriors who were increasingly associated with a noble status.

Similitudo militis therefore represents an updating and expansion of spiritual warfare, utilising military metaphors more applicable to the realities of twelfth-century knightly combat than had previously been the case. To succeed in spiritual battle, the monk required not only to arm with the spiritual virtues but to also follow certain worldly practices to keep the horse of his body under control. These methods of bodily control were represented by the bridle and reins of abstinence (*abstinentia*), saddle of gentleness (*mansuetudinem*) and the two spurs: the fear of hell (*metus*

[63] *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962), pp. 14, 18, 40.
[64] Ibid., p. 18.
[65] On the authorship see the Introduction to the *Gesta Francorum*: Ibid., pp. xi-xvi.
[66] *Memorials*, p. 97: 'Sed quae sunt illa, quae temporali militi sunt necessaria? Imprimis siquidem caballus, qui ei adeo est necessarius, ut recte dici possit suus fidelissimus socius'.
[67] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'interiori homini corpus exterius … miles Christi diabolum persequitur'.

gehennae) and the love of eternal life (*amore vitae aeternae*).[68] Using these, the soul could better control and direct the body to resist the onslaught of spiritual enemies.

That this updating of the spiritual arms took place in monastic settings is, however, unsurprising. As seen, by the beginning of the twelfth century the monasteries had long been considered the battleground of spiritual warfare, with the language of warfare long being part of the monastic self-conception as *milites Christi*. The spiritual arms, as allegories for virtues, were both memorable and easily understood by novices. The vast majority of novices, especially in the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries, were either young recruits from aristocratic households, or knights retiring to the monastery.[69] This was particularly the case with the Cistercians, who insisted on adult vocation, though more widely monastic novicehood was increasingly restricted to those who were already in their late teens or adulthood.[70] On one level, the use of knightly metaphor provided knightly recruits to the cloister with a familiar construction of masculinity from which their monastic vocation otherwise restricted them, much as the Desert Fathers 'reworked traditional markers of masculinity into new forms of Christian manliness', most notably in the works of Cassian.[71] Knightly metaphors were also more readily understood by this particular group. Given the twelfth-century conception of the term *miles*, it is not difficult to imagine the novice of knightly extraction reading about the *miles Christi* in scripture and patristic exegesis and asking why there was no mention of his horse and lance. That monastic imaginations pictured the spiritual arms as those of a twelfth-century knight is perhaps best illustrated in a sermon of the Benedictine monk Julian of Vézelay (d.c.1160): '…you should know what the arms of God are so that you can go out to meet the enemy. Observe the arms of the secular knight and arm yourself according to his example'.[72] Julian employs the term *equites* ('cavalry') rather than *milites*, indicating that it was specifically the arms of the mounted warrior, not the foot-soldier, that the monk should imagine as virtues to emulate.

The Spiritual Knight and Arms in the 'Inter-Conciliar' Period, c.1179–1215

Following the first appearance of the knight and his arms as spiritual warfare allegories in the twelfth-century monasteries, the figure was appropriated beyond the monastery in the late twelfth century

[68] *Memorials,* pp. 99-100.
[69] On monastic recruitment from the secular aristocracy see: Smith, *Medieval Monastic Culture,* pp. 52-7, 119-21.
[70] Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 34.; Luscombe, 'Thought and Learning', p. 467. See also Bernard of Clairvaux's letter to his relative Robert of Châtillon: *SBO,* 7, pp. 1-11. However, as Berman has pointed out, many knights who entered the Order became *conversi* (lay brothers) rather than monks: Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 184. For some late eleventh- and early twelfth-century examples of adult knightly conversion to the monastery see: Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 125-42
[71] Smith, 'Saints in Shining Armor', pp. 591-2; Brakke, *Demons,* p. 182.
[72] *Julian de Vézelay: Sermones*, ed. and trans. Damien Vorreux, Vol. 2. (Paris, 1972), p. 600: 'nosse debes quae sit armatura Dei ut congrediaris hosti. Et attende armaturam equitis saecularis ut simili tu quoque armeris exemplo'.

and thirteenth in the context of preaching and pastoral care. The spiritual knight allegory finds its fullest and most detailed expression in the *De re militari* of Ralph Niger, a cleric and Paris *magister* who had moved in royal and episcopal circles. Operating first in the court of Henry II, then in opposition to Henry in the court of Thomas Becket in exile, Ralph entered the circle of Henry the Young King until 1183.[73] After this he largely spent time teaching in Paris before returning to England after Henry II's death in 1189.[74] Aside from *De re militari*, Ralph's other known works include two chronicles and commentaries on books of the Old Testament.[75]

Written by early 1188 in response to the Fall of Jerusalem the previous year, *De re militari* derived the first part of its name from Vegetius' (d.c.383) widely popular Roman treatise of the same name. Like the social satires of contemporary English clerics Walter Map and John of Salisbury, *De re militari* drew on Ralph's extensive scholastic education and first-hand experience in royal and ecclesiastical courts. The work is split into four books. The first three respectively provide symbolic moralisations of contemporary knightly equipment, the regalia of kingship, and the building and defence of the city of Jerusalem. Books I-III are largely occupied with contemplating historical biblical 'pilgrimages', respectively the Exodus from Egypt, the return from Babylon to Jerusalem, and the liberation of Peter from Herod's dungeon.[76] The fourth book criticises the sinful, corrupt nature of late twelfth-century society, concluding with a final questioning of crusade and a prohibition against certain ranks of people undertaking it.[77]

De re militari has frequently been regarded as anti-crusading polemic since George Flahiff's article of 1947, and much subsequent scholarship concerning the text has focused on the degree and purpose of its anti-crusading message.[78] Despite this perception, only forty-six of the work's 313 chapters concern crusading and the papal call to arms. It is suggested here that Ralph's purpose is instead to call into question the penitential efficacy of armed pilgrimage, and invite clerics to question the validity of preaching the same. In this, his focus on repentance and examination of conscience as remedies for society's ills anticipate the reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council by nearly three decades. At the same time, the importance he places on discipline in governing spiritual introspection is a strongly monastic one. This can be gleaned from an examination of Book I of *De re militari*. As with Augustine's description of the spiritual arms and that at the outset of *Similitudo militis*, and in

[73] On Ralph's time in the court of Henry the Young King, which is also attested by Gervase of Tilbury (*fl*. 1177-1214), see: Matthew Strickland, 'On the Instruction of a Prince: The Upbringing of Henry, the Young King', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (eds.), *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 202-4.
[74] See Ludwig Schmugge's Introduction to *De re militari*, pp. 3-7. It has also been suggested that Ralph may have spent time in the court of John of Mortain (later King John) prior to Richard's death; a significant number of clerics associated with the Young King's household entered John's service after 1183: Crouch, *Chivalric Turn*, p. 35.
[75] *De re militari*, pp. 11-14.
[76] *De re militari*, pp. 118-79.
[77] Ibid., pp. 200-22.
[78] George Flahiff, 'Deus non vult: A Critic of the Third Crusade', *Mediaeval Studies*, 9 (1947), pp. 162-88. The debate up to very recent years is analysed in: Cotts, *On Warfare*, pp. 18-20.

line with Julian of Vézelay's encouragement to emulate spiritual versions of knightly arms, Ralph explains the necessity of examining worldly arms to better understand their spiritual counterparts:

> Therefore any knight of Christ should be protected with arms, and in what order and what manner these be equipped is worthy of consideration … Just as visible arms resist visible enemies, so much more should spiritual arms resist invisible enemies, who occur in far greater numbers … Because the source of our knowledge of spiritual things springs from the senses, the theory and practice of using our invisible, spiritual arms should be derived from visible arms.[79]

Like *Similitudo militis*, Book I of *De re militari* concerns a systematic discussion of what the knightly arms represent in the spiritual sense. However, Ralph treats each piece of equipment with a greater degree of realism and detail, discussing the symbolism of components like mail leggings known as *chausses* (*ocreis ferreis*) and the straps and ties (*corrigiis et laqueis*) with which the armour is attached.[80] The greater detail with which arms are treated in Book I of *De re militari* is most likely derived from Ralph's witnessing of knightly combat at both tournaments and sieges. As with *Similitudo militis*, the bridle and saddle are allegorised, but *De re militari* discusses the bit and even the horse's feed.[81] Other allegorised elements of combat include the displaying of banners and other signs or signals (*vexillis et signis*), and the shouting of orders in battle (*de acclamatione signorum in bello*).[82] Ralph also likens mortal and venial sins to siege engines and smaller missiles respectively. Mortal sins, like shots from siege engines, will instantly and utterly destroy the soul and are to be fled from, while venial sins can be recovered from through prayer, though can be fatal to the soul if they injure the head (faith in Christ) or the heart (the soul itself).[83]

De re militari also contains a seemingly unique discussion within the extant corpus of works concerning how the spiritual arms, the horse of the body, and the knight himself can be lost, captured, damaged or broken, and the consequences of such losses. While there is a very brief reference to injustice damaging the spiritual armour in *Similitudo militis*, there is no parallel for Ralph's extensive discussion of these.[84] While the arms and their associated qualities could be lost through various means, the outcome (where described) is almost always the same: death of the spiritual knight who represents the human soul. In other words, losing the spiritual arms left the soul defenceless against the perils of damnation. Human failings are always at fault for the loss of any of the arms. The sword of the word of God, for instance, 'is often broken and sometimes snatched away entirely … For

[79] *De re militari*, p. 98: 'Quibus igitur armis Christi miles muniri habeat et quo ordine et modo eis armari debeat opere pretium intueri … Sicut enim visibilibus hostibus opponuntur arma visibilia, multo magis invisibilibus hostibus, qui numeriosus occurrunt, opponenda sunt arma spiritualia … Quia vero a sensu surgit etiam origo notitie spiritualium, licet ab armatura visibili invisibilis armatur[a] spiritualis formam et modum contemplari'.
[80] *De re militari*, pp. 99-102.
[81] *De re militari*, pp. 98-105.
[82] *De re militari*, pp. 108, 116.
[83] *De re militari*, pp. 106-7.
[84] *De re militari*, pp. 109, 111, 113-7.; *Cf. Memorials*, p. 101.

although the word of God, which is the sword, is imperishable, it fails because of the faults of men, not of [God] Himself'.[85] Ralph also warned of the consequences of the capture or death of the knight and horse. In accordance with their respective allegorisations as soul and body, these related to the spiritual perils of sin, or the bodily practices by which sin occurred. Capturing horses and their riders was common practice in both tournaments and battle, and again reflects Ralph's experience of knightly practices and behaviour.[86] The knight could also be wounded or killed, an allegory which Ralph utilised to reinforce his message about venial and mortal sin, already allegorised as various kinds of missile fire.[87]

However, where *Similitudo militis* was written in a monastic milieu, encouraging monks to conceive of themselves as earthly knights in the spiritual battle against the devil, it is suggested here that Ralph Niger composed *De re militari* for clerics who might preach the crusade to knights. On one level, the extensive and detailed realism of the allegory offered opportunities to take any piece of knightly equipment and draw out from it a deeper symbolism. Notably, when discussing the virtues that interlink like the rings of mail to form the armour of faith and justice, Ralph chooses to discuss as his example marital chastity, and how even a man who does not have this virtue can be protected by his others.[88] Marital chastity, or lack thereof, would be a pointless example for clerics, but a relevant one for the knighthood for whom the reassurance that they are still protected by the spiritual armour of virtues if they do not practice it would be a welcome one. Knights were not directly the audience for the text, however, which is composed in a dense and learned Latin prose, liberally scattered throughout with reference to scripture and to patristic and medieval exegesis that would probably only be apparent to scholastically educated clergy. Indeed, in the same discussion of the virtues where Ralph mentions marital chastity, he considers the differing viewpoints of Augustine, Jerome, and Peter Lombard on the connections between the virtues.[89] This is highly representative of the kind of dialectic discussion of differing viewpoints that dominated in the twelfth-century schools.

It is important in this context to reiterate that *De re militari* appeared during what Leonard Boyle has termed the 'Inter-Conciliar Period', between the Third (1179) and Fourth (1215) Lateran Councils. Through clerical education, improving the quality of the clergy that they might better care for souls was an overriding concern of the Church during this period. Boyle identified a growing concern within the later twelfth-century Church that scholastic theology was not percolating down to the parish level, and that priestly ignorance was being understood as a reason for the rapid proliferation

[85] *Re re militari*, p. 113: 'verbi Dei gladius plerumque frangitur, quandoque in totum eripitur … Licet enim verbum Dei, quod est gladius, sit inviolabile, quia frustratur sua culpa hominis, non in se'.
[86] For more on this see Chapter 3, p. 130.
[87] *De re militari*, p. 117.
[88] *De re militari*, p. 101. Analysis of Ralph's discussion of the armour in *De re militari* can be found in Chapter 2, pp. 69-72.
[89] *De re militari*, pp. 100-1.

of heresies.[90] To this end, improving clerical education was one of the council's reforming aims.[91] Driven by a concern with heresy, the decrees of the Third Lateran Council saw the transformation of scholastic genres of *summae*, *distinctions*, and compilations of theology and canon law into the first wave of *pastoralia*; texts concerned with the practicalities of preaching, penance, and confession.[92] Concerted effort went into creating scholastic aids to teaching and learning, particularly the collation of references and extracts, dictionaries, and disputations. As aids to both teaching and preaching, the new genres of *Distinctiones* and *Summae* emerging from the schools in the second half of the twelfth century proved easily adaptable to pastoral care purposes.[93] Both genres sought to summarise and organise vast amounts of complex doctrine into more accessible formats, often including schema and diagrams.[94] These collated and increased the existing body of exegesis surrounding spiritual warfare, providing foundations for redirecting concepts of spiritual combat for wider, non-clerical audiences.

Ralph's concerns about the adequacy of contemporary clerics are evident in his criticisms of the clergy in Book IV of *De re militari*:

> In many, but not all [clerics], confusion reigns, morals go slack, and they forget about virtue while the offspring of vices flourish. All discipline grows feeble, the arts pass into contempt and the greater knowledges slip into disuse. Those who are familiar with even a bit of the study of the laws of statutes and canons, or of the law of nature, place their knowledge into the service of ambition.[95]

This passage is preceded by a discussion of the failings of the knighthood, which concludes by emphasising the need for examination of the motivation and conscience of knights wishing to crusade, again indicating the text was aimed at those preaching to and discussing crusade with knights: '…much careful consideration is necessary, of which sins have the character of each knight been tainted, and why he seeks to undertake pilgrimage'.[96] Part of Ralph's purpose was to highlight, therefore, that clerics were not fit to undertake examination of knightly conscience, let alone preach earthly crusade for the remission of the same knights' sins. Its first three books, concerning warfare, kingship, and the city of Jerusalem, were designed to prompt these clerics to consider the deeper mystical symbolism of each, and to compare them with biblical precedents of journeys to better situate the idea of crusade within a divine plan. Book IV then confronts its reader with the sinful and

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[90] Boyle, 'Inter-Conciliar Period', pp. 45-52.
[91] See in particular: *Decrees*, pp. 212, 220. Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council largely repeated earlier papal decrees about free education, but nevertheless helped improve schooling for poorer clerics. See: Summerlin, *Third Lateran Council*, pp. 65-6.
[92] Boyle, 'Manuals of Popular Theology', p. 33.
[93] Boyle, 'Inter-Conciliar Period', p. 56.
[94] Goering, *William de Montibus*, pp. 70-1.
[95] *De re militari*, p. 223: 'Non in omnibus omnino, sed ut in pluribus regnat confusio et morum remissio et oblivio virtutum et viget propago vitiorum. Elanguit enim omnis disciplina et artes abierunt in contemptum et maiores scientie velud in desuetudinem evanescunt. Si qui tamen modicum iuris legum aut canonum aut phisice agnoverunt, ad invertunt scientiam'.
[96] *Ibid.*: 'multa circumspectio necessaria est, in quibus peccatis cuiusque militis conditio illaqueata sit et quis questus sit, unde peregrinetur'.

corrupt society around him, questioning how earthly crusade could be justifiable when the sins of Christians everywhere so urgently required addressing.

De re militari would therefore be a useful text for other scholastically educated clerics operating as Ralph did during the 1170s and early 1180s, in the royal and other aristocratic courts from which the papacy hoped to draw its crusading knights. In this regard it can be compared with the much more popular *Arte praedicatoria* of Alan of Lille. Alan, a theologian teaching at Paris and later Montpellier, divided theology into two kinds: *theologia rationalis* (rational or theoretical theology), and *theologia moralis* (moral or practical) theology.[97] The two kinds of theology can be respectively described as the theoretical study of the subject, and its practical application to leading a virtuous Christian life.[98] The latter category, into which the *Arte praedicatoria* can be placed, was in Alan's own words, 'concerned with behaviour' (*que circa mores*).[99] Widely copied and circulated, its influence was such that it gave its name to the *ars praedicandi*, a genre of preaching handbooks that flourished in the first two decades of the thirteenth century following the Fourth Lateran Council and continued in popularity well into the early modern period.[100] Prior to the Inter-Conciliar period, the main authoritative works concerning preaching were Book IV of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, which sought to ground Ciceronian rhetoric in Scripture, and Gregory the Great's highly influential *Regula pastoralis*.[101] Alan of Lille was clearly aware of the lack of contemporary works concerning how preaching should be undertaken:

> Few, indeed, have said up to now about preaching: its nature, by whom and to whom it should be delivered, on what subjects and in what manner, at what time or in what place. We have thought it worthy to compose a treatise on this subject, for the edification of our neighbours.[102]

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[97] This division of theoretical and practical was derived from the same Aristotelian division of philosophy transmitted through the translations of Boethius and Cassiodorus: Luscombe, 'Thought and Learning', p. 478.
[98] Evans, *Alan of Lille*, pp. 12-13.
[99] 'Traité d'Alain de Lille', p. 25.
[100] Phyllis B. Roberts, 'The *Ars praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon', in Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2002), p. 47. It was the earliest in a body of works derived from the study of rhetoric and the consideration of its more practical applications, see: Luscombe, 'Thought and Learning', p. 476. *Artes praedicandi* have been suggested as possibly circulating in the form of booklets containing selections from wider model sermon collections: D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), p. 78. See also: Marianne G. Briscoe, '*Artes praedicandi*', *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental,* 61 (1992), pp. 11-76.
[101] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De Doctrina Christiana: De Vera Religione*, ed. Klaus-D. Daur and Josef Martin, CCCM 32 (Turnhout, 1962), pp. 116-67.; Gregory the Great, *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, PL 77 col. 13-128.; Boyle, 'Inter-Conciliar Period', p. 47.; Evans, *Alan of Lille*, p. 1. Roberts, '*Ars Praedicandi*', pp. 43-4. Some collections of sermon material exist between these texts and the advent of Alan's *Arte praedicatoria*, e.g. Carolingian homily collections, vernacular homilies being created by Ælfric of Eynsham, and the simplified Latin *Florilegium* of Abbon de Saint-Germain, though the latter in particular appear more concerned with the poor Latinity of priests rather than the sermon content itself. See: D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 17-21.
[102] Alan of Lille, *Summa de Arte Praedicatoria*, PL 210, Col. 111: …de praedicatione vero, qualis esse debeat, et quorum, et quibus, proponenda sit, et de quo, et quomodo, et quando, et ubi; quia a paucis dicta sunt ad praesens dignum duximus de his aliquem compingere tractatum, ad utilitatem proximorum'. Other previous writers, most notably Rabanus Maurus and Guibert of Nogent, had touched on preaching, but not to the extent of Alan's work and in the form of sermons *ad status*. See Roberts, 'Ars Praedicandi', pp. 44-6.

Many of Alan's works began life as lectures, and as such evolved through various updates, expansions and abbreviations.[103] Some of his speculative theology, designed for scholastic audiences, could be complex, subtle, and obscure. His *Anticlaudianus* for example, an epic poem derived from Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia* and Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, described Prudence's journey to heaven to find a soul for the 'new man', as an allegory for the Christian life.[104] However, the *Arte praedicatoria* demonstrates that Alan could also summarise and divide doctrine simply into relevant categories for the utility of clerics and ultimately the edification of lay audiences.[105] In its concern with *sermones ad status*, the *Arte praedicatoria* demonstrates how the theology of the schools was being directed towards larger, more versatile, lay audiences.[106]

Knights comprised one of those audiences, and on preaching to knights Alan also encouraged promotion of the spiritual struggle, drawing parallels between knights' earthly service and their duty of spiritual service to Christ, performed through participation in spiritual warfare. Like Ralph, Alan draws on the long association between monasticism and spiritual warfare, albeit much more explicitly, citing to audiences of knights the example of the Desert Fathers, who 'wore the sword-belt of outward knighthood that they inwardly fought devotedly for God'.[107] He also condemns the practice of knighthood without an inner spiritual progress: 'The outward appearance of knighthood is the symbol of an inner knighthood, without which the outward is empty and vain'.[108] Notably, his advice for the preacher addressing knights is to encourage a spiritual arming. Earthly life is likened to an armed pilgrimage, much like crusade, during which the knight lives only in the 'tent of the flesh' (*in tabernaculo carnis*) and must be prepared to leave it at any time through dying.[109] He can only be suitably prepared, explains Alan, being spiritually armed:

> Let [the knight] be girt about with spiritual arms and provided with the armour of faith; let him be belted with the sword of the word of God, armed with the lance of charity let him put on the helmet of salvation. Armed with these, let him contend against the three-fold enemy: against the devil lest he seize him; against the world lest it reduce him; against the flesh lest he desire what is forbidden.[110]

Like Julian of Vézelay's sermon, and Book I of *De re militari*, Alan encourages the drawing of parallels between worldly military practice and spiritual struggle: 'while [knights] are bound in duty

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[103] Evans, *Alan of Lille*, p. viii.
[104] Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus sive officio viri boni et perfecti libri novem*, *PL* 210, cols. 481-576. English Translation: *Anticlaudianus or the Good and Perfect Man*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973).
[105] For more on *sermones ad status* see: Carolyn Muessig, 'Audience and Preacher: Ad Status Sermons and Social Classification', in Muessig, *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 255-76.
[106] Roberts, 'Ars Praedicandi', pp. 44-5.
[107] *PL* 210, col. 186A: 'sic exterius utebatur militae cingulo, quod interius devote militabat Deo'.
[108] Ibid., 'Militia enim exterior figura est interioris militae, et sine interiori, exterior est inanis est vacua'.
[109] Ibid., col. 0187A.
[110] *PL* 210, col. 187A: 'vestiatur spiritualibus armis, induatur lorica fidei, accingatur gladio verbi Dei, armetur lancea charitatis, assumat galeam salutis. His armatus, dimicet contra triplicem hostem: contra diabolum, ne rapiat; contra mundum, ne alliciat; contra carnem, ne illicita appetat'.

to exercise a bodily soldiery, all are bound by commandment to take up spiritual service…such should every man be in spirit as an earthly knight is in deed'.[111] Where *De re militari* seems to have drawn on *Similitudo militis* in its description of the horse as allegory for the body, Alan of Lille's mention of a lance of charity echoes the same in the *Sententiae* of Bernard of Clairvaux.[112] Concerning the knighthood, both *De re militari* and the *Arte praedicatoria* both encourage knights to examine their conduct and conscience through conceiving of the symbolism of their own arms. This is not aimed at knights directly within the works, but through the medium of the clergy who preached to and conversed with them. In this, they reflect the increased concern of the late twelfth century with better educating clerics for the care of souls. In both examples we see the spiritual knight, an allegory which emerged in the monastery, repurposed for the edification of its worldly counterpart. While the *Arte praedicatoria* is more explicitly practical in purpose, *De re militari* can be considered a wide-ranging thought exercise, interrogating the idea of crusade as appropriate penance through symbolic examination of the arms of the knights who fought it.

The Spiritual Knight and Arms Following the Fourth Lateran Council (c.1215–1250)

The Fourth Lateran Council's unprecedented focus on pastoral care, most notably the requirement for annual confession by all lay people, also continued the concerns from 1179 around clerical education. It decreed that priests should be educated 'in matters which are recognised as pertaining to the cure of souls', in addition to making annual confession a requirement of 'all the faithful of either sex' (*omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*).[113] The repurposing of spiritual warfare for the laity becomes more direct in sources from the thirteenth century. A direct instance of spiritual arming being recommended to a layperson comes from Robert Grosseteste's letter to Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.[114] Written in 1231 or 1232, when Grosseteste was archdeacon of Leicester and teaching the Franciscans at Oxford, it provides a glimpse into the form a direct educational relationship between a learned, scholastic cleric and a powerful knightly aristocrat might take. The letter describes the heavenly kingdom and advises the Marshal on how to attain it, namely through spiritual arming:

> And because it is unsafe for one to proceed unarmed along the way, where the most cruel thieves lie in ambush, put on the armour of justice, guard yourself with the shield of faith,

[111] *PL* 210, col. 186: 'cum quidam pro officio teneantur militiam exercere corporalem, omnes tenentur ex praecepto, militiam suscipere spiritualem … Talis debet esse quilibet homo in spiritu, qualis est materialis miles in actu'.
[112] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 18, 88. These are analysed in Chapter 3, pp. 117-8.
[113] *Decrees*, Vol. 1. pp. 240: 'praesertim informet quae ad curam animarum spectare noscuntur', 245.; Boyle, 'Manuals of Popular Theology', p. 30.
[114] The letter is numbered six in both Luard's edition and the translation by Mantello and Goering: *Epistolae*, pp. 38-41.; *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, trans. F. A. C. Mantello and Joseph Goering (Toronto, 2010), pp. 70-3.

> protect yourself with the helmet of salvation, gird yourself with the sword of the spirit, that is, the word of God'.[115]

The latter part of the arms described in the letter (armour, shield, helmet and sword) are taken largely unchanged from Ephesians 6. Nonetheless, in advising a knight to conceptualise moralised arms in preparation for spiritual struggle, Grosseteste worked along similar lines to those prescribed in the *Arte praedicatoria* for delivering sermons to knights. Furthermore, elements of a monastic influence are evident in Grosseteste's description of the allegorical horse. Prior to taking up the spiritual arms, the Marshal is told he should 'mount the horse of holy and heavenly desire' (*ascendatis equum sancti et caelestis desideria*).[116] The horse of 'desire' (*desiderium*), meaning the desire for Heaven, is a crucial component of two of Bernard's *Parabolae* which allegorise the soul's journey to Heaven as beginning by mounting the horse of desire.[117] Grosseteste also allegorises the spurs, saddle and bridle, which draw extensively on precedents found in *Similitudo militis* and in Bernard's writings.[118] Grosseteste's letter collection was highly popular in the Middle Ages, as were theological excerpts taken from it. Those letters within it must have made up only a fragment of what was a significant amount of correspondence. In their translations of the letters, Goering and Mantello concluded that around 1246 the collection was chosen, collated, and edited, possibly by Grosseteste himself.[119] Pastoral care is the overriding theme of the collection. Within it are letters to various stations of clergy and the secular nobility, which act as model letters for the exemplary practice of pastoral care encouraged in others by Grosseteste, much in the same way as the *Arte praedicatoria* provides model sermons.

While much *pastoralia* was designed for the educated clergy hearing confession and administering penance, texts of the thirteenth century were more likely to focus directly on lay usage, evident in the growth of new vernacular works in the decades following the Council.[120] The language of spiritual warfare is a recurring theme of the *Ancrene Wisse* Group. The author of *Ancrene Wisse* repeatedly employed militaristic metaphors and the chivalric language of romance to adapt Scriptural and monastic concepts of spiritual warfare, most notably the first known appearance of the 'Christ-knight' figure. Briefly summarised, *Ancrene Wisse*'s Christ-knight allegory likens the human soul to a hard-

[115] *Grosseteste Epistolae*, pp. 40-1: 'Et quia non est tutum per viam, qua insidiantur praedones atrocissimi, inermem incedere: induti sitis lorica iustitiae, muniti scuto fidei, protecti galea salutis, accincti gladio spiritus, quod est verbum Dei'.
[116] *Epistolae*, p. 40.
[117] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 263, 267-8.
[118] This is explored in much greater detail in Chapter 3, pp. 141-2.
[119] *Letters of Grosseteste*, pp. 5, 16-18.
[120] Boyle, 'Manuals of Popular Theology', pp. 31, 34-5.; Goering suggested that scholastically-educated *clerici*, rather than parish priests, were the initial intended audience of post-Lateran IV *pastoralia*: Goering, *William de Montibus*, pp. 59-65.

hearted woman who rejects the advances of a king, revealed to be Christ, who offers to suffer mortal wounds fighting off the lady's enemies in a tournament:

> And he, like a noble suitor, after numerous messengers and many acts of kindness came to prove his love, and showed by feats of arms that he was worthy of love, as was the custom of knights once upon a time. He entered the tournament and, like a bold knight, had his shield pierced through and through in battle for love of his dear lady.[121]

The Christ-knight has analogues in a number of later Paris sermons, which, along with *Ancrene Wisse*'s division into '*destinctiuns*', indicates the significant scholastic underpinnings of its composition. Bella Millett has suggested the Christ-knight in particular exploited 'its audience's uncomplicated pleasure in a familiar secular genre' to convey some of the work's core messages.[122] The very portrayal of Christ as a knight not only reflected the popularity and influence of romance, but also the reality of knightly social hegemony and the widespread force of chivalric culture by the thirteenth century.[123] However, Kaeuper has also noted the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux's writings on later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century portrayals of Christ as a knight, indicating Christ Himself could be thought of as a *miles Christi*, indeed the exemplar for all *milites Christi*.[124] Notably, the reference to Christ as a king is also made in Bernard's *Parabolae*.[125]

Much of the spiritual struggle described in *Ancrene Wisse* emphasises the imagery of defence and protection. The anchoress is encouraged to treat both her anchor house and her body as besieged castles, protecting her soul by not looking out at the world, while the taking up of a shield to protect herself is another recurring motif.[126] By contrast, the temptations which threaten the anchoress are often allegorised as weapons with sinful qualities. In Part Two, concerning guarding the senses, the devil's temptations are likened to arrows as in Ephesians 6:16. Explaining how temptation enters through the eyes, the author develops a psychomachian conflict between a personified Lechery and Chastity, where Lechery wields sinful weapons:

> Just as men fight with three kinds of weapon, with arrows and with the point of the spear and with the edge of the sword, so with the same weapons, that is, with the arrows of the eye, with the spear of wounding words, with the sword of fatal touching, Lechery, the stinking whore, wages war against the lady Chastity, who is God's spouse.[127]

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[121] *AW*, p. 147: 'Ant he, as noble wohere, efter monie messagers ant feole goddeden com to pruuien his luue, ant schawde þirj cnihtschipe þet he wes luuewurðe, as weren sumhwile cnihtes inwunet to donne. Dude him i turneiment, ant hefde for his leoues luue his scheld i feht, as kene cniht, on euche half iþurlet'.
[122] Millett, 'Introduction', p. xxxvii.
[123] Crouch, *Chivalric Turn*, p. 295.
[124] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 124.
[125] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 263.
[126] On the shield in *Ancrene Wisse* see Chapter 2, pp. 90, 93. On castle and siege imagery, see Chapter 4, pp 153-64, 174.
[127] *AW*, p. 24: 'Alswa ase men worreð mid þreo cunes wepnes, wið scheotung ant wið speres ord and wið sweordes, al richt wið þilke wepnen, þet is, wið schute of eche, wið spere wundn word, wið sweord of deadlich hond, werreð Lecherie, þe stinkinde hore, upon þe lauedi Chastete, þet is Godes spuse'.

The *Arte praedicatoria* chapter on preaching against lust offers a clear analogue and influence for this battle between Lechery and Chastity. Lust's assault on Chastity in the *Arte praedicatoria* occurs in the same order: sight, speech, and touch. 'And so lust with its arms attacks chastity. These arms are: appearance and address, touch and kiss and deed'.[128] The same passage also influenced *Hali Meithhad*, an early thirteenth-century English tract on virginity lexically and topically related to *Ancrene Wisse*.[129] There, the militarised allegorisation of sight, speech, and touch also occurs, and in the same order:

Figure 3: Dominican Receiving Scroll from Christ. British Library Harley MS 3244, f. 27r

[128] *PL* 210, col. 122: 'sicque castitatem expugnat armis suis luxuria, quae sunt visus et alloquium, contactus et oscula, factum'.
[129] On the purpose, dating, and audience of the text, see: *Katherine Group*, pp. 7-9, 19. On the lexical relation to *Ancrene Wisse* see: Janet Bately, 'On Some Aspects of the Vocabulary of the West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages: The Language of the Katherine Group', in Edward Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron and Joseph S. Wittig (eds.), *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane* (Wolfeboro, 1988), pp. 67-77; Cecily Clark, 'Ancrene Wisse and the Katherine Group: A Lexical Divergence', *Neophilologus*, 50 (1966), pp. 117-23.

> Lechery wages war upon Maidenhood in this way with the help of fleshly will; her first help is sight. If you look often and intently on any man, right away Lechery readies herself to wage war on your maidenhood, and she first advances on her face to face. Speech is her other help … The fourth help to besmear and mar Maidenhood is indecent touching. Guard her then, for if you then handle each other improperly in any place, then Lechery smites upon the might of Maidenhood and wounds her terribly.[130]

As with *Ancrene Wisse,* the prescribed defence is behavioural: 'lust is to be put to flight by fleeing and slain by retreating'.[131] Flight is advised for the avoidance of lustful impulses in other works, impulses leading to the most dangerous sins. Fleeing the mortal sins represented by siege engine shots in *De re militari* is similarly recommended: 'The greatest sins, therefore, are to be fled from by any strong man. Whence: 'fly fornication' (1 Corinthians 6:8)'.[132] The prudence of fleeing lust has already been noted in the New Man's 'Parthian' defeat of Venus in Book IX of *Anticlaudianus*, where, as in *Arte praedicatoria*, victory over lust is achieved by flight:

> While [the New Man] flees, he puts to flight; while he gives away, he has his way, while he is falling he is rising; he conquers while he is being conquered; he has courage while he fears; he wins the battle while he is leaving the field; though absent, he exerts pressure; though anticipated in the attack, he gets ahead of the enemy.[133]

The similarity between these texts' treatment of lust need not imply anything concerning Alan of Lille's potential influence over these English works. *Hali Meithhad* also drew on Hildebert of Lavardin's letter to the recluse Athalisa and a long tradition of patristic commentary on virginity; *Ancrene Wisse* was influenced strongly by Aelred of Rievaulx's rule written for his sister, and was also rooted in patristic material, particularly *Moralia in Iob*.[134] Nonetheless, the clear similarity of the psychomachian scenes occurring in the works of Alan of Lille, *Ancrene Wisse*, and *Hali Meithhad* does further demonstrate the scholastic influence on thirteenth-century sources describing spiritual warfare for lay audiences. The *Ancrene Wisse* Group also conflate the language of biblical spiritual warfare with the psychomachian tradition of personified, battling vices, offering the laity spiritual defences through behavioural prescriptions.

As mentioned in the Introduction, *Ancrene Wisse* itself is believed to be of Dominican authorship, not least given its favourable opinion of mendicants compared to other clergy, as expressed in the text itself.[135] The knight illustration from Harley MS 3244 also occurs in a book almost certainly designed

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[130] 'Hali Meiðhad', p. 8: 'Leccherie o meiðhad, wið help of fleschlich wil, weorreð o þis wise. Hire forme fulst is sihðe: ȝef þu bihaldest ofte ant stikelunge on ei mon, leccherie ananriht greiðeð hire wið þet to weorrin o þi meiðhad, ant secheð earst upon hire nebbe to nebbe. Speche is hire oþer help … Þe feorðe fulst to bismere, ant to mer 'r'en meiðhad, þet is unhende felunge. Wite hire þenne; for ȝef ȝe þenne hondlið ow in ei stude untuliche, þenne smit leccherie o þe mihte of meiðhad and wundeð hire sare'.

[131] *PL* 210, col. 122: 'sic fugiendo fuganda est luxuria, et recedendo caedenda'.

[132] *De re militari*, p. 106: 'Sunt igitur maxima peccata a quantumlibet forti viro fugienda. Unde: 'Fugite fornicationem''.

[133] *PL* 210, col. 571A-571C 'Dum fugit, ergo fugat; dum cedit, ceditur illi / Dum cadit, erigitur; vincit, dum vincitur; audit / Dum timet; expugnat, dum pugnam deserit; absens / Instat et in bello preventus, prevenit hostem'.

[134] Bella Millett, 'Introduction' to *Hali Meiðhad*, pp. xxiv-xxv.; Millett, 'Introduction' to *AW*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

[135] *AW*, p. 28. The reader is also referred to the concise discussion of authorship in *Guide for Anchoresses*, pp. ix-xxxvii.

for clerical (and specifically Dominican) use. The bi-folio depicting the knight follows a single full-page illustration of a Dominican kneeling before Christ (Figure 3, above), a scroll between them revealing a passage from Ecclesiasticus 2:1: 'Son, when you come into the service of God, prepare yourself for temptation' (*Fili accedens ad servitutem Dei praepara te ad temptationem*). [136]

Most of the codex's content has been dated to between 1235 and 1255, probably towards the end of this range.[137] The texts collected within are largely concerned with virtue and vice, penance, and pastoral care.[138] Though the image appears at ff. 27v-28r in its current binding, Diane Heath's analysis indicated the quires have been somewhat re-ordered, and the scene originally formed the collection's opening images.[139] Although Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis* immediately follows the scene in the book's current order, it would have been difficult to render visually. As such, the battle scene between the knight and the vices does not appear to be based on the *Summa*. Instead, elements of the scene mirror the virtues, vices, and gifts of the Holy Spirit as described in Alan of Lille's *Tractatus de virtutibus et de donis spiritus sancti* (henceforth *Tractatus*).[140] The image's division and subdivision of sins closely follows Alan's treatise, and evidence of missing quires suggests that a copy of the *Tractatus* was likely to have been originally included in the book.[141] The entire scene also forms an early example of a septenary, a mnemonic learning tool utilising sets of sevens. Septenaries became more widely popularised in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council's decrees in 1215, which sought to ensure standards of education in basic articles of faith.[142] However, in addition to the seven deadly sins, seven gifts of the holy spirit, seven virtues and seven beatitudes, the MS 3244 image labels seven pieces of the knight's equipment and seven parts of the horse with particular qualities (Table 1).[143]

As a septenary, the image also served as a visual reminder of many of the tenets of spiritual warfare. Virtuous practices that help combat vice in the manner described in *Similitudo militis* are largely represented by the labels assigned to the horse, including: discretion, Christian religion, humility,

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[136] British Library Harley MS 3244, f. 27r. While the kneeling cleric may possibly represent an Augustinian canon, the book's dating and its focus on pastoral matters of preaching, confession, and penitence all strongly suggest a Dominican provenance.

[137] Evans, 'Illustrated Fragment, pp. 41-2: The inclusion of William Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis* offers the earliest possible date of 1235, while Evans noted the many similarities between the elephant found in the book's bestiary and those found in Matthew Paris's drawings of Henry III's elephant made in 1255.

[138] The works include: Willam Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis*, Clement of Llanthony's *De sex alis cherubim*¸ Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei,* various works by or ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux, and a bestiary. For the full list of works and the putative original order of quires, see: Heath, 'Theological Miscellany', pp. 15-16.

[139] Heath, 'Theological Miscellany', pp. 15-16.

[140] 'Le Traité d'Alain de Lille Sur les Vertus, les Vices et les Dons du Saint-Esprit', ed. Odon Lottin, *Mediaeval Studies,* 12 (1950), pp. 25-56, and particularly 40-7 on the division of vices and their opposition to particular virtues.

[141] Heath, 'Theological Miscellany', pp. 18, 36.

[142] Later septenaries often took the shape of a disc or wheel; an excellent example occurs in the early fourteenth-century Psalter of Robert de Lisle, BL Arundel MS 83 (II), f. 129v.; Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1350* (London, 2004), pp. 179-81.; On the Fourth Lateran Council's concern with ensuring a literate clergy, see Canon 11 of the Council's decrees, which reiterated Canon 18 of the previous council: *Decrees,* pp. 220, 240. See also: Boyle, 'Manuals of Popular Theology', pp. 30-43.

[143] The seven parts of the shield are also labelled: the three corners, three sides, and the centre: Heath, 'Theological Miscellany', p. 18.

discipline, and the proposition and performance of good deeds (*discretio*, *christiana religio*, *humilitas*, *discipline*, *propositum boni operis*, *bonum opus*). The knight's labels are more closely aligned with virtues and spiritual qualities: charity, faith, hope, perseverance, and, of course, the word of God. The cleric had to both promote and exemplify all of these to succeed and inspire others in spiritual warfare. As such, the image provided a visual reminder of the various texts that it drew on, which the learned clerical reader could then reference in the creation of sermons. Heath has suggested that this septenary was for clerical meditation; the knight, armed with and protected by faith and virtue, represented the cleric's preparation to battle his own bodily impulses, represented by the rows of vices.[144] A meditative purpose undoubtedly constitutes one element of the illustration's utility, given the amount of monastic sources the image drew on. The extension of the duty of spiritual warfare to other Christians did not exclude clerics; mendicant preachers undoubtedly thought of themselves as *milites Christi* just as monastic thinkers had done for centuries, and the inherited beliefs and language around spiritual struggle remained as pertinent as ever. The final component of the Harleian knight's equipment is a crown, labelled 'legitimacy' (*legitimata*), and being bestowed from above by an angel, a reference to 2 Timothy 2:5: 'For he that also strives for the mastery is not crowned except he strive lawfully'.[145] Whether to a contemplative cleric or a preacher seeking sermon inspiration, the crowning of the spiritual knight served as a timely reminder that there were no shortcuts to victory in the battle against temptation and vice.

The Ambiguity of the Knight in Clerical Thought

While it is clear from the above study that the mounted knight came to represent the *miles Christi* in texts concerning spiritual warfare during this period, this idealised view was frequently tempered by observations of the sinful ways of worldly knights. Possibly the most severe of these was Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis's (d.1151) description of Thomas of Marle, 'the vilest of men and a plague to God and men alike'.[146] Thomas's manyfold sins included capturing merchants, despoiling and seizing ecclesiastical lands and property, and using this ill-gotten wealth to fortify castles.[147] In all of this, Suger claimed, Thomas was entirely unrepentant, even on his deathbed where his neck was broken by God when attempting to receive the Eucharist: 'it seemed that the Lord Jesus would in no way allow himself to enter this most contaminated vessel of a man'.[148] Confusingly, such observations could come from the same authors who upheld the knight as an ideal allegory for the spiritual warrior.

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[144] Heath, 'Theological Miscellany', pp. 23-4.
[145] 'Nam et qui certat in agone, non coronatur nisi legitime certaverit'.
[146] *Vie de Louis VI le gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1929), p. 30: 'hominem perditissimum, Deo et hominibus infestum'.
[147] *Louis VI*, pp. 30-4, 172-8, 250-6.
[148] *Louis VI*, p. 254: 'sicut si ipse dominus Iesus miserrimum vas hominis minime penitentis nullo modo ingredi sustineret'.

Despite his allegorisation of the knightly arms and horse as virtuous qualities and desires in his *Sententiae* and *Parabolae*, Bernard of Clairvaux was scathing of the worldly knighthood at other times. In his tract in praise of the Templars, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae* ('Book to the Knights of the Temple in Praise of the New Knighthood', hereafter *De laude*), Bernard contrasted the excellence of the Templars with the worldly, sinful excesses of the secular knighthood. The Templars fought what Bernard called 'a twofold combat, against flesh and blood and against spiritual hosts of evil in the heavens', phrasing borrowing heavily from Ephesians 6:12.[149] By contrast, the 'worldly knight' (*militiam saecularem*) risked both body and soul whenever he went out to fight, which he did so 'to no purpose save death and sin' (*nullis, nisi aut mortis, aut criminis*).[150] *De laude* also highlighted what Bernard perceived as the excesses of a secular knightly culture and sought to contrast these with the more desirable qualities exhibited by the Templars. The latter are praised for their austerity, discipline, and obedience, while the worldly knights are full of self-serving vice.[151] In battle, Bernard opined, they were 'fighting not for God, but for the devil'.[152] The Templars, by contrast, armed themselves only with steel and faith rather than gold, and abstained from games, hunting, and other courtly entertainments.[153]

In a similar way, despite upholding the spiritual knight as an exemplary figure, whose conduct could be achieved through contemplation of worldly arms' symbolism, Ralph Niger was highly critical of the knightly culture he was so familiar with. He claimed, for example, that knights were 'ignorant of both human and divine law' (*humani quam divini iuris ignari*).[154] In Book IV he revisits his attacks on the sinfulness of the knighthood:

> This class is entangled in all sorts of vice, like injustices and lying follies (Psalm 39:5). Through the opulence of the clothes and the arms they wear, they have indeed committed their entire patrimony to sin … They chase after vanities and focus all their attention and effort on empty praise.[155]

Ralph also criticises the knightly pastime of tournaments, the inventors of which entertainment are said to have 'devised great wickedness, so that war was waged during peacetime, complete with all manner of deceit and iniquity'.[156] His strongest criticisms are reserved for their bodily lusts: 'What is

[149] *SBO*, 3., p. 214: 'qua gemino pariter conflictu … adversus carnem et sanguinem, tum contra spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus'.
[150] *Ibid*., 3., pp. 215-6.
[151] *Ibid*., pp. 216, 219-20
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 219: 'non plane Deo, sed diabolo militantium'.
[153] *Ibid*., p. 220-1.
[154] *De re militari*, p. 93.
[155] *De re militari*, p. 222: 'Sed et hoc genus hominum illigatur multiplici vitio, iniuriam et falsarum insaniarum. Quippe luxu apparatus vestium et armorum totum etiam patrimonium construserunt in peccatum … Inanitates quoque aucupant et in vanam laudem totam attentionem et vires suas complicant'. (Translation from Cotts, *On Warfare*, p. 184).
[156] Ibid: 'multam malitiam contexuerunt, ut in pace bellum ageretur omni dolo et iniquitate refertum'.

more foul than the lust of those who hardly refrain from sex at all, and do not blush to pollute anyone's chastity? They consider adultery and fornication to be the subject of praise'.[157]

Alan of Lille is likewise highly critical of earthly knights' conduct in his *ad status* sermon to knights in *Arte praedicatoria*. Like Bernard of Clairvaux, Alan contrasts the ideal of knighthood being to protect the Church and the poor, against the worldly reality of knightly practices which often preys on those they are meant to protect:

> For this especially were knights ordained, that they should defend their native land and repel the attacks of the violent against the Church … Now they engage not in knighthood, but in plundering, and under the guise of knights they take on the cruel nature of robbers … those whom they should defend with the sword of knightly protection, they persecute with the sword of savagery … Into the heart of mother Church they thrust their swords, and they turn the force which they ought to expend against their enemy upon their own people … against the unwarlike servants of Christ they vent their rage with swords.[158]

The depictions of secular knights in these texts offer a stark contrast to the ideals of virtuous conduct allegorised in the figure of the knight as *miles Christi*. Indeed, in the case of Ralph Niger and Alan of Lille, criticism of knights come within the very same texts that uphold knightly arms and practices as metaphors for spiritual virtue. This calls into question why knights and their military panoply might be pressed into service as allegories for what clerics saw as the higher purpose of spiritual soldiery. It is a difficult question to answer. The paradox of setting the knight as a model for spiritual ideals seemingly existed alongside vehement criticism of their worldly conduct without any tension. However, it is noteworthy that the criticisms offered are also presented alongside a solution in each of the instances here. In *De re miltiari* and *Arte praedicatoria* this is examination of conscience, and reformed, virtuous behaviour more fitting of the knightly ideal. In *De laude*, the Templars offer an ideal of knighthood which is more in line with Bernard's monastic outlook, promoting order, discipline, and rejection of the worldly ways of secular knights.

Interestingly, the Prose *Lancelot*, roughly contemporaneous with the *Arte praedicatoria*, presents the same ideals of knighthood by means of a symbolic discussion of arms. The knights' duties to protect the Church and the poor are emphasised, mirroring the exact things Alan of Lille and Ralph Niger claim are the worldly knighthood's failings. Though not spiritual arms in that they do not represent virtues, they nonetheless encourage behaviours consistent with a clerical knightly ideal. The shield, for example, signified that the knight should stand between the Church and 'all evildoers, whether

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[157] *De re militari*, p. 223: 'Quid eorum libidine fedius, qui ex multa parte nulli sexui parcent, nullius pudicitie castimoniam contaminare reverentur aut erubescunt? Adulterium et fornicationem pro laude recolunt'. (Translation from Cotts, *On Warfare*, p. 184).

[158] *PL* 210, cols. 186B-186C: 'Ad hoc specialiter instituti sunt milites, ut patriam suam defendant, et ut repellant ab Ecclesia violentorum iniurias … nec iam exercent militiam, sed rapinam, et sub specie militis, assumunt crudelitatem praedonis … et quos debent tueri clypeo militaris muniminis, persequuntur gladio feritatis … In viscera matris Ecclesiae acuunt gladios, et vim quam debent in hostes expendere, expendunt in suos; hostes autem suos … in Christi famulos imbelles, cogunt gladios desaevire'.

robbers or pagans' (*toz maxfaitors, o soient robeor o mescreant*).[159] The hauberk and helmet carried similar signification:

> The hauberk which the knight wears, and which protects him all over, signifies that in the same way the Holy Church should be enclosed and surrounded by the knight's defence … The helm which the knight has on his head, and which can be seen above all the other armour, signifies that in the same way the knight should be seen before all others to oppose those who wish to harm or do evil to the Holy Church.[160]

Other items seem to dictate the knight's 'proper' place and role in society; below clerics, above the other laity, yet duty bound to protect both. The sword's two edges signified the knight's duty to 'strike those who are enemies of our Lord … and take vengeance on those who are destroyers of the human company'.[161] The point of the sword signified obedience, 'because all men should obey the knight'.[162] Similarly, the Lady of the Lake's description of the horse signified the people, who 'should carry the knight in every need' and 'find and obtain everything he needs to live honourably, because he guards and protects them, night and day'.[163] The twin duties of the knight, allegorised as the sword's edges and as the horse, are the same failings expressed by Alan of Lille and Ralph Niger in their criticisms of the knighthood.

The seeming paradox in clerical perceptions of knights was not restricted to texts. In visual art of this period, figures representing both good and evil were represented as knights. They acted as recognisable and contemporary symbols, demonstrating and reinforcing ecclesiastical prescriptions of exemplary knightly behaviour. The knight operated as an ambiguous symbol, being utilised to represent concepts and persons both virtuous and sinful. Twelfth-century illustrations and church sculptures depicting, for instance, Goliath as a knight, were offset by the similar portrayal of his nemesis, the Old Testament king David (Figures 4 and 5).[164] At the same time, depictions of the battling virtues and vices in *Psychomachia* illustrations underwent a shift from their traditional, late-Roman style depiction as armed women, towards more ambiguous and then more clearly masculine gendering. In the later twelfth-century *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsburg, only the virtues' and vices' long skirts hint at any femininity, being otherwise entirely enclosed in armour.[165] By the

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[159] *Lancelot du Lac,* Vol 1., p. 143. This theme is explored in analysis of the shield in Chapter 2, pp. 78-91.
[160] *Lancelot du Lac*, Vol 1., p. 143: 'Li hauberz dont li chevaliers est vestuz et garantiz de totes parz, senefie que autresin doit Sainte Eglise estre close et aironee de la desfense au chevalier … Li hiaumes que li chevaliers a el chief qui desus totes les armes est paranz, si senefie que autresins doit paroir li chevaliers avant totes autres genz encontre cels qui voudront nuire a Sainte Eglise ne faire mal'.
[161] *Lancelot du Lac*, Vol 1., p. 144: 'ferir sor cels qui sont anemi Nostre Seignor … et li autres doit faire vanjance de cels qui sont depeceor de l'umaine compaigne'.
[162] *Lancelot du Lac*, Vol 1., p. 144: 'totes genz doivent obeïr au chevalier'.
[163] *Lancelot du Lac*, Vol 1., p. 144: 'doit porter lo chevalier en tel manière … querre et porchacier totes les choses dont il a mestier a vivre honoreement, por ce qu'il lo garde et garantist et nuit et jor'.
[164] J.J.G. Alexander, 'Ideological Representation of Military Combat in Anglo-Norman Art', in Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 15* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 19.
[165] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 10-11 and Plates 8a and 8b, pp. IV-V. The manuscript containing the *Hortus* was destroyed in 1870, though drawings of its content are still extant.

thirteenth century, images like the victory of Humility over Pride depicted in the Trier *Speculum virginum* of c.1200 (Figure 6) similarly depicts both virtue and vice as battling knights on foot.[166] Illustrations depicting Thomas Becket's murder utilised iconographic tropes from *Psychomachia* to reflect the murder's spiritual implications. The common inclusion of a knight's sword breaking over Becket's head alluded to Anger's futile attack against Patience in the *Psychomachia*, Anger's broken sword symbolising the similar futility of knightly fury if directed against the Church.[167] Pride was another sin to whom the knight was frequently likened. One sermon of Peter of Celle personified Pride as both knight and enemy of the church: 'he who rides horses … Pride, whose armour is impenetrable, whose spear is sharp, whose saddle is flexible … whose shield is marvellously painted'.[168] This change in depicting psychomachian scenes indicated that knights had become the 'go-to' visual symbols for portraying combat, while their portrayal as both virtues and vices similarly reflect their ambiguous position and symbolic utility in clerical thought.

Figure 4: David and Goliath, Morgan Ms M.619, single leaf

[166] On the manuscript fragment from which Figure 4 derives, see: Helmar Härtel (ed.), *Handschriften des Kestner-Museums Zu Hannover* (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 104-5.
[167] Amy Jeffs, 'Anger's Broken Sword: Prudentius' Psychomachia and the Iconography of Becket's Martyrdom', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 173 (2020), pp. 26-38.
[168] Peter of Celle, *Sermo XVI: Dominica Prima Quadragesimae*, PL 202 col. 0685C: 'illa, quae ambulat in equis ... superbia, cujus lorica impenetrabilis, cujus hasta penetrabilis, cujus sella variabilis ... cujus scutum mirabiliter depictum'.

Figure 5: King David defeats the Philistines, Morgan MS M.638 f. 39r

Figure 6: 'Victory of Humility Over Pride', Trier Jungfraenspiegel (Speculum virginum), Hanover, Kestner Museum

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has traced the evolution of the concept of spiritual warfare and spiritual arms from biblical and patristic sources through to its articulation in the twelfth and thirteenth century. The three-fold enemy of the flesh, the world, and the devil became central to the Christian understanding of spiritual combat, not least through the influence of Augustine's exegesis. The militarisation and masculinisation of spiritual struggle came especially through early monastic traditions, and was popularised across Latin Christendom during this period through the Benedictine form monasticism. During the early twelfth century, the figure of the mounted knight rather suddenly emerged in 'new' monastic spiritual warfare allegories, adding new dimensions to the metaphor of the *miles Christi*. This transition reflected broader societal changes, including the impact of the First Crusade and increased monastic recruitment from knightly families.

The knightly allegory then reappears in scholastically authored texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The detailed allegory of Ralph Niger's *De re militari*, and the widely popular *ad status* sermons of Alan of Lille's *Arte praedicatoria* promoted the examination of conscience and encouraged preachers to promote a more spiritual ideal to the knights to which they preached. Considered in the wider context of the shift towards preaching and pastoral care that started in the late twelfth century and accelerated significantly after 1215, these works demonstrate how the allegorical knight and his arms became a versatile tool for both preaching and moral instruction. This is further evident in the pastoral context of the appearance of knightly and wider warfare allegories in Grosseteste's letter to Richard Marshal and in the imagery deployed in the *Ancrene Wisse Group*. Despite this, an inherent paradox is apparent between the clerical use of the knight as symbolising the ideal spiritual warrior, while simultaneously critiquing the conduct of the worldly knighthood. Evident in both texts and religious art, this seemingly paradoxical symbolism suggests the knight operated within the clerical imagination as both a symbol of virtue and a cautionary figure, but in all cases associated only with portrayals of combat both worldly and spiritual. In texts, at least, the criticisms were often presented alongside a preferable ideal of conduct. In the case of Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude*, the Templars were promoted as a 'correct' form of knightly conduct, deliberately contrasted against the sinful behaviour of secular knights. For the texts associated with lay preaching, the solution offered was for knights to examine the conscience and atone for sin, promoting ideal behaviours through allegorisation of virtues as arms.

Chapter 2 – Armour, Helmet, Shield and Sword: The Scriptural Arms in Spiritual Warfare Texts c.1100–1250

The flexibility of meanings ascribed to the spiritual arms in scripture had been noted by Augustine in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*:

> Yet we see the apostle speaking in one place of the armour of faith, in another place of the shield of faith. The same faith, therefore, can be both armour and shield. It is a shield because it catches the darts of the enemy and turns them aside, but armour because it prevents your insides from being pierced.[1]

Some medieval treatises on the spiritual arms adopted a similar flexibility. For example, where Bernard of Clairvaux described a lance of charity (*caritas*) in his *Sententiae*, the Harley MS 3244 illustrator instead retained charity as a quality of the armour in accordance with 1 Thessalonians 5:8.[2] As will be seen, the sword of the Word of God and the helmet of salvation (or hope for the same) remained largely constant throughout several knightly arming allegories, while other pieces and their associated qualities changed or were omitted entirely. Despite the addition of the horse and lance to the spiritual arms in the twelfth century, the other arms of the spiritual warrior remained the same as those described in Ephesians 6: armour, helmet, shield, and sword. So too on the battlefield, where the four main moralised components of the spiritual arms were all still used by the mounted military elite of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This chapter explores the meanings ascribed to these arms in texts concerning spiritual arms c.1100–1250, examining their changing utility and meanings as they moved from the monastery to the purposes of lay preaching and pastoral care over the same period. In addition, it examines thematic connections between similar allegories employed in different texts, offering suggestions about how patristic and monastic ideas were repurposed for the laity in later works.

The Body Armour

Mail armour changed little over the course of the period, though the mail mittens and the mail leggings known as *chausses* appeared over the course of the twelfth century, covering the knight's limbs to their extremities.[3] However, there has been no small amount of scholarly disagreement concerning

[1] *Enarrationes*, Vol 1., p. 301: 'tamen ipsum apostolum videmus dixisse quodam loco, loricam fidei, et alio loco dixisse scutum fidei. Ergo ipsa fides, et lorica potest esse et scutum; scutum est, quia tela inimicorum excipit a repellit; lorica est, quia interiora tua transfigi non sinit'.
[2] *SBO*., 6.2., p. 88. This may also be a reference to John Cassian, *Conferences*, 7.V.5.
[3] Ian Peirce, 'The Knight, His Arms and Armour, c.1150–1250', in Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), Anglo-Norman Studies XV (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 251-4; Hanley, *War and Combat*, pp. 30-1; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 18-22; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 170.

the effectiveness of this mail against the weaponry it was designed to protect wearers from.[4] Such disagreements stem largely from the discrepancies among primary sources; different genres of medieval writing can provide conflicting evidence. On the one hand, a wide variety of sources point to the impressive protection offered by knightly armour. Discussing the Battle of Brémule in 1119, Orderic Vitalis claimed that in addition to the practice of sparing knightly opponents for ransom, the fact that the knights on both sides 'were all clad in iron' (*ferro enim undique vestiti erant*) meant that only three out of nine hundred knights involved in the conflict were killed.[5] According to Henry of Huntingdon, prior to the Battle of Northallerton (1138, also known as the Battle of the Standard), Ralph, Bishop of Orkney told the English knights of the invulnerability granted by their armour: 'Your head is covered by a helmet, your breast by a hauberk, your legs by *chausses*, your whole body by a shield. The enemy cannot find where to strike, you who are enclosed in iron'.[6] Evidence for the effectiveness of knightly armour comes from non-Western sources as well, with Byzantine and Arabic writers attesting to the defensive quality of crusading knights' armour.[7]

By contrast, descriptions of combat in *chansons de geste* are replete with vivid descriptions of armoured bodies being sliced through with tremendously powerful blows.[8] In the *Chanson de Roland*, the eponymous hero's first blow with a sword literally slices his opponent in half, cutting through a helmet, mail coif, mail-armoured body, and down through the horse's golden saddle to come to rest in the animal's spine.[9] A few lines later the same feat is repeated by Oliver.[10] In Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligès*, armour is useless against the lance and sword of Alexander, Cligès' father:

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[4] Phillipe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (London, 1985), p. 255, and Ian Peirce, 'The Knight, His Arms and Armour in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood I* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 157-8, both question the effectiveness of knightly mail armour, particularly in the earlier part of this period. Those in favour of a significant degree of invulnerability being bestowed by armour include: Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (London, 1996), pp. 26, 332.; J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages: From the Eighth Century to 1340*, 2nd edn., trans. Sumner Willard and S. C. M. Southern (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 61-3.; Ayton, 'Arms', pp. 186-208. The issue of understanding figures for knightly casualties is further complicated by the widespread practice of sparing knights for ransom rather than killing them during the period, for a discussion of which see: Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 153-8.

[5] *Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. 6., p. 240.

[6] Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), p. 714: 'Tegitur vobis galea caput, lorica pectus, ocreis crura, totumque clipeo corpus. Ubi feriat hostis non repperit quem ferro septum circumspicit'.

[7] Summarised at: Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 169.

[8] Some studies have suggested that the frequent depictions of violence within these genres did reflect the reality of combat, as they needed to possess enough verisimilitude to convince their audiences. See: Rachel E. Kellett, 'Guts, Gore and Glory: Representations of Wounds Inflicted in War in Medieval German Literature' and Helen L.M. Neat, 'Depictions of Violence in *Floriant et Florete*: Inter- and Inter-Textual Patterns', both in Lorna Bleach and Keira Borrill (eds.), *Battles and Bloodshed: The Medieval World at War* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2013), pp. 161-76 and 177-98 respectively. It is important to remember, however, that combat is intrinsic to chivalric literature as a form of entertainment, deliberately depicting combat scenes as vividly as possible. Jones, *Medieval Sword*, pp. 142-3; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 139-49.

[9] *La chanson de Roland*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Librairie Générale Française, 1990), ll. 1324-1334.

[10] *Roland*, ll. 1367-1375.

…There were many he killed
And maimed: like lightning burning
The air, he beat on whomever
He encountered. When his sword and his spear
Struck, neither shield nor breastplate
Could save them[11]

Some pictorial and chronicle evidence from the period similarly depict dismemberments and other grievous wounding where armour appears unable to provide any meaningful protection.[12]

One element of armour is discussed by almost no spiritual arming text is the padded or quilted armour worn beneath the mail hauberk, commonly known as an *aketon* or *gambeson*.[13] One extensive reconstructive experiment has suggested that a mail hauberk alone offered 'wholly inadequate protection' against arrows and other piercing blows, without the aid of a significant amount of padded or quilted material underneath.[14] The absence of mentions of padded armour of this kind in most of the spiritual arming texts explored here may be explained in part due to the prestige of the hauberk compared to the *gambeson*. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the hauberk had become one of the hallmark symbols of the mounted knight, while many infantry often wore only a *gambeson* and helmet.[15] The hauberk's synonymity with knightly identity was due in no small part to the prestige associated with its expense.[16] The absence may likewise be explained by the shortcomings of Latin compared to contemporary vernacular armour terminology during the period; the term *lorica* seemingly being used to describe both the body armour generally as well as, in some contexts, specifically the mail hauberk, or at times that *gambesons* were simply considered as part of the armour delineated by use of '*lorica*'.

However, there is no question in the spiritual arming texts of the protective efficacy of certain virtues against spiritual attacks. Virtues associated with biblical moralised armour were justice (Wisdom 5:19; Ephesians 6:14), faith and charity (both 1 Thessalonians 5:8). Exegesis of these biblical armours stressed the importance of the associated virtue, often providing an explanation of how the virtue was brought about by practice. In the *Similitudo militis*, the armour symbolises justice (*iustitia*), defined

[11] Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ed. and trans. (French) Charles Méla and Olivier Collet (Paris, 1994), ll. 1753-1757: 'Molt en ocist, molt en afole, / Car ausi com foudre qui vole / Envaïst touz cels qu'il requiert. / Qui de lance ou d'espee fiert / Nel garantist broine ne targe'.
[12] For collections of examples see: Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 86-7.; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare: The English Experience* (London, 1996), p. 30.
[13] The exception is Ralph Niger's *De re militari*, which discusses 'multi-layered linen and boiled leather [armour]' (*multiploi linea et corio cocto*): *De re militari*, p. 107.
[14] David Jones, 'Experimental Tests of Arrows Against Mail and Padding', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 18 (2020), pp. 143-172, quotation from p. 171.; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 174-5. For a description of the *gambeson* or *aketon* see Hanley, *War and Combat*, pp. 29-30.
[15] Hanley, *War and Combat*, p. 32.
[16] Katherine Allen Smith, 'Saints in Shining Armour: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, ca. 1050–1250', *Speculum*, 83 (2008), pp. 573-6.; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 24-5. On the skilled, time-consuming construction of mail see: E. Martin Burgess, 'The Mail-Maker's Technique', *Antiquaries Journal*, 33 (1953), pp. 48-55. On the expense associated with mail: France, *Western Warfare*, pp. 31-3.

as being 'brought about by good works' (*bonis operibus perficitur*).[17] These good works are themselves allegorised as the individual rings which make up the mail hauberk, an allegory which operates to illustrate the nature of justice as being the continuous practice of good works or deeds.[18] Good works here most likely refers to those described in the Rule of Benedict, placing the *Similitudo militis* definition of justice within an explicitly monastic context. The 'tools of good works' (*instrumenta bonorum operum*) are specified in the fourth chapter of the Rule of Benedict, and it would appear that in the monastic context of *Similitudo militis*'s composition it is these that are being referred to.[19]The list of these is extensive, but include core concepts of monastic life which can be aligned with ideas of spiritual warfare against the flesh and the world: 'Renounce yourself to follow Christ (Matthew 16:24; Luke 9:23). Punish your body (1 Corinthians 9:27), do not embrace pleasure, love fasting … Make yourself a stranger to the ways of the world, put nothing above the love of Christ'.[20]

A similar idea concerning the rings of mail is also expressed in the *Glossa ordinaria* on Ephesians 6:14: 'Armour is rightly compared to justice, because just as a hauberk is composed of many rings, so justice consists of many virtues'.[21] The good works that make up justice may also be an implicit reference to *imitatio Christi;* in *Moralia in Iob*, Gregory the Great had explained how human flesh, 'an instrument of sin' (*instrumentum culpae*), was transformed by Christ's incarnation into the armour of justice.[22] In this sense, putting on the armour of justice may have also operated as a metaphor for *imitatio Christi* for a reader familiar with the *Moralia*, encouraging them to overcome the sinful flesh by emulating the positive example offered by Christ.

One of the most widely-held conceptions of justice in medieval thought was 'to give each his due' (*sua cuique tribuens*), these virtuous acts constituted acting in a way that gives to all that which is their due; in other words, acting correctly. This concept arose in Cicero's *De inventione* and was expanded upon significantly by Augustine, becoming a key topic of debate in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century schools.[23] In this framework, any act could be interpreted as either just or unjust. To be just was to give God the worship he was due, to act within societal laws, and importantly for discussions of spiritual warfare, to render due contempt to the devil. In the monastic context, the performance of good works provided monks with spiritual protection against their three-fold enemy.

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[17] *Memorials,* p. 101.
[18] *Memorials,* p. 101.
[19] *Benedict,* pp. 32-6.
[20] *Benedict*, p. 32: 'Abnegare semetipsum sibi ut sequitur Christum. Corpus castigare, delicias non amplecti, ieiunium amare … Saeculi actibus se facere alienum, nihil amori Christi praeponere'.
[21] *Glossa ordinaria*, PL 113, col. 600B: 'Recte lorica iustitia comparatur, quia, sicut lorica multis circulis contexitur, ita iustitia multis virtutibus constat'.
[22] *Moralia,* 3.XVIII.33.
[23] Philippa Byrne, *Justice and Mercy: Moral Theology and the Exercise of Law in Twelfth-Century England* (Manchester, 2018), pp. 18-32. 'Justice as due' also appears in Anselm's *Cur Deus homo, Monologion, Proslogion,* and *De casu diaboli*. See: *Anselmi opera*, 1., pp. 30-1, 106-8, 246-7.

However, if these rightful and virtuous acts, cease to be continuous, then the spiritual armour of *Similitudo militis* is unable to provide protection:

> Therefore, he who interrupts justice puts on armour that is broken up. But such a soldier will by no means be able to fight strongly against the enemy. And so, in order that the soldier of Christ may manfully withstand the ancient enemy, he need keep the armour of justice inviolate; that is, let him strive unceasingly to continue in works of justice.[24]

The concept of justice as 'due' is also evident in one of Bernard's sermons composed for Advent.[25] The armour of justice makes an appearance in this sermon which likens earthly life to an imprisonment or an exile, the fate of all souls since the original sin of Adam. There, Bernard applies the metaphor to daily life in the monastery, to ensure that monks give to others that which is their due as part of the penance all humans suffer while awaiting redemption from original sin. Putting on the armour of justice is to protect the spirit by ensuring that monks conduct themselves rightly at all times:

> We must also put on the armour of justice. Armour protects a person in front and behind, from those on the right and those on the left. It is right to liken it to justice, which gives everyone what is theirs; for we have seniors before us, juniors behind us, friends on our right and enemies on our left. Let us give to all of them what belongs to them: obedience to seniors, instruction to juniors, cheerfulness to friends and patience to enemies.[26]

In another sermon, *De triplici custodia: manus, linguae et cordis* ('Concerning the Triple Custody of the Hand, the Tongue, and the Heart') Bernard similarly discusses the importance of proper living within the monastery, and how the monks are expected to hold to a higher standard of justice and purity than worldly people.[27] The *Similitudo militis* and Bernard's discussions of the armour of justice, therefore, emphasise the importance of justice for monastic audiences. Given that the armour is always the first piece of equipment put on in spiritual arming texts, in the monastic context discussions of the allegorical armour of justice indicate that acting rightly was considered the first part of monastic spiritual protection, giving God, man, and the devil that which was due to each.

Ralph Niger briefly mentions justice as one of the qualities of the armour in *De re militari*, noting that the spiritual armour is 'called either of faith or of justice'.[28] His discussion of the armour, however, focuses mostly on faith, noting that 'the reliable links of faith are woven by charity in a tunic without seam', the latter part of which references John 19:23, where the tunic of Jesus is taken

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[24] *Memorials*, p. 101: 'Qui ergo intermittit iustitiam, quasi interruptam induit loricam. Sed miles iste nequaquam poterit contra adversarium suum fortiter pugnare. Igitur ut miles Christi antique hosti viriliter resistat, loricam iustitiae involatam custodiat; id est sine intermissione operibus iustitiae studeat insistere'.
[25] *SBO*, 6.1, pp. 9-20.
[26] *SBO*, 6.1, p. 17: 'Induenda est etiam lorica iustitiae. Lorica ante et retro, a dextris et a sinistris protegit hominem, cui merito comparator iustitia, quae reddit unicuique quod suum est: habemus enim ante nos priores, post nos iuniores, a dextris amicos, a sinistris inimicos. Reddamus ergo singulis quod suum est, prioribus oboedientiam, iunioribus doctrinam, amicis laetitiam, inimicis patientiam'.
[27] *SBO*, 6.1, p. 150.
[28] *De re militari*, p. 100: 'que tum fidei tum iustitie dicitur'.

by the soldiers at the Crucifixion.[29] To 'put on' faith, visualised as a mail hauberk, therefore invited the reader to draw a mental connection with putting on the tunic of Jesus. Despite largely referencing faith rather than justice as its focus, Ralph's allegorical armour again invites parallels with Gregory's assertion that the human flesh became the armour of justice when inhabited by Christ, and so implies *imitatio Christi* as a means to protect one's soul with faith. It also reflects the idea presented by Cassian, that 'it is one and the same thing to say: 'put on the whole armour of God' and 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ'.[30]

Ralph also discusses the interconnected mail rings as an allegory for interconnected virtues, not indifferent to the way *Similitudo militis* and the *Glossa ordinaria* had the rings indicate the performance of good works:

> For the armour of faith, which is indeed a tunic without a seam, is interwoven all around with the virtues, and the virtues are all entwined together, so that whoever has one should be thought to have them all, and he who lacks one similarly lacks them all. And so it is true of the cardinal virtues: he who has one of them, also should have the other three related ones.[31]

Ralph's allegory, however, indicates a far more detailed understanding of how chainmail was constructed: 'For just as in the texture of our armour any piece interlocks four others, and thus is interlocked by four others, so it is with the cardinal virtues'.[32] Here Ralph demonstrates knowledge of the contemporary four-into-one method of constructing mail, which from c.600 to at least c.1250 invariably meant each ring being connected to two above and two below.[33] Though not mentioned individually, the four cardinal virtues of strength (*fortitudo*), prudence (*prudentia*), temperance (*temperantia*) and justice (*iustitia*) are associated with the four rings that join to protect the soul. Furthermore, the *De re militari* chapter on armour is immediately followed by one concerning the interconnected nature of the virtues and the writings of various patristic and medieval authorities for that proposition.[34]

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[29] *De re militari*, p. 100: 'quoniam articulorum fidei fida connexio media caritate contexitur in tunicam inconsutilem'.
[30] *PL* 26, cols. 543A-543B: '
[31] *De re militari*, p. 100: '…quia lorica fidei, que est tunica inconsutilis, virtutibus circumtexta est, quia virtutes sibi invicem connexe sunt adeo, ut omnis qui vel unam habet omnes alias pariter habere probetur, et qui una caruerit simul et omnibus careat. Et quidem de virtutibus cardinalibus ita verum est, ut qui unam earum habet, et tres reliquas habeat annexas.
[32] *De re militari*, p. 100: 'Sicut enim in textura nostre lorice quelibet macula quatuor excipit et a quatuor excipitur, ita est et in virtutibus cardinalibus, ut quelibet earum reliquas sibi habeat innexas'. Ralph also allegorises the interconnected virtues as comrades rushing to help one another in battle: Ibid., p. 116.
[33] On the construction of mail armour see: Cyril S. Smith, 'Methods of Making Chain Mail: A Metallographic Note', *Technology and Culture*, 1 (1960) pp. 60-7.; J. F. Finó, 'Notes sur la production du fer et la fabrication des armes en France au moyen-age', *Gladius*, 3 (1964), pp. 47-66.; Alan Williams, 'The Manufacture of Mail in Medieval Europe: A Technical Note', *Gladius*, 15 (1980), pp. 105-34.; Burgess, 'Mail Maker's Technique', pp. 48-55.; France, *Western Warfare*, pp. 30-8.
[34] *De re militari*, pp. 100-1.

Unlike other medieval spiritual arming texts, *De re militari* also ascribes moralisations to the mail *chausses* (*ocreis ferreis*). These are allegorised as 'deliberation and counsel' (*deliberatio et consilium*).[35] They are fitted over the feet and shins, themselves allegories for intentions and works, 'so that deliberation can inform intention and action can fruitfully draw on counsel'.[36] Acting without deliberation and counsel are then likened to a disorganised march, leaving individual knights vulnerable to enemy attacks, in the spiritual sense meaning temptation and vice. Ralph continues the allegory of armoured legs and feet to emphasise rightness of both intent and deed: 'fortify your feet and shins, that is, intentions and works, and keep them straight on the path, lest you dash your feet on a stone'.[37] That the deliberation and counsel recommended is implied as coming from religious sources is indicated by the encouragement of qualities perhaps more readily associated with the monastic life: 'Put on your *chausses* of deliberation and counsel and follow an angelic life through abstinence and obedience!'[38] Notably, abstinence, allegorised as a bridle, is an important component of restraining the body in *Similitudo militis*: 'By abstinence the inner man should restrain the lasciviousness of the outer [man], turning him here and there according to his will'.[39] The importance of being neither too strict nor too lax with abstinence is then allegorised as the two reins:

> What, then, should be understood not only by the [two] reins but also the two limbs of abstinence? For one is abstinence being too lax, the other being exceedingly strict. If the inner man unevenly holds on to the outer [man], that is, if he uses one [rein] more than the other, he will be unable to keep to the correct way.[40]

This idea of veering away from the correct way has echoes in Ralph Niger's discussion of the *chausses* of deliberation and counsel. However, Ralph only focuses on the perils of laxity in abstinence, rather than its excess. They who turn off to the path to the right are those who 'in prosperity bend to the love of worldly things'.[41] Ralph also counsels restraint of negative emotions, noting that 'declin[ing] to the left hand' (*declinat ad sinistram*) is giving rein to sadness (*tristitia*), anger (*ira*) and hatred (*odium*) in times of adversity.[42] By fitting (*adapta*) the *chausses* of deliberation and counsel to the 'feet and shins' (*pedes et tibias*) of intention and action, 'injustice will not rule over you, and you will march according to [God's] commandments'.[43] Ralph's focus on the dangers of laxity in abstinence, and the

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[35] *De re miitari*, pp. 99-100.
[36] *De re militari*, p. 99: '…ut intentionem informet deliberatio et actionem consilium confirmet'.
[37] *De re militari*, p. 99: 'muni pedes et tibias, videlicet intentiones et opera et eorum directiones in vita, ne offendas ad lapidem pedes tuos'. *Cf.* Psalms 90:12, Matthew 4:6, Luke 4:11.
[38] *De re militari*, p. 99: 'Calcia te caligas deliberationis et consilii et sequere vitam angelicam per abstinentiam et obedientiam!'
[39] *Memorials*, p. 99: 'Per abstinentiam namque debet interior homo exterioris lasciviam refrenare et eum secundum propriam voluntatem huc atque illuc flectere'. See also Chapter 3, pp. 124-8.
[40] *Memorials*, p. 99: 'Quid itaque per duo lora freni nisi duo membra abstinentiae debent intelligi? Alia namque abstinentia est nimium remissa, alia supra modum districta. Quae si inaequaliter interior homo exteriori indixerit, id est si unum plus quam alterum ei iniunxerit, nequaquam rectam viam tenere poterit'.
[41] *De re militari*, p. 99: 'qui in prosperis curvatur ad amorem temporalium'.
[42] *De re militari*, p. 99. *Cf.* Proverbs 4:27: 'Decline not to the right hand nor to the left; turn away thy foot from evil' (*Ne declines ad dexteram neque ad sinistram; averte pedem tuum a malo*).
[43] *De re militari*, p. 99: 'ut non dominetur in te iniustitia, et ut incedas in mandatis eius'.

perils of worldly living, echoes the same clerical criticisms of knightly worldliness that crop up in other writers and in Book IV of *De re militari*.

Ralph also allegorised the belts, straps, and ties that fastened the mail together and to the body, as the practices by which the justice and faith ascribed to the armour were maintained. In this, Ralph appears again to be drawing on his extensive experience of knightly combat, how knights' equipment functioned to fashion an allegory easily understood by his desired audience. The padded or quilted *gambeson* worn under the mail had waxed laces of string at what were known as the 'arming points', which were used to fasten the outer layer of metal armour.[44] As with the moralised *chausses* and other components of the armour, these are used to promote the importance of obedience and discipline, qualities perhaps more traditionally associated with monasticism. The ties and laces (*corrigiis et laqueis*), symbolised 'vow[s], by obedience, or by proper discipline'.[45] Tightened around the limbs, they represented directing those limbs towards 'the works of faith or justice with diligence and skill'.[46] Tightening the armour around 'the loins and flanks' (*renibus et illis*) protected against 'stirrings of lust' (*motus libidinis*).[47] Finally, ensuring the mouth and ears (*os et aures*) were tightly covered meant 'nothing can secretly enter and corrupt the soul, or otherwise harm or weaken it'.[48] As in *Similitudo militis*, injustice exposes the spiritual armour to harm, but Ralph also discusses the loss of the armour of faith, which is broken by transgressing any article of faith, and removed entirely 'when we apostasise by converting to Judaism or paganism'.[49] Damaging or otherwise loosening the fastenings, the discipline and obedience which secure the armour to the knight, weakens the protection of the virtues and allows faith or justice to be easily removed.[50] Loss of the *chausses* of counsel and deliberation means the knight 'rushes hither and thither into sin'.[51]

Bernard of Clairvaux, notably fluid in his application of allegory, also assigned other qualities to armour. In the *Sententiae*, Bernard likens the spiritually protective qualities of both humility and temperance to armour: 'humility as armour, which keeps safe the inner parts of the soul', and 'temperance, which moderates conduct and practices frugality, and which, like armour, covers the breast'.[52] Nonetheless, Bernard exhibits a preference for faith as armour in *De laude*. The Templars'

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[44] Rosemary Ascherl, 'The Technology of Chivalry in Reality and Romance', in Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches* (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 270.
[45] *De re militari*, p. 101: 'voto, sive obedientie vel alias cuilibet legitime discipline'.
[46] *De re militari*, p. 102: 'ad opera fidei vel iustitie sollerti cura inclinamus et studio diligenti applicamus'
[47] *De re militari*, p. 102. While *renibus* (from *renes*) usually refers to kidneys, they were thought to be placed in the loins or torso, so the word refers to loins in this instance.
[48] *De re militari*, p. 102: 'ne subintret quod animam inquinet vel alias ledat vel enervet'. This protection of the senses against outside influences is echoed in the instruction to the anchoress in *Ancrene Wisse*. See Chapter 4, pp. 154-5.
[49] *De re militari*, p. 113: 'cum apostatamus ad Iudaismum vel gentilitatem conversi'.
[50] *De re militari*, p. 113.
[51] *De re militari*, p. 114: 'passim irruit ad peccandum'.
[52] *SBO*, 6.2, p. 18: 'humilitati quasi loricam, quae conservet interiora praecordia'; and p. 53: 'mediocris et parca temperantia, quae est lorica et pectus tegit'.

faith protects their soul just as their armour protects their body: 'Truly a fearless knight and secure on every side is he whose soul is protected by the armour of faith, just as his body is protected by armour of steel'.[53] The Templars, armed 'internally with faith, externally with steel' (*intus fide, foris ferro*) are therefore implied to be better than worldly knights, whose bodies may be protected but without faith, are risking their souls.

Similar ideas are expressed in Alan of Lille's *Arte praedicatoria*, in passages concerning preaching to knights. In a chapter concerning tailoring the sermon towards different audiences, Alan advises 'let [knights] bear the outward arms of the world that they may be armed inwardly with the armour of faith'.[54] Shortly afterwards, Alan instructs those preaching to knights to put on spiritual arms, specifically protecting themselves with the armour of faith.[55] This expansion of spiritual arming, in this case with faith to protect the soul, is in line with the growing focus on pastoral care emerging from the schools in the late twelfth century. Alan explicitly calls for preachers to ensure all knights' souls be protected with the armour of faith, rather than just the Templars.

The Helmet

The helmet was a crucial piece of protective equipment for the knight, and its shape evolved significantly during the period c.1100–1250. This is most notably evident in the marked difference between knights depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry and those depicted in thirteenth-century art.[56] The nasal guards of eleventh-century helmets covered increasingly more of the face, culminating in the all-encompassing 'great helm' as seen in several thirteenth-century illustrations.[57] Helmets were often worn over a mail coif or hood, itself worn over a layer of padding. In combination, these layers protected effectively against cutting attacks to the head, though even the increased protection of the great helm could not protect entirely against blunt force injuries which could cause fatal brain damage.[58] Similarly, the vivid description of the mortal injury sustained by the Count of Perche at the Battle of Lincoln (1217), the sword point being forced through the eye slit of his helmet, serves as reminder that even a fully-covered face was not necessarily fully protected.[59]

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[53] *SBO*, 3, p. 214: 'Impavidus profecto miles, et omni ex partes secure, qui ut corpus ferri, sic animum fidei lorica induitur'.
[54] PL 210, col. 0185B: 'sic exterius gerant arma mundi, ut interius armentur lorica fidei'.
[55] PL 210, col. 0187A.
[56] David Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare Source Book, Volume 1: Warfare in Western Christendom* (London, 1995), pp. 134-5. France, *Western Warfare*, p. 16.
[57] Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 18; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 171; Peirce, 'The Knight, c.1150–1250', p. 261.
[58] For some contemporary examples of such injuries, see: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1998), p. 730.; *Orderic*, Vol. 6., pp. 232-4.
[59] *History of William Marshal*, Vol. 2., ll. 16738-16768.

Donning a helmet possessed visual significance, indicating the warrior's transition to a status of combat readiness. In the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Gerald of Wales associated the wearing of the helmet with the knight's lethal function: 'It is the knight's duty, clad in his helmet, to thirst for blood, to concentrate on killing, to plead his case with the sword alone, to show himself in all his actions an unyielding warrior, displaying a ferocity more than ordinarily brutal'.[60] Historical evidence that putting on the helmet signified readiness for combat also comes from the *L'Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal*. In its account of the Battle of Gisors in 1198, the French knights 'with their helmets on their heads' (*Les healmes es testes*) are identified as prepared for battle as they have their 'their helmets and aventails laced up' (*E laciez hielmes e ventailles*).[61] Similarly the bishop of Beauvais, captured wearing a helmet, is perceived as knightly combatant rather than cleric: 'It was not as a bishop that he was taken captive but as a knight of great reputation, fully armed and with his helmet laced'.[62]

The fear of injury engendered by forgetting to put a helmet on before combat further emphasises its defensive importance. Garin, in the epic *Garin le Loherenc* is shocked and horrified when his brother Begon sets off to join a battle without his helmet: 'What do you think you are doing, you madman, you devil? Can't you see your mortal enemies? You're not wearing a helm, they will make short work of you!'.[63] A similar sentiment is reflected in the historical account of the Battle of Lincoln in the *History of William Marshal*. A young servant gives a similar warning when the elderly Marshal almost forgets to put his helmet on: 'In God's name, my dear lord, wait for us; you haven't got your helmet on', to which the Marshal replies he 'nearly made a mistake' in his eagerness to enter the fray.[64]

The helmet's removal, whether voluntary or forced by an opponent, often signified the end of combat or unwillingness to fight. In *Le Bel Inconnu*, the protagonist removes an opponent's mail aventail 'and bared his head and face' (*le cief li disarme et la face*), forcing his surrender.[65] In a similar fashion in *Richars li Biaus*, Richard cuts the straps of an opponent's helm to expose his face, likewise resulting in a surrender.[66] In the *Roman d'Enéas*, Turnus removes his helmet to ask for mercy when defeated by Enéas.[67] This appears to reflect real-life practice; Roger of Wendover's account of a skirmish at

[60] *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. and trans. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), pp. 60-1.
[61] *History of William Marshal*, Vol. 1., ll. 7443, 7455.
[62] *History of William Marshal*, Vol. 2., ll. 11592-5.
[63] *Garin le Loherenc*, ed. Anne Iker-Gittleman, Vol 2. (Paris, 1996), ll. 8702-4: 'Que velx tu fere, enragiez, maufez vis? / Don ne vois tu tes mortex anemis? / N'as point de hiaume, il t'avront ja ocis!'.
[64] *History of William Marshal*, ii., ll. 16598-16604. '"Por Deu, atendez nos, beal sire; / vos n'avez pas vostre healme" … "Mes d'itant dui aveir mespris"'.
[65] Renaut de Bâgé, *Le Bel Inconnu (Li Biaus Descouneüs; The Fair Unknown)*, ed. Karen Fresco and trans. Colleen P. Donagher (Abingdon, 2020), ll. 1452-1453. The aventail was a smaller piece of mail attached to the helmet, which covered the bottom half of the face and the throat: Bradbury, *Medieval Warfare*, p. 252.
[66] *Richars li Biaus: Roman du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Anthony J. Holden (Paris, 1983), ll. 1224-42.
[67] *Le roman d'Enéas: édition critique d'après le manuscrit B.N. fr. 60*, ed. Aimé Petit, ll. 3316-3317.

Monmouth has Baldwin de Gynes trying to remove the rebel Richard Marshal's helmet mid-fight, so forcibly that blood poured from the Marshal's nose and mouth.[68] The next year, Roger relates, Richard de Burgh attempted the same against the Marshal in Ireland, and promptly had both hands lopped off with a sword.[69]

Despite its evident protective importance to those partaking in worldly melee, the helmet only receives relatively short discussions in the spiritual arming texts. This may be because there are only three instances of moralised helmets in the scriptural arms. The earliest of these is 'true judgement' (*iudicium certum*), a component of the arms put on by God along with the armour of justice in Wisdom 5:19. The other two occur in Ephesians 6:17 and 1 Thessalonians 5:8, the 'helmet of salvation' (*galeam salutis*) and 'helmet of the hope of salvation' (*galeam spem salutis*) respectively. Almost all mentions of the helmet in spiritual arming texts of the twelfth and thirteenth century utilise these latter two, with no mentions of the helmet from Wisdom. Much discussion of the helmets of salvation in the spiritual arming texts also include the head protected by the helmet, which is a key part of the helmet allegory. For example, in *Similitudo militis*, the head is 'the intention of the inner man' (*intentio ipsius interioris hominis*), which controls the inner man, or soul, in the same way as the head controls the movements of the limbs.[70] This intention precedes action, and so the helmet of 'blessed hope' (*beatam spem*) covers all intention with a hope for future salvation: 'when [the knight] intends to do anything good, he does so only from the hope of blessedness and eternal glory'.[71] A similar approach is utilised by Bernard of Clairvaux when discussing concerning the three virtues of patience, humility, and charity, which together preserve unity. Bernard makes the head part of the helmet allegory: '…the helm of salvation, which is hope, fortifying and protecting the head, that is, the principal part of reason'.[72] In another of the *Sententiae*, which explains four spiritual arms that all monks should possess, Bernard utilises a helmet allegory to illustrate how prudence and humility understanding protect the soul 'like a helmet covering the head' (*quasi galea et caput operit*).[73] In their discussions of the helmet of salvation, Bernard and the *Similitudo militis* essentially provide exegesis on the helmets from Ephesians and 1 Thessalonians, with the lesson being for their monastic readers to keep the hope for salvation in the forefront of their minds in all their actions, and to let that hope guide all their actions.

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[68] *RW*, iii., p. 62.
[69] Ibid., p. 85. Grabbing by the helmet appears to have also been a method of forcibly dismounting another knight; it is 'by the nasal of the helmet' (*per nasum galee*) that William the Conqueror pulled a knight of Maine from his horse to commandeer the animal for himself, see: *The Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow (Oxford, 1999), ll. 491-494).
[70] *Memorials*, p. 101.
[71] *Memorials*, p. 101: 'cum quidquid boni intendat agere, hoc solummodo facit ob spem beatae et perennis gloriae'.
[72] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 18: 'galeam salutis, quae est spes, caput, id est principale mentis, muniens et conservans'.
[73] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 53.

In *De re militari*, the helmet is referred to as 'faith in the highest Trinity' (*fidem summe trinitatis*).[74] This faith is fitted over the head 'when we ascribe to [God] our salvation' (*cum ei salute nostram ascribimus*), aligning this helmet with those scriptural helmets of salvation, and by extension, indicating that faith in the Trinity is the surest hope of salvation.[75] The helmet is also called divinity (*divinitas*), with the soul's head within it being reason (*ratio*).[76] As noted, *ratio* or reason denotes the mind or soul's ability to control bodily urges. In the spiritual arming context, the application of learning is largely to properly exercise restraint. The divinity represented by the helmet in *De re militari* is only understood by the soul's reason through both faith and understanding, with Ralph describing faith as being the more important.[77] The importance of faith in understanding the divine nature strongly evokes the core message of Anselm of Canterbury's *Proslogion*: 'I do not seek to understand in order to believe, but I believe in order to understand … unless I believe, I shall not understand'.[78] This further indicates the significant degree of monastic, particularly Anselmian, influences on *De re militari*'s message, especially when taken in conjunction with *De re militari*'s allegorising of the soul and body as rider and horse, echoing the division used in *Similitudo militis*. Although Ralph Niger adds a greater level of militaristic detail than is employed in the *Similitudo*, there is significant evidence of a reinterpretation of previously monastic spiritual warfare language for a knightly audience. Ralph's employment of the head as the allegory for the soul's power of reason, meanwhile, echoes the same employed in Bernard's *Sententiae*, indicating Ralph was bringing together source material from different monastic authors with the purpose of morally reforming the late twelfth-century knighthood.

Ralph completes the discussion of the allegorical helmet with a short chapter on the faceplate or visor (*viseria*).[79] Here, he again demonstrates his acquaintance with the realities of late twelfth-century military equipment. The nasal coverings of helmets from the late eleventh century, seen in the Bayeux tapestry for instance, became longer and wider, becoming more encompassing 'face-guards' by the end of the twelfth.[80] A probable example of such a 'face-guard' helmet can be seen worn by the knight on the far left of the late twelfth-century fresco depicting Becket's death, from the church of Santi

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[74] *De re militari*, p. 102.
[75] *De re militari*, p. 102: 'cum ei salutem nostram ascribimus'.
[76] *De re militari*, p. 102.
[77] *De re militari*, p. 102.
[78] *Anselmi opera*, Vol. 1., p. 100: 'Neque enim quaero intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam … nisi credidero, non intelligam'.
[79] *De re militari*¸ p. 102
[80] Ian Peirce, 'The Knight, c.1150–1250', p. 261.; DeVries and Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 67, 70-1, claim that full-face helmets only came into use c.1200, but given the evidence from *De re militari* and visual depictions, Blair's assertion that face-guards protecting the eyes and cheeks came into use around 1180 seems more accurate, see: Claude Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London, 1958), p. 30. In all of this, it is important to bear in mind the difficulties in precisely dating developments in medieval military technology: see John France, 'Technology and Success of the First Crusade', in Yaacov Lev (ed.), *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries* (Leiden, 1997), p. 168.

Giovanni e Paulo in Spoleto (Figure 7). Ralph uses this visor to illustrate the importance of restraint and celibacy, and of protecting the eyes, nose, and mouth from temptation. Because the face-plate is attached to the front of the helmet, Ralph uses it to illustrate emulation of divine exemplars, which descend from the divinity of the helmet:

> From the helmet comes down a shorter cover, which covers the nose and protects the face, and conceals the eyes without blocking them. By this cover may be understood the wholesome assistance of restraint and participation in the celibate life, which comes down from the Father of lights and is seized upon as an example for us to emulate … When we avoid illicit things, and by means of licit things direct our appetites to the image and likeness of God, which we have lost, we gradually become restored.[81]

Figure 7: Fresco (c.1170-80) depicting Thomas Becket's death, Santi Giovanni e Paulo Church, Spoleto

Ralph also encourages protection of the senses, particularly the eyes, from temptation. The face-plate on the helmet of salvation, Ralph explains, limits what can be seen because of the 'narrowness of the opening for the eyes' (*fenestras oculorum … angustia*).[82] This prevents the eyes from being exposed to the dangers of temptation.[83] The same idea of protecting the eyes from temptation would be evident in the following century in Part Two of *Ancrene Wisse*, there emphasising the importance of keeping the windows closed and avoiding the gaze of visitors.[84] In addition to protecting the eyes, Ralph explains the importance of protecting the other senses, providing a behavioural interpretation to

[81] *De re militari*, p. 102: 'De galea vero brevius descendit operculum, quod nares operit et vultum protegit et obumbrat oculos nec claudit. Per hoc operculum intelligi potest continentie salutarius auxilium et vite celibis participium, quod descendit a patre luminum et apprehenditur per imitationis nostre exemplum … Dum enim illicita vitamus et a lictis quibusdam appetitus nostros temperamus ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei, quam perdidimus, paulatim proficientes instauramur'. *Cf.* James 1:17 and Genesis 1:26.
[82] *De re militari*, p. 102.
[83] *De re militari*, pp. 102-3.
[84] *AW*, pp. 20-5.

putting on the helmet of salvation: 'When we properly guide our nose, ears, and eyes under the protection of divinity, we are secure and defended by this helmet of salvation'.[85] As with the other arms, Ralph also discusses the ways in which the protection of the helmet and faceplate can be broken or lost. Loss and damage of the helmet comes from falsehoods, misunderstanding, or denial of the nature of the Trinity: '[The helmet] is shattered when we think about compounding or mingling in the Trinity. It is lost to us when we deny the Trinity or shamefully impute unity to it'.[86] Maintenance of the protection of divinity, therefore, relies on correct understanding of the Trinity. The face-plate is damaged by any actions which take man away from the image of God in which he was created, and appears to simply be a general warning against sinful practices: 'The cover which protects our face is broken or lost when we fall away from the image in which we were created, and disfigure our countenance either by forbidden practice or by some other filth brought about by the vileness of our lives'.[87]

The Shield

Around the turn of the thirteenth century, knightly shields had changed from the longer kite shield seen in the Bayeux Tapestry to a smaller, flat-topped 'heater' shield, like that held by the Harley 3244 knight.[88] The widespread adoption of mail *chausses* compensated for the leg protection offered by the earlier kite shield, and the smaller shields of the thirteenth century were less unwieldy than their larger predecessors. The shield retained its protective importance, however, being able to turn aside lance blows that might have otherwise pierced mail.[89] The absence of a central steel boss on the smaller heater shield also granted new opportunities for the heraldic displays demanded by the anonymising effects of fuller-face helmets and all-encompassing mail. As well as identifying individual knights and more readily associating them with their brave deeds, shield designs helped delineate the knight from the poorer *serjeants* or mercenary knights who may have otherwise carried similar equipment.[90] Gerald of Wales provided one indication of why certain shield images were chosen: 'other princes, desiring to appear before men as terrible and voracious beasts, paint bears, leopards, and lions on to their arms as an indication of their ferocity'.[91]

[85] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'Dum itaque nares et os et oculos sub divinitatis protectione bene dirigimus, galee salutis munimine in ea parte tuti sumus'.
[86] *De re militari*, p. 113: 'Quassatur dum compositionem aut confusionem aut simile aliud in trinitate sentimus. Tollitur a nobis, si trinitatem abnegamus vel unitatem indigne applicamus'.
[87] *De re militari*, p. 113: 'Operculum tutele vultus frangitur aut perditur, cum de imagine, ad quam creati sumus, degeneramus et vultum nostrum vel interdicto cultu aut aliqua sorde feditatis vite deturpamus'.
[88] DeVries and Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 67, 70.; Peirce, 'The Knight in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', p. 258.; Blair, *European Armour,* p. 181.
[89] See Chapter 3, pp. 108-9.
[90] Jones, *Bloodied Banners,* pp. 15, 19-20.
[91] *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Vol. 8 (Rolls Series, 1861–91), p. 320.

Where swords are the storied weapons of the *chansons de geste*, romances place emphasis on the shield; this often serves as an identifier of characters and often the source of magical powers.[92] Shields are a key disguise of Alexander and his men when infiltrating a castle held by traitors in *Cligès*.[93] In the Prose *Lancelot*, the Lady of the Lake sends Lancelot three magical shields, with one, two, and three red bands on a white background; each gives him the strength of one further knight so long as he wields them.[94] They possess parallels with the spiritual arms; the various shields are given by a powerful and beneficent patron, in this case the Lady of the Lake, and without these magical aids it would be impossible for Lancelot to fight off the variety of evil enemies who seek to defeat him. The shields also serve throughout the story as signifiers and identifiers. With strict attention to continuity throughout the text, the author carefully notes all of Lancelot's changes of shield, which are key to his various disguises and his status as the heroic recipient of magical objects.[95] However, in all medieval spiritual arming discussions the focus is entirely on the shield's protective qualities, rather than as an identifier of the warrior. The only exception to this is the diagram associated with the shield of faith equipped by the Harley MS 3244 knight, which is discussed in more detail below.[96]

Moralised shields occur more than any other piece of military equipment in scripture, though unlike other moralised arms, appear with greater frequency in the Old Testament than the New. The shield of God's help (*auxilii*) first appears in Deuteronomy 33:29, while God Himself is called a shield (*scutum*) in 2 Kings 22:3 and 22:31. The latter chapter also gives thanks to God for aid to defeat one's enemies, with the passage including a 'shield of salvation' (*clypeum salutis*).[97] In the book of Wisdom, God gives 'integrity' or 'righteousness' (*aequitatem*) as an 'invincible shield' (*scutum inexpugnabile*).[98] In the Psalms, God's 'good will' (*bonae voluntatis*) and 'truth' (*veritas*) are likened to shields, while the 'shield of faith' (*scutum fidei*) from Ephesians marks the only occurrence of a moralised shield in the New Testament.[99]

In the twelfth century spiritual arming texts, the shield was allegorised as a wide variety of virtues and qualities, deriving from both biblical and patristic precedents. The Ephesian shield of faith is discussed first in the *Similitudo militis*. Notably, the *Similitudo militis* shield is explicitly described as protecting both horse and rider: '[The knight] must hold this out in front, that he is able to defend himself and his horse from the devil's poisonous darts'.[100] This particular phrase would reflect the

[92] Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 136.
[93] *Cligès*, ll. 1796-1859
[94] *Lancelot*, Vol. 1., pp. 187-8.
[95] Kennedy, *Lancelot and the Grail*, pp. 125-6.
[96] See pp. 83-93.
[97] 2 Kings 22:33-36.
[98] Wisdom 5:20
[99] Psalms 5:13; 90:5. Ephesians 6:16.
[100] *Memorials*, p. 101: 'Hunc quippe debet praetendere, ut a virulentis diaboli iaculis tam se quam equum suum valeat defendere'.

realities of military equipment in the early twelfth century when *Similitudo militis* was composed. As noted above, the shield of the mounted warrior in the late eleventh and for much of the twelfth centuries was a larger and longer 'kite' shield, which provided additional protection for the legs before the widespread adoption of mail *chausses*. The same period also predates the advent of horse armour in western Europe in the later twelfth century.[101] Given that unarmoured horses were particularly vulnerable, the larger shield would have been more important and effective in protecting both rider and horse.[102] The allegory of the shield of faith protecting both soul (knight) and body (horse) from attacks therefore reflected contemporary military practice around the time of the *Similitudo*'s composition.

The same passage also re-emphasises certain preceding sections of the text. Fear of hell and love of eternal life, allegorised earlier in the text as spurs, and the hope and belief in salvation represented by the helmet, all occur again in the discussion of the shield of faith: 'For faith is just as an invincible shield, which wards off the most burning weapons of vice, destructively extinguishing them by means of a fear of hell and [by] belief in the heavenly kingdom'.[103] The shield of faith's protection against the devil originated in Ephesians, but the imagery of a shield repelling diabolic missiles or other attacks was frequently employed in exegesis of other biblical shields, and in shield allegories of other virtues. Discussing Psalm 34:2, 'take hold of arms and shield' (*apprehende arma et scutum*), Cassiodorus drew a parallel with the shield of faith passage from Ephesians: 'The shield is for repelling the enemy's blows, so that his darts intending the destruction of man should fall in frustration'.[104] The shield being the first defence against the devil's attacks is also the subject of the gloss on Ephesians 6:16 in the *Glossa ordinaria*, which notes how the shield of faith protects the armour of justice beneath: 'Faith is the shield under which justice is protected … it is held out before all other arms, it is that which the devil attacks first of all'.[105] Both passages indicate faith was

[101] On the armouring of horses see: Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, pp. 25-6. The impressed anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* expresses a sense of surprise in his description of the 'Agulani': *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962), p. 69: '[They] fear neither spears nor arrows nor any other weapon, for they and their horses are covered all over with iron' ('qui neque lanceas neque sagittas neque ulla arma timebant, quia omnes erant undique cooperti ferro et equi eorum'). On this see also France, 'Technology and Success', pp. 165-6.; France, *Western Warfare*, p. 24. Horse armour appears in later twelfth century texts, notably for this study as one of the items of military equipment allegorised by Ralph Niger in 1187/8: *De re militari,* p. 105. It is also mentioned by Chrétien in *Lancelot* (c.1177–1181): *Lancelot: The Knight of the Cart,* trans. Burton Raffel (New Haven, 1997), ll. 3598-3599.

[102] On the vulnerability of horses and the importance of protecting them in battle see: Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare,* pp. 210-2. On the allegorisation of horse armour in *De re militari,* see Chapter 3, pp. 133-4.

[103] *Memorials*, p. 101: 'Fides namque tamquam scutum inexpugnabile ardentissima vitiorum tela solet excipere, ac metu gehennae et caelestis regni credulitate mortificando extinguere'. On the spurs in *Similitudo militis*, see Chapter 3, pp. 127-8.

[104] *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum,* ed. M. Adriaen, CCCM 98, Vol. 1. (Turnhout, 1958), p. 305: 'scutum ad repellendos ictus inimici, ut frustrata tela cadant, quae fuerant in exitium hominis destinata'.

[105] PL 114, col. 600C: 'Fides est scutum, sub quo tuta est iustitia … quod protenditur ante omnia arma et quod primo omnium impugnat diabolus'.

considered the first line of defence against temptation and sin, but at the same time was the first thing the devil would attempt to weaken in his attacks on humanity.

Moralia in Iob twice allegorises Job's patience and dignity in adversity as his shield against the devil's attacks, a concept that re-emerges in spiritual arming discussions of the twelfth century. Discussing Job's suffering and the misguided counsel of his wife and friends, Gregory allegorised these as the 'frontal' (*contra faciem*) and 'flank' (*latus*) attacks.[106] With the shield of his dignity (*gravitates suae clypeo*), Job was protected against these attacks: 'everywhere fortified, and he stood fast and alert to repulse the swords of the attackers all around'.[107] In book 3 of the *Moralia*, the 'shield of [Job's] patience' (*patientiae suae clipeum*) protects him against the arrows or javelins (*spiculis*) thrown at him from all sides.[108] Patience is also likened to a shield in William of Malmesbury's *Vita* of Saint Wulfstan (d.1095), where the saint deflects insults and jealousy from another monk with his 'shield of patience' (*scuto patientiae*).[109]

The second part of the *Similitudo militis* discussion of the spiritual shield is an allegory for patience, which deflects the devil's attacks in the same way as the shield of faith: 'Just as a worldly shield wards off the enemy's weapons, keeping the knight unharmed, so patience keeps the deadly arrows of the devil from the spiritual knight'.[110] Again, the *Similitudo* draws on conventional military practice in how the shield of patience is used; being held 'in front of [the knight's] left side when he embraces patience in adversity, in both mind and body'.[111] As with the shield of faith allegory in the first part of the passage, the shield of patience protects both body and soul, allegorised as horse and rider. Bernard of Clairvaux also briefly mentions a shield of patience in adversity in his *Sententiae*, and in another instance talks of 'constant and patient perseverance, which is like a shield'.[112] In another *Sentence* he likens patience to a shield, reassuring that if it is broken, yet humility to God is still possessed, the latter protects like armour (*humilitate quasi thorace*).[113]

Moving beyond monastic texts, Ralph Niger takes only a short passage in *De re militari* to discuss the shield of faith, but actually describes this as a combination of the shields of God's truth and good will from the Psalms. The lesson to be drawn from the various biblical shields, according to Ralph, is the importance of truth and faith supporting each other.[114] As with the armour, which Ralph termed

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[106] *Moralia,* Praefatio.V.11.
[107] *Moralia*, Praefatio.V.11: 'ubique munitus astitit, undique venientibus gladiis vigilanter obviavit'.
[108] *Moralia,* 3.X.17.
[109] William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives: Lives of Ss. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), p. 36.
[110] *Memorials*, p. 101: 'Sicut enim scutum excipiendo adversarii tela militem temporalem servat incolumem, ita patientia excipiendo mortifera diaboli spicula militem spiritualem'.
[111] *Memorials*, p. 101: 'ex sinistro praetendit latere, cum patientiam et animo et corpore amplectitur in adversitate'.
[112] *SBO*., 6.2., pp. 18, 53: 'perseverans et patiens constantia, quae est quasi scutum'.
[113] *SBO*., 6.2., p. 88.
[114] *De re militari*, p. 103.

as being of both faith and justice, he describes the Ephesian shield of faith as 'a double shield, of [God's good] will and of truth'.[115] His authorities for this assertion are the respective shields from Psalms 5:13 and 90:5, and he draws a clear connection between the latter and the qualities of the armour from earlier in the text, faith and justice: '[God's] truth shall encompass you with a shield, indeed, the shield of faith and justice'.[116] After discussing the importance of truth and faith supporting each other, Ralph's short chapter on the shield concludes with a reiteration of the protective qualities of faith: 'Therefore, we are protected all around by the shield of God's good will when we are protected all around by the truth of the faith'.[117]

The shield reappears later in the first book of *De re militari*, in a slightly longer chapter discussing the various venial and mortal sins, allegorised respectively as smaller missiles and the stones of siege engines. At the very end of the chapter, Ralph notes how venial sins, like arrows, can slip between the rings of the armour of justice, but that the head and heart require more significant protection as a wound to those will kill instantly.[118] To this end, he notes that the helmet of divinity protects the head of reason, while the shield of truth is equally important in protecting the heart from being wounded by sin.[119] As with the other arms, Ralph also discusses how the shield can be lost. He warns of the dangers of falsehoods that might lead the knight astray from the truth of the faith, and how losing this leads in turn to the loss of the protection of God's good will:

> But when [man] has been enticed by falsehood or deceived, he forsakes the truth of the faith that he had accepted and changes his mind, he loses the shield of truth. If the shield is pierced in some other way, from any part of truth being defiled, the shield of good will is snatched away or pierced, or all good will is entirely snatched away, or destroyed, or cut apart.[120]

In the *Arte praedicatoria*, providing examples for a sermon on patience, Alan of Lille draws on the image of patience as a protective shield from *Moralia in Iob*: 'The shield of patience shatters the arrows of insult'.[121] In other parts of the same text, however, he departs from earlier moralisations of the shield. In his chapter on the love of God (*De dilectione Dei*), when discussing love or charity (*charitas*), the virtue is called a shield: 'This is charity, which is the shield of the warrior, the reward of the victor'.[122] In his chapter on preaching to knights, Alan calls the knightly obligation to protect

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[115] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'scutum duplex, voluntatis et veritatis'.
[116] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'Scuto circumdabit te veritas eius merito fidei et iustitiae'.
[117] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'Tunc enim scuto bone voluntatis Dei protegimur, cum fidei veritate undequaque munimur'.
[118] *De re militari*, pp. 106-7.
[119] *De re militari,* p. 107.
[120] *De re militari*, p. 113: 'Cum autem veritatem fidei, quam suscepit, illectus falso aut deceptus postponit et in contrarium sentit, scutum veritatis amittit. Sive scutum perforatur quotiens aliqua ex parte veritas violatur, sive bone voluntatis scutum eripitur aut perforatur, vel in totum bona voluntas eripitur, vel extinguitur aut mutilatur'.
[121] PL 210, col. 140A: 'contumeliae sagittas patientiae clypeus frangit'.
[122] PL 210, cols. 0152C-0152D: 'Haec est charitas quae pugnanti est scutum, triumphanti praemium'.

the poor and weak 'a shield of knightly protection' (*clypeo militaris muniminis*), and laments that it is abandoned in favour of fighting for worldly gain.[123]

This obligation to protect the poor was part of the ritual of dubbing by this period, and it is this duty which Alan essentially allegorises as a shield in the *Arte praedicatoria*. A letter of Peter of Blois (c.1130–c.1211) described how young, newly-dubbed knights professed their vows at the altar 'for the honour of the priesthood, the protection of the poor, the punishment of evildoers and the liberation of the homeland'.[124] This idealised role of the knighthood was part of the mythos of chivalry which was increasingly expressed in literature from the later twelfth century, and beginning to crystallise into a set of defined perceptions and expectations of knightly conduct. The Prose *Lancelot* reflects similar social assumptions. The Lady of the Lake expresses to the young Lancelot that in some distant past the first knights were 'established protectors and defenders over [the weak], to protect the weak and the peaceful and to maintain their rights'.[125] There, it is the shield signifies the knight's duty to protect the Church: '…the knight should stand in front of the Holy Church against all evildoers, whether robbers or pagans. And if the Holy Church is attacked, or in danger of receiving a blow, the knight should stand forward, as her son, and receive the blow'.[126] Although not a spiritual shield, Alan of Lille's 'shield of knightly protection' allegorises the same behaviour expected of knights; their duty to protect the poor, the weak, and the Church. His choice of allegory perceived this shield as being cast aside in favour of worldliness, exposing the knights to the perils of sin, similar to Ralph Niger's concerns about the loss of the shield of truth.[127]

<u>*Scutum fidei*: The Shield of Faith Diagrams</u>

In the thirteenth century, the shield of faith (*scutum fidei*) became standardised in a diagrammatic form which both summarised the nature of the Trinity, but also implied the spiritual protection inherent in other thought about spiritual shields. The diagram, an example of which is portrayed on the shield of the Harley MS 3244 knight (see Figure 1), consists of three circles connected in an inverted triangle shape. The top circles, labelled *pater* and *spiritus sancti*, are connected to each other and to the bottom circle, labelled *filius*, by the words *non est*. All three are likewise connected to a

[123] PL 210, cols. 0186B-0186C.
[124] Peter of Blois, *Petri Blesensis epistolae*, PL 207, col. 0294B: 'ad honorem sacerdotii, ad tuitionem pauperum, ad vindictam malefactorum et patriae liberationem'.
[125] *Lancelot du Lac*, Vol. 1., p. 142: 'si establirent desor aus garanz et desfandeors, por garantir les foibles [et les] paisibles et tenir selonc droiture'.
[126] *Lancelot du Lac*, Vol. 1., p. 143: 'metre li chevaliers devant Sainte Eglise encontre toz maxfaitors, o soient robeor o mescreant. Et se Sainte Eglise est assaillie ne en aventure de recevoir cop ne colee, li chevaliers se doit devant metre por la colee sostenir come ses filz'.
[127] PL 210, cols. 0186B-0186C.

central circle, *Deus*, by lines labelled *est*. The shield therefore provides a simplified, diagrammatised explanation of the nature of the Trinity, examples of which will be seen in what follows. The first appearance of a notably similar diagram comes from a twelfth-century manuscript of Petrus Alfonsi's (d. after 1116) *Dialogi adversus Iudaeos* ('Dialogue Against the Jews'), where it demonstrates how the Tetragrammaton overlays onto the Trinity (Figure 9). It also appears in at least one other early thirteenth-century copy of the same work.[128] The first version explaining the nature of the Trinity, with *pater*, *spiritus sancti*, *filius* and *Deus* roundels, occurs in British Library Cotton Faustina B VII, an English copy of the French scholastic theologian Peter of Poitiers' (d.1205) *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* ('Historical Compendium of Christ's Genealogy') (Figure 8). The *Compendium*, an illustrated and abridged genealogical history of the Bible, charted the progression of biblical figures from Adam to Christ. Though rooted in the twelfth-century concept of the *sensus literalis* ('literal' or 'historical sense') of the Bible as a basis for exegesis, the *Compendium* arose from the pastoral care initiatives of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[129] Aided by images, the *Compendium* simplified relevant passages down to their essence; William Monroe has called it an 'educational short-cut', born out of the need to better instruct priests for the care of souls.[130] The Trinity diagram similarly helped convey complicated descriptions of the Trinity in a more easily understood visual form.

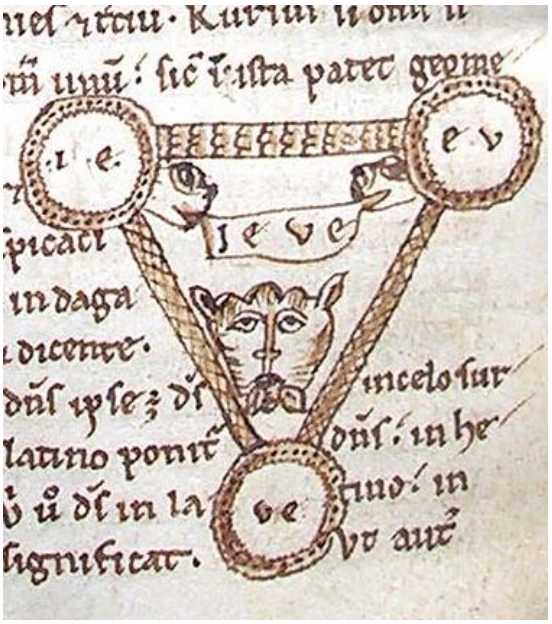

Figure 9: Tetragrammaton/Trinity Diagram, Cambridge St John's College, MS E.4 f. 153v

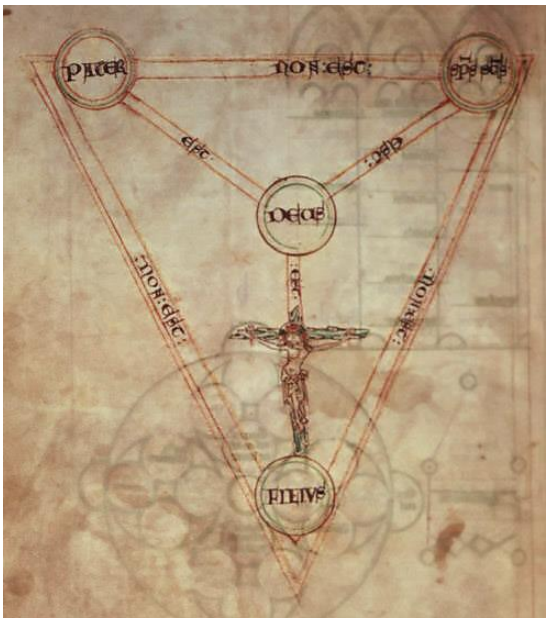

Figure 8: Trinitarian Diagram, BL Cotton Faustina B VII, f. 42v

[128] John Munns, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England*, (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 60 n. 41. On Grosseteste's familiarity with this work see: *The Scientific Works*, Vol. 2., p. 200.

[129] Andrea Worm, 'England's Place Within Salvation History: An Extended Version of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium Historiae in London, British Library, Cotton MS Faustina B VII', in Laura Cleaver and Andrea Worm (eds.), *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World* (York, 2018), p. 31.

[130] William H. Monroe, 'A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 65(3) (1978), p. 92.; on the visual component of what might be called a 'typical' *Compendium*, see Ibid., pp. 92-5.

The *Compendium* diagram has been convincingly dated by Andrea Worm to between July 1213 and February 1215.[131] In neither manuscript, however, is there any connection between the diagram and a shield. The first evidence for the diagram's direct association with a shield instead seems to originate with Robert Grosseteste. It occurs in Durham Cathedral Library MS A.III.12 (Figure 10), a composite manuscript containing several of Grosseteste's theological works.[132]

Certain of Grosseteste's writings found in A.III.12 represent a significant turning point in the development of the trinitarian diagram into the shield of faith. Although a composite manuscript, and definitely not written in Grosseteste's own hand, it contains several works directly associated with him, including some of his Psalm commentaries, *Dicta*, and sermons. The works belong to the period c.1228-35, a period including when he was known to have been teaching at Oxford, particularly to the Franciscans.[133] Indeed, Grosseteste himself explained that the *Dicta* were thoughts that had occurred to him when he was in the schools.[134] It is within this didactic context, particularly in Grosseteste's use of the imagination for such purposes, that the A.III.12 shield of faith diagram must be considered.

[131] Worm, 'England's Place', pp. 33-5.

[132] It was given to the convent of Durham by Bertram de Middleton, who resigned as prior of Durham in 1258, though how it came into Bertram's possession is less clear. Marginal notes concerning Llandaff diocese in South Wales, a journey from London to that region, and a very hefty penance dated to February 1232 provide further dating and location evidence for A.III.12 before it reached Durham. See: S. Harrison Thomson believed it must have been given to Durham during Bertram's life, as it was gifted *ex dono* rather than *ex legato* (S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste: Bishop of Lincoln 1235–1253*, (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 14, 214-32.; As the manuscript records that it was given to Durham while Bertram was still prior, it is likely that it was in Durham Cathedral's library by 1258. See also: Giles E.M. Gasper, 'Robert Grosseteste at Durham', *Mediaeval Studies*, 76 (2014), pp. 297-303; Suzanne Paul, 'An Edition and Study of Selected Sermons of Robert Grosseteste', 2 vols. (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2002); R. W. Hunt, 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste', in D. A. Callus (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, (Oxford, 1955), pp. 139-40; Southern, *Grosseteste*, p. 72.

[133] Joseph W. Goering, 'Robert Grosseteste's Dicta: The State of the Question', in John Flood, James R. Ginther and Joseph W. Goering, *Robert Grosseteste and His Intellectual Milieu: New Editions and Studies* (Toronto, 2003), especially pp. 69-72. See also: Southern, *Grosseteste*, pp. 112-40.

[134] On the authorship, audiences, and dating of Grosseteste's *Dicta* see: Goering, 'Grosseteste's Dicta' pp. 65-76. See also: D. A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as Scholar', in D. A. Callus (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 1-69.; Thomson, *Writings of Grosseteste*, p. 214.; Southern, *Grosseteste*, pp. 39-40, 113-7.

The *Dicta* and the comments on Psalms 1-54 found in A.III.12 focus on objects from the natural world, 'which gave scope for a scientific description in which some spiritual significance could be detected'.[135] This method, in which Grosseteste employed the power of the reader's imagination to consider a natural object's Scriptural and spiritual connotations, was designed to improve the reader's grasp of, and commitment to, theological knowledge.[136] Southern included the shield of faith among Grosseteste's experiments 'with new kinds of symbolic exposition', part of his transition from explaining Scripture by exploring symbols of the natural world found in the Bible, towards other objects and broader concepts.[137]

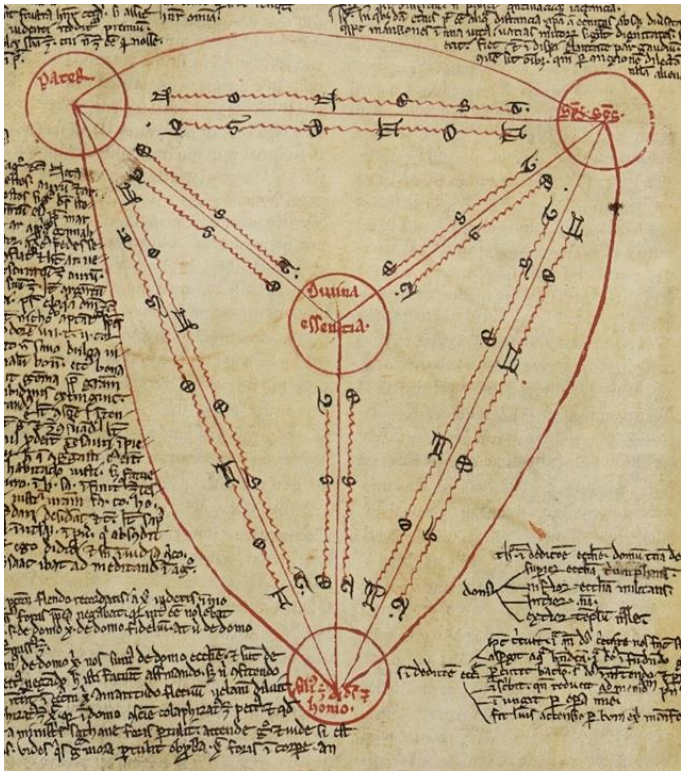

Figure 10: Shield of Faith (scutum fidei) Diagram, Durham MS A.III.12, f. 14v

The A.III.12 shield of faith overlays the trinitarian diagram on a similarly inverted triangular-shaped object, a shield. As can be seen, the lines marked *non est* retain their sharply triangular shape as in the *Compendium* illustration (Figure 8). However, the circles themselves are placed at the three corners of a shield, as the associated *Dictum* explains:

> This shield gleams with inaccessible light. The corner where 'Father' is written is decorated with the potency of all-encompassing power; the corner where 'Son' is written, with the form of all-encompassing beauty, the corner where 'Holy Spirit' is written, with the supremely fitting bond of all-encompassing order.[138]

[135] Southern, *Grosseteste*, pp. 113-4.
[136] Ibid., pp. 43-5, 219.
[137] Ibid., pp. 175-80.
[138] Durham MS A.III.12, f. 14v: 'huius scuti fulget luce inaccessibili. Angulus ubi scriptus est 'Pater', picturatur universe potencie virtute; angulus vero ubi scriptus est 'Filius', universe pulcritudinis specie; angulus vero ubi scriptus est 'Spiritus Sanctus', ordinis universorum aptissime connexione'.

Here then, in line with his approach comparing scriptural objects and their worldly counterparts, Grosseteste overlaid the existing Trinitarian image seen in Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi* and Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium* onto a conveniently similar-shaped object: a shield. In doing this, Grosseteste added further layers of utility and meaning to the image as a teaching tool; a physical object through which the imagination could easier understand not only the Trinity, but also other scriptural shields, including the shield of good will from Psalm 5:13, and the shield of the heart from Lamentations 3:65:

> This shield, impressed upon the readiness to believe operating through love, is the shield of faith. If impressed upon love, it is the shield of good will. Impressed upon dead faith, or refusal to believe, or hate, it is the shield of the heart, spoken of in Lamentations 3[:65]: 'Thou shalt give them a shield of the heart, thy labour', etc.[139]

Indeed, Grosseteste's *Dictum* which follows on the next folio of A.III.12 discusses and diagrammatises the shield of good will (Figure 11). However, where the shield of faith diagram depicts a triangular shield, similar to those used by knights of the period, the diagram of the shield of

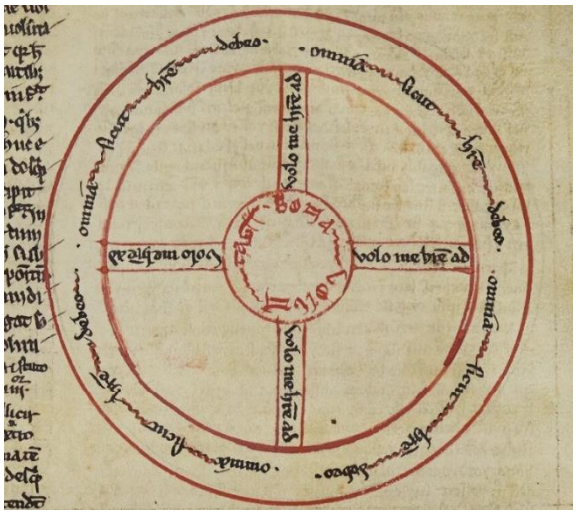

Figure 11: Shield of [God's] Good Will (Scutum bona voluntas) Diagram, Durham MS A.III.12., f. 15r

good will is of a round shield.[140] This may be more in keeping with the concept explained by the diagram, which follows an order moving clockwise around the shield rather than the way in which the trinity is depicted on the *scutum fidei*. Both shield diagrams help demonstrate complicated concepts in a didactic context. Unlike the shield of faith, however, the shield of good will diagram does not seem to occur anywhere else beyond manuscripts of Grosseteste's *Dicta*.[141]

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[139] Durham MS A.III.12, f. 14v: 'Hoc scutum impressum in credulitate per dilectionem in operante, scutum est fidei. Id impressum in amore scutum est bona voluntatis. Id impressum in fide mortua, aut discredulitate, aut odio, scutum cordis est de quo in Trenorum III: 'Dabis eis scutum cordis laborum tuum', etc.'.

[140] While the triangular 'heater' shield that developed for mounted combat use in the thirteenth century became more popular, depictions of round shields and other shapes continue at least into the twelfth, though appear to have been rapidly going out of use among the knightly classes, see: France, *Western Warfare*, pp. 20-1.

[141] The diagrams appear again, rendered almost identically, in a fifteenth-century manuscript containing the *Dicta*: Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.4.40, ff. 99r-99v. The titles *scutum fidei* and *scutum bone voluntatis* are those given in most manuscripts of the *Dicta*: Goering, 'Grosseteste's Dicta', p. 82.

Richard Southern and Paul Binski have both suggested that the shield of faith image was Grosseteste's development, though the latter noted the influence of earlier shield imagery in Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse*, the earliest extant manuscripts of which have been dated to c. 1225.[142] The 'Christ-knight' passage in Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse* demonstrates notable parallels with the development of the shield of faith diagram.[143] The earliest textual rendition of a crucifixion on a shield occurs in *Ancrene Wisse*, whereby Christ, the knight, bequeaths his bride a shield of his own body on the cross: 'His shield, which hid his divinity, was his dear body, which was stretched out on the cross: broad as a shield above in his outstretched arms, narrow below, there the one foot (as many people think) was fixed above the other'.[144] This reference may draw on Alan of Lille's discussions of love in the *Arte praedicatoria*, where love is likened to both a cross and a shield, 'its breadth stretched out towards the enemy'.[145] For the anchoresses, the cross's association with a shield may reflect the affective nature of lay piety in the thirteenth century, which placed particular emphasis on devotion to the cross.[146] The connection between cross and shield therefore serves to emphasise a belief in the spiritually protective powers of, for instance, making the sign of the cross.

The inclusion of a crucifixion or cross between these *Deus* and *filius* labels is a recurring feature of thirteenth-century English examples of the diagram. It is, for example, particularly notable in Matthew Paris's renditions of the diagram (Figure 12, Figure 13). Michael Evans suggested the shield described in *Ancrene Wisse* pre-dates any drawings of the shield of faith, the textual description providing 'an armature for the development of a variety of concepts'.[147] Certainly *Ancrene Wisse*'s

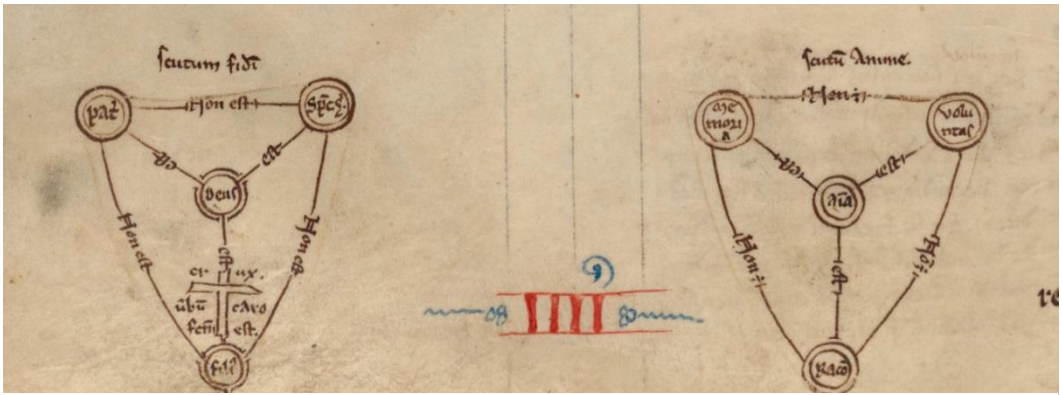

Figure 12: Scutum fidei' and 'scutum anime' diagrams: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 016II, f. 49v.

[142] Bella Millett, 'Introduction' to *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, trans Bella Millett, (Exeter, 2009) (henceforth 'Introduction'), p. xi.; E.J. Dobson, *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse*, (Oxford, 1976), pp. 115-7: Dobson cited *Ancrene Wisse*'s use of Welsh words, 'considerable Scandinavian element' of the vocabulary, and later sixteenth-century pen-trials found on the manuscript as evidence of its Herefordshire provenance. Binski, *Becket's Crown*, pp. 183-4.
[143] *AW*, pp. 146-8.
[144] *AW*, p. 147: His scheld, þe wreah his goddhead, wes his leoue licome, þet wes ispread o rode: brad as scheld buuen in his istrahte earmes, nearow bineoðen, as þe an fot (efter monies wene) set upo þe oðer'.
[145] PL 210, col. 0152C: 'latitudo extenditur ad inimicum'.
[146] Cate Gunn, *Ancrene Wisse: From Pastoral Literature to Vernacular Spirituality* (Cardiff, 2008), p. 67.
[147] Evans, 'Illustrated Fragment', pp. 23-5.

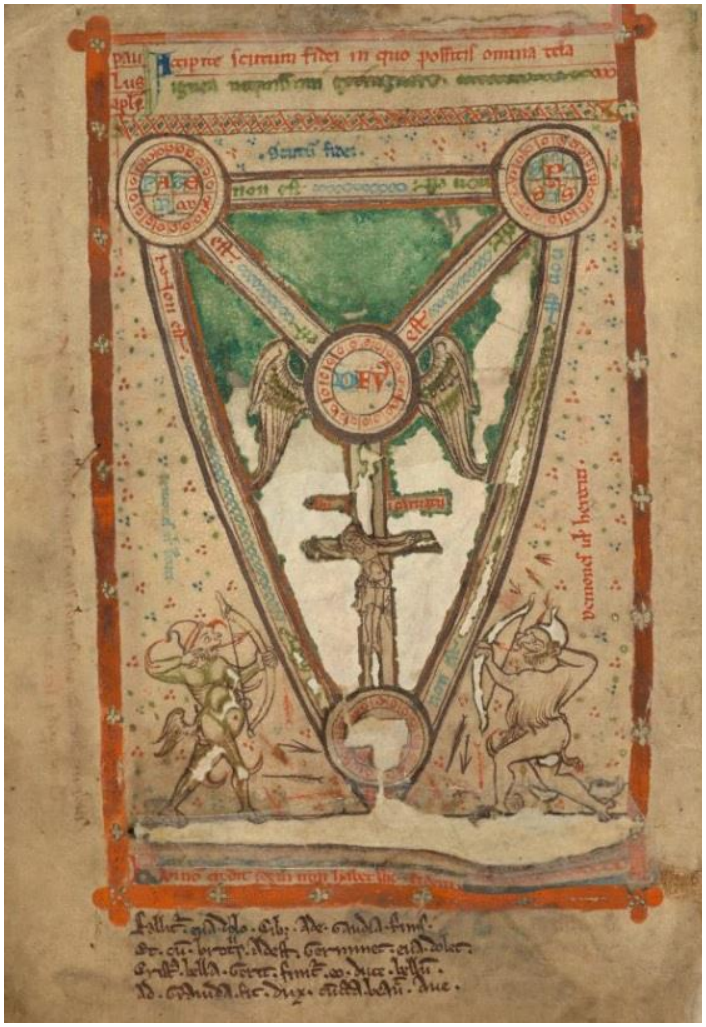

Figure 13: Shield of Faith image attributed to Matthew Paris, John of Wallingford Miscellanea, British Library Cotton MS Julius D VII.

mentions of shields in many places mirror what was established exegetical practice in allegorising faith as protecting against the devil's attacks: '…the shield of the cross and God's cruel Passion to foil the devil's weapons…force your heart underneath it away from the devil's arrows'.[148]

Regardless of whether the *Ancrene Wisse* description predates the diagram, there are certainly a few notable connections between how moralised shields are described in early thirteenth century sources connected with the mendicants in England. The language and examples used in these texts' discussions of shields demonstrate a significant degree of conceptual consistency. This consistency may reflect a commonality of educational practice among different authors. For instance, in Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse*: 'This shield is given to us against all temptations, as Jeremiah testifies: you will give your labour as a shield for the heart'.[149] This same passage of Lamentations (3:65) is discussed in Grosseteste's *Dicta*, and also occurs earlier in *Ancrene Wisse*: '…make a shield of [Christ's] Passion; and say with Jeremiah: 'You will give a shield for the heart, your labour'.[150]

[148] *AW*, pp. 111-2: '…ȝef þu wult þet te rode scheld and Godes stronge Passiun falsi þe deofles wepnen … ne wrenchen hire þer-under frommard te deofles earowen'.
[149] *AW*, p. 147: 'Þis scheld is iȝeuen us aȝien alle temptatiuns, as Ieremie witneð: Dabis scutum cordis, laborem tuum'.
[150] *AW*, p. 111: '…make scheld of his passiun; and sei wið Ieremie, Dabis scutum cordis, laborem tuum'.

Notably, none of the twelfth-century spiritual arming texts discuss the shield from Lamentations, whereas it appears in both of these thirteenth-century English texts.

Like Grosseteste's *Dicta*, Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse* also discusses the 'shield of good will' from Psalm 5:13:

> This shield not only protects us against all evils, but does still more: it crowns us in heaven. With the shield of good will – 'Lord,' says David, 'you have crowned us with the shield of your good will'. He says 'shield of good will' because he suffered willingly all that he suffered.[151]

However, the most striking similarity between Grosseteste's shield-related *Dicta* and *Ancrene Wisse* lies in their descriptions of the shield's materials. Both liken the shield's leather covering and red colour to the body and blood of Christ in the crucifixion. Compare Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse* and *Dictum* 95:

> In a shield there are three things: the wood, the leather, and the painted design. So it was in this shield: the wood of the cross, the leather of God's body, and the painting of the red blood which coloured it so brightly.[152] (*Ancrene Wisse*, Part Seven).
>
> The corner, moreover, where 'Son' is written is as if covered in leather, that is, in the humanity [that he has] assumed, which is bleached by the purity of immunity from sin and the glory of resurrection, made red by the blood of his passion.[153] (Robert Grosseteste, *Dictum* 95).

Despite the clear similarities between these sections, the texts' chronology and relationship to one another is less clear. As already noted, both the earliest manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* and the diagrams in Durham MS A.III.12 can, at best, be dated to c.1220–1230. However, further clues to the development of the diagram can be found in its connections with the Dominicans, the order most probably behind the composition of *Ancrene Wisse*.[154] Though slower to found new convents than the Franciscans, the Dominicans arrived first in England and spread earlier, not least in the West Midlands where *Ancrene Wisse* was almost certainly composed.[155] The *scutum fidei*, an image with seemingly English provenance in this period, would seem to reflect a circulation of ideas between the English province and the wider Dominican community, particularly those based at Paris. Indeed, a description closely matching the diagram occurs in the Dominican Hugh of St-Cher's popular *Postilla* on

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[151] *AW*, p. 147: 'Nawt ane þis scheld ne schilt us from alle uueles, ah deð ȝet mare: cruneð us in heouene. Scuto bone voluntatis – 'Lauerd,' he seið, Dauið, 'wið þe scheld of þi gode wil þu hauest us icrunet.' 'Scheld', he seið, 'of god wil', for willes he þolede al þet he þolede.'

[152] *AW*, p. 148: 'I scheld beoð þreo þinges: þe treo, ant te leðer, and te litunge. Alswa wes i þis scheld: þe treo of þe rode, þet leðer if Godes licome, þe litunge of þe reade blod þet heowede hire se feire.'

[153] Durham MS A.III.12, f. 14v: 'Angulus vero ubi scriptum est 'Filius', quasi coreo tegitur, humanitate scilicet assumpta, quod dealbatur mundicia immunitatis a peccato et gloria resurrectionis, rubricatur sanguine passionis'.

[154] Bella Millet suggested that on the basis of textual evidence, the author of *Ancrene Wisse* was most likely to have been a Dominican friar, possibly part of a bishop's household prior to the foundation of Dominican houses in the West Midlands during the later 1230s: *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, trans. Bella Millett (Exeter, 2009), pp. xxii-xxiii.

[155] Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, pp. 63-8.

Ephesians, written c.1230: 'faith can be said to be a shield, because just as a shield is one and is three-cornered, so faith is of one substance and is three persons'.[156] Notably, a mid-thirteenth century copy of this text exists in Durham Cathedral Library MS A.I.16, one of several of the manuscripts of Hugh's *Postillae* gifted to Durham by former prior Bertram de Middleton; these include the manuscript containing Grosseteste's shield diagrams.[157]

Further evidence for a Dominican role in the dissemination of the exegesis of the *scutum fidei* occurs in the *Chronica majora*, Matthew Paris's universal chronicle composed at St Albans c.1235–1259.[158] Matthew recorded two shields in the *bas-de-page* of the *Chronica majora* (Figure 6); a shield of faith diagram, and a similar yet seemingly unique *scutum anime* ('shield of the soul'). The *scutum anime* mirrored the shield of faith's composition, replacing Trinitarian elements with *memoria*, *voluntas* and *ratio*, which make up the components of *anima*. The shields are drawn beneath each column of text in part of the annal for 1216, recording how several barons rebelling against John decided to switch allegiance to Louis of France. Elaborating on the account of these events recorded in Roger of Wendover's *Flores historiarum*, Matthew added a long invective from the collective mouths of the barons on this folio of the *Chronica*, criticising both John and the Pope.[159]

There is no reference to the shields in the text; Suzanne Lewis suggested that their occurrence under this specific chronicle entry represented Matthew's attempt to justify the barons' actions against their church and sovereign, conferring 'righteous emblems of faith and religion' on the baronial cause through association with the allegorical armour of Ephesians 6.[160] Though writing approximately two decades after the conflict, this portrayal of the rebels as an 'army of God' also occurred in a more contemporary chronicle of those events, that of Ralph of Coggeshall.[161] As such, the view may have represented (to some degree at least), contemporary religious thought on the divine righteousness of the baronial rebellion.[162] Unlike many of Matthew's other marginal illustrations, the shields bear no direct relevance to the text above them, and it is possible that they were included as an afterthought where Matthew thought particularly appropriate.

Matthew's *scutum anime* is the only known example of this diagram in medieval art. Lewis believed that it was Matthew's own invention, a iconographic rendition of divine support for the baronial cause,

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[156] 'fides dicitur scutum, quia sicut scutum unum est, et est Triangulum, ita fides est de unitate substantiae et trinitate personarum', cited in Evans, 'Illustrated Fragment', p. 24.
[157] For a full list of these manuscripts: *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. N. R. Ker, (London, 1964), p. 257.
[158] On Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora* see: Björn Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), pp. 254-78; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c.550 to c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 356-79; Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 45-77, 125-58.
[159] *CM*, ii., pp. 646-7. Cf. *RW*, ii, pp. 172-4.
[160] Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 194-7.
[161] The earliest feasible date for the entry is around 1235-6, when Matthew took over from Roger of Wendover as the main chronicler at St Albans, while the latest date posited by Richard Vaughan for the insertion of major marginal illustrations in the *Chronica* is c.1247: Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 227.
[162] *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1875), p. 171.

made relevant to the chronicle entry whereby Matthew claimed the barons were enlisting both the Trinity and 'the soul's memory, will, and reason'.[163] The diagram appears to have drawn on the Augustine analogy of the tripartite soul which mirrored the Trinity; the argument given in *De trinitate* that the soul, created in God's likeness, must be 'ontologically Trinitarian'.[164] Lewis's suggestion offers a plausible reason for the diagram's inclusion at this specific point in the chronicle, and the ubiquity of Augustine's ideas in the Middle Ages means that Matthew was very probably familiar with the concept of the Augustinian tripartite soul. However, Matthew's writing generally was heavily Classicised, particularly with reference to the works of Horace and Ovid; there is no discernible programmatic Augustinianism in his chronicle entries or other writing.[165]

Michael Evans called the *scutum anime* 'an anomaly, unparalleled in theological imagery, pictorial or verbal', and surmised that it was Matthew's attempt to complete or expand his collection of heraldic shields found in the *Liber additamentorum*.[166] However, Matthew's well-attested interest in heraldry does not account for the singular occurrence of these diagrammatic (as opposed to heraldic) shields. Furthermore, he did not include them in his list of heraldic shield designs found in the *Liber additamentorum*.[167] Furthermore, there is a textual precedent for the *scutum anime* found in Bernard's *Sententiae*, in a discussion of different trinities:

> The second [trinity] is that which has fallen … the trinity which has fallen consists of memory, reason, and will. Memory symbolises the Father, reason the Son, and will the Holy Spirit, because just as the Son is generated by the Father, so too is reason generated by memory; and just as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, will proceeds from memory and reason.[168]

Bernard's description of the fallen Trinity matches the three labels that make up the soul (*anime*) in Matthew's diagram: memory (*memoria*), reason (*ratio*), and will (*voluntas*). Furthermore, the locations of the labels in each diagram match Bernard's comparisons between the two trinities. The locations of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit on the shield of faith match the respective locations of memory, reason, and will in Matthew's *scutum anime*, reflecting the relations between each as described in Bernard's *Sentence*.

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[163] Lewis, *Art*¸ p. 196.
[164] Allegra Iafrate, ''*Scutum album aquila nigra secundum dictum, sed a contrario secundum alium*': Note Sull'araldica in Matthew Paris', in Matteo Ferrari (ed.), *L'Arme Segreta: Araldica e Storia Dell'Arte nel Medioevo (Secoli XIII-XV)* (Florence, 2015), pp. 191-93.
[165] Sarah L. Hamilton, 'Tales of Wonder in the Chronica Maiora of Matthew Paris', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 26 (2000), p. 121; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 38-40, 47, 128-9, 163, 257.
[166] Evans, 'Illustrated Fragment', p. 23.
[167] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 251-3.
[168] *SBO*., 6.2., pp. 15-16 : 'Secunda est quae cecidit … trinitas quae cecidit est memoria, ratio, voluntas. Memoria significat Patrem, ratio Filium, voluntas Spiritum Sanctum, quia sicut Filius generatur a Patre, ita ratio a memoria; et sicut Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Patre et Filio, sic voluntas a memoria et a ratione'.

It is entirely plausible that Matthew learned about the diagrams from one of Grosseteste's visits to St Albans, either from Grosseteste himself, or from those in his household, which included both Franciscan and Dominican friars.[169] The *Chronica majora* reveals that Grosseteste and Matthew were certainly together at Westminster in 1247.[170] Evidence connecting Matthew's shield drawings with both Grosseteste and the Dominicans, comes from the word '*bacun*' found between and below the two shields (Figure 6). This is most likely to be a reference to Robert Bacon (d. 1248), lector to the Dominicans at Oxford whilst Grosseteste occupied the same role for the Franciscans.[171] In the *Chronica*, Matthew explains that he had received much of the information for his *Life* of Edmund of Abingdon from Bacon.[172] Matthew's high opinion of Bacon's learning is evident from the *Chronica* entry detailing his death in 1248, referring to him as 'unsurpassed, indeed unequalled whilst living, in theology and other sciences'.[173] Furthermore, Matthew added Bacon into the *Chronica majora*'s account of the Marshal rebellion in 1233, modifying Roger of Wendover's source text and attributing to Bacon a witticism made against Peter des Roches, the Poitevin bishop of Winchester.[174] Considered alongside the other Dominican connections to the shield of faith diagrams and textual renditions of the shield of faith set out above, most notably Hugh of St-Cher's *Postilla* on Ephesians, it is likely that Matthew learned of the shield diagrams from Bacon, a theologian he clearly admired, perhaps during one of their earlier conversations about Edmund of Abingdon. The presence of the word 'bacun' between the two diagrams may be Matthew's way of crediting the person who taught them to him, who possibly even designed them.

Cross as Shield

The appearance of the cross on the English illustrations of the shield of faith, and indeed the association of a cross with a shield, have parallels in French, Anglo-Norman, and English vernacular works from the thirteenth century. There, images or relics of the cross, making the sign of the cross, or in some cases thinking about the cross or crucifixion, are attributed the power to banish demons. In *Ancrene Wisse*, expanding on the shield of the heart from Lamentations 3:65, the author explicitly associates the cross with a protective shield against the devil:

[169] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 11-18.
[170] *CM*, iv., pp. 643-4.
[171] On Bacon see: A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, (Oxford, 1957), Vol. i., p. 87.; B. Smalley, 'Robert Bacon and the Early Dominican School at Oxford', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (1948), pp. 1-19.; On Grosseteste and Bacon's relationship and teaching: Southern, *Grosseteste*, p. 71. Bacon and Grosseteste were teaching together at Oxford when they were tasked, along with the university's chancellor, with removing prostitutes from the city in 1234: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1231–1234* (London, 1905), p. 568.
[172] *Chronica Majora*, v., pp. 369-70.
[173] *Chronica Majora*., v., p. 16: 'quibus non erant majores, immo nec pares, ut creditur, viventes in theologia et aliis scientiis'.
[174] Ibid, iii., p. 245.

> A shield in battle should be held up above the head, or in front of the chest, not dragged behind. In just the same way, if you want the shield of the cross and God's cruel passion to foil the devil's weapons, do not drag it behind you, but raise it up high above the head of your heart, where the eyes of the heart can see it. Hold it up against the devil; show it to him clearly. Just the sight of it will put him to flight, because he is both humiliated by it and scared out of his wits since that time when our Lord used it to defeat his crafty villainy and his proud strength so completely.[175]

In the continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval* attributed to Gerbert de Montreuil (c.1200), both the sign and relics of the cross have the power to make any evil spirits flee, as the Hermit King explains:

> And be sure of this, my friend: the Devil fears the cross more than anything, because thanks to the cross he lost his prey! And anyone who worships God and prays that the cross may be his shield will never be vanquished by any demon: if he makes the sign of the cross upon himself, all malign spirits will flee, for they fear the cross so much.[176]

Here the cross in and of itself is not enough; only when utilised by a Christian who prays for the cross's protection is making its sign effectual. Prior to this scene, Perceval receives a white shield with a red cross, within which was a piece of the True Cross, with which Perceval is able to defeat the 'knight of the dragon' (*chevaliers au dragon*), who has a dragon's head on his shield, enchanted to breathe fire by the devil.[177] When they first begin to battle, the demon inhabiting the enchanted shield is fearful of the relic of the cross:

> The demon in the dragon's head, hurling the fire and flame, now saw the cross and was filled with dread, for Jesus Christ the King won the battle on the cross and so broke into Hell and freed His friends who were suffering dire torment; and in terror of the cross on which Christ was crucified, the demon howled and bellowed like a bull.[178]

The concept of a 'battle on the cross' is also evident in a fragment of Henry of Avranches' (d. 1260) poetic *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* dated to c.1230, the lines of which describe a 'noble battle' (*nobile bellum*) taking place at the Crucifixion, with the cross itself described 'as a battlefield' (*quasi campus*).[179] Notably, the fragment covers the cross on a shield of faith diagram occurring in London, British Library, Cotton MS Faustina B VII, in its chronicle based on Peter of Poitier's *Compendium* (see

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[175] *AW*, p. 111: 'Me schal halden scheld i feht up abuuen heaued, oðer aȝein þe breoste, nawt ne drahen hit bihinden. Al riht swa, ȝef þu wult þet te rode scheld ant Godes stronge Passiun falsi þe deofles wepnen, ne dragse þu hit nawt efter þe, ah hef hit on heh buue þin heorte heaued, i þine breoste ehnen. Hald hit up toȝen þe feond; schaw hit him witerliche. Þe sihðe þrof ane bringeð him o fluhte, for ba him scheomeð þer-wið brohte swa to grunde his cointe couerschipe ant his prude strengðe'.

[176] Gerbert de Montreuil, *La continuation de Perceval: Quatrième continuation*, ed. Frédérique le Nan (Geneva, 2014), ll. 8468-8657: 'Et sachiez bien, biax dols amis, / que l'anemis la crois redoute / plus que rien nule; n'est pas dote / que par le crois perdi sa proie. / Et cil qui Dieu aore et proie / que la crois li soit ses escus / n'iert ja par anemi vencus: / s'il fait de la crois sor lui signe, / trestot li esperit maligne / s'en fuient, tant doutent la crois'.

[177] *Ibid*., l. 8979.

[178] *Continuation de Perceval*, ll. 9556-9567: 'Quant la crois voit li anemis / qui en la teste au dragon fu, / qui giete le flamble et le fu, / tant doute l'anemis la crois / por che que Jhesucris li rois / venqui en la crois le bataille, par coi brisa infer sanz faille / et en geta ses amis fors / qui sosfroient les tormens fors; / et por che l'anemis doutoit / la crois que Diex mis i estoit, / sib rai et crie comme un tors'.

[179] Cristian N. Ispir, 'A New Witness to Henry of Avranches's Vita Sancti Oswaldi in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Faustina B VII', *Electronic Journal of the British Library*, (2019), p. 1. For a reproduction of the lines of the fragment see: Ibid., p. 4.

Figure 2, above). The fragment containing the lines of Henry of Avranches' poem appear to have been deliberately copied and placed on vellum covering this image to act as a kind of 'meditative dialogue' between text and image.[180] Taken in combination, a strong connection between the cross, shield, and victory over the devil is once again evident.

The cross is called a shield and ascribed with the ability to banish demons in Matthew Paris's *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei*, an Anglo-Norman verse Life of Edward the Confessor.[181] The *Estoire* was most probably written for Eleanor of Provence on her marriage to Henry III.[182] Upon seeing a 'devil … black and hideous' in the royal treasury, Edward banishes it with 'a blessing as his shield, and the devil left because of the cross's power'.[183] This particular scene is one of Matthew's additions to the story, appearing in no previous Latin *Life* of Edward.[184] The similarity with the extracts from *Ancrene Wisse* and the thirteenth-century continuation of *Perceval* strongly suggest that an idea was circulating amongst the laity that the devil feared both relics and signs of the cross, which was thought of as a 'shield' against the devil. Hagiographies, particularly of English saints, frequently demonstrate them making the sign of the cross as a way of vanquishing demons.[185] The appearance of this trope in vernacular genres beyond hagiography, or indeed vernacular hagiographies designed for lay consumption like Matthew's *Estoire*, further suggests the expansion of saintly, eremitic, and monastic concepts of spiritual warfare being expanded to the laity in the thirteenth century.

The Sword

Swords possessed great importance in medieval society, not only as weapons of war but as symbols of earthly authority. They were the most celebrated weapons of the period, and although not exclusively used by knights, were nonetheless potent symbols of knightly military and justiciary power. Named swords like Roland's Durendal and Arthur's Excalibur were well-known from

[180] Ispir, 'New Witness', p. 2.
[181] *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei, Attributed to Matthew Paris*, ed. Kathryn Young Wallace, Anglo-Norman Text Society XLI (London, 1983). English Translation: *The History of Saint Edward the King by Matthew Paris*, trans. Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Tempe, 2008).
[182] For an excellent summary of Matthew Paris's authorship and the purpose of the *Estoire*, see the introduction to *History of Saint Edward*, especially pp. 1-3, 11-27.
[183] *Aedward le rei*, ll. 944-950: 'Vit un deable saer desus / Le tresor, noir e hidus. / Sul le vit li rois Aedward, / Ke li dist k'il tost s'en part, / E fait de benaiçun escu; / E il s'en part par grant vertu / De la croiz'.
[184] The scene does not appear in either the first anonymous *prosimetrum* Life of Edward: *Vita Ædwardi regis: The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster, Attributed to a Monk of St Bertin*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow (London, 1962), or the *Vita* written by Osbert of Clare in 1138: Osbert of Clare, *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum*, ed. Marc Bloch, in 'La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1932), pp. 5-131. Nor does it appear in Ælred of Rievaulx's *Vita* or the anonymous Latin verse version dated to c.1163–1173, both at: *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia 7: Opera Historica et Hagiographica*, ed. Franceso Marzella, CCCM III A (Turnhout, 2017).
[185] Tom Licence, *Hermits & Recluses in English Society, 950–1200* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 143-4.

romances and *chansons de geste*, while the sword of the prince or the landed knight, appearing on aristocratic seals and tombs, operated as a powerful signifier of its wielder's 'capacity to do public justice'.[186] A variety of images and textual references from the period indicate swords were worn as symbols of authority outside of combat settings. They occur, for example, in all surviving *ordines* detailing the frameworks for organisation and performance of royal coronations; the gifting of the sword to the monarch was almost invariably accompanied by prayers drawing on Psalm 44:4: 'gird your sword to your thigh'.[187] Swords conferred on kings as part of their coronation signified their sacral status as arbiters of worldly justice, and more generally acted as indicators of their secular power. This association between swords and divinely granted power was adapted and adopted for use by the emergent culture of aristocratic knighthood in the eleventh century.[188] The appearance of swords in coronation *ordines* not long after this appears to reflect the Church's influence over the military aristocracy through the earlier Peace and Truce of God movements, and its shifting attitude towards the possibility of earthly soldiers as *milites Christi* in the wake of the success of the First Crusade.[189]

As a symbol of elite military power, the sword's symbolic or mystical significance predated the advent of Christianity in western Europe.[190] Indeed, despite several appearances of swords in the Bible, they appear to have been something of an ambiguous symbol for the medieval Church, which sought to associate this weapon of conflict and killing with ecclesiastically sanctioned justice and protection, especially from the Gregorian reforms onwards.[191] A short passage from Luke 22:38, 'here are two swords' (*ecce duo gladii hic*), gave rise from the late fifth century onwards under Pope Gelasius I to a whole system of thought concerning the powers of the Church (the spiritual sword) and those of secular rulers (the material or worldly sword).[192] In the power struggles between popes and Holy Roman Emperors during the Investiture Contest, Gregory VII had made extensive use of the two swords doctrine to try and delineate the extent of the Church's earthly power.[193] Bernard of Clairvaux

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[186] Emma Mason, 'The Hero's Invincible Weapon: An Aspect of Angevin Propaganda', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 121-37; DeVries and Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 18.; France, *Western Warfare*, p. 23.; Moffat, 'Arms and Armour', p. 159.; Crouch, *Chivalric Turn*, p. 283.

[187] Jane Martindale, 'The Sword on the Stone: Some Resonances of a Medieval Symbol of Power (The Tomb of King John in Worcester Cathedral', in Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 15* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 202.

[188] Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 49-50.; Magnate seals from around this period increasingly depict a sword being wielded, commonly 'in a far more aggressive and belligerent manner' than on their royal counterparts: Martindale, 'Sword on the Stone', p. 232.

[189] Richard Barber, 'When is a Knight not a Knight?', in Stephen Church and Ruth Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood V* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 13-14.

[190] Ayton, 'Arms', p. 199., suggests that the high number of both Iron Age and medieval sword finds from lakes and rivers demonstrate a connection between pre-Christian European rituals and the accounts of Excalibur being

[191] Martindale, 'Sword on the Stone', p. 232.

[192] Some of the exegesis that led to the 'two swords' doctrine predates this period, coming from Origen, see: Gerard E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley, 1979). On Gelasius see: Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 23, 125.

[193] Tellenbach, *Church in Western Europe*, pp. 218-44.

had been crucial in further developing this idea in his *De consideratione* ('On Consideration'), claiming that while both the spiritual and the worldly sword belonged to the Church, the material sword was wielded by the knight at the direction of the Pope.[194]

With regard to texts concerning spiritual arming and spiritual warfare, the discussion almost invariably centred around the Ephesian 'sword of the spirit, which is the word of God' (*gladium spiritus quod est verbum Dei*).[195] While explicitly referred to the word of God in Ephesians 6, another influential passage on the likeness of God's word to a sword occurs in Hebrews 4:12:

> For the word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit, of the joints also and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.[196]

Elements from Hebrews 4:12, namely the sword's two edges, its power to divide body from soul, and its ability to penetrate human hearts, were all expounded upon by patristic writers discussing the sword of the Word of God. So too was the passage from Matthew 10:34, 'I came not to send peace, but the sword', interpreted as Christ's coming fulfilling the word of God.[197] The same writers often took to interpreting Old Testament mentions of swords in accordance with the New Testament sword of the Word of God. Augustine likens the sword from Psalm 7:13, '[God] will brandish his sword' (*gladium suum vibravit*), to the first and second comings of Christ.[198] Cassiodorus's commentary on Psalm 44:4, 'gird thy sword upon thy thigh' does similar: 'here we must take 'sword' as words of proclamation, which [Christ] himself attests in the Gospel: I came not to send peace, but the sword'.[199] He then discusses the power of the word of God to enter the hearts of humanity, drawing on the sword allegory from both Ephesians and Hebrews: 'The sword is called God's word, for with the force of its strength it bursts into the hearts of men which are gross with vices; man's weakness cannot resist where the glory of that strength deigns to enter'.[200] Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* stressed the importance of living the Word of God rather than just knowing it. The essence of Gregory's explanation is that wielding the sword of the Word of God is done by living by Scripture:

> …there is nothing grand in just knowing the word of God, but doing the word of God is greatness. He who knows God's word but disdains the project of living by it, unquestionably has a sword, but does not wield it. Nor can he who never uses the spiritual

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[194] *SBO*, 3, p. 454. See also: Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 207, 443.
[195] Ephesians 6:17
[196] Hebrews 4:12: 'Vivus est enim sermo Dei, et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti: et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus: compagum quoque et medullarum, et discretor cogitationum et intentionum cordis'.
[197] This was almost certainly reinforced by the passage from Revelation 19:15: 'And out of [Christ's] mouth proceeds a sharp two-edged sword; that with it he may strike the nations' (*Et de ore ejus procedit gladius ex utraque parte acutus, ut in ipso percutiat gentes*).
[198] *Enarrationes,* Vol 1., p. 45.
[199] *Expositio Psalmorum*, Vol 1., p. 405: 'Sed hic gladium sermonem praedicationis debemus accipere, de quo ipse in evagelio testatur: non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium'.
[200] *Expositio Psalmorum*, Vol 1., p. 405: 'Gladius autem dicitur sermo Dei, quia corpulenta vitiis corda hominum ictu suae virtutis irrumpit; nec potest imbecillitas humana resistere, ubi illa fortitudinis gloria dignatur intrare'.

> sword he has be trained for war. There is no ability to resist temptation when someone delays the wielding of the spiritual sword by living badly.[201]

To live badly was therefore to live in a worldly way, not in accordance with Scripture. This peril emerges time and again throughout the spiritual arming texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the very purpose of arming spiritually was to overcome worldly and bodily desires, so often allegorised as the devil's attacks.

The spiritual sword's two edges, its power to cut one thing from another, and its ability to enter hearts, all recur in twelfth-century monastic discussions of spiritual arms. The *Similitudo militis* discusses the two edges in relation to the differing language of Scripture, both its ability to frighten and to instil love:

> For a double-edged sword is accustomed to be able to fall on either edge. So too does the Word of God seem to fall on either edge, when it is likely to prick the hearts of men in two ways, that is, now by frightening, now by pleasing; now by sounding eternal death, now by the promise of everlasting life.[202]

In this sense, the allegorical spiritual sword reinforces the message given in the same text's discussion of the spurs and the shield.[203] The sword section of *Similitudo militis* similarly reiterates the importance of both the fear of hell and the desire for eternal life in motivating the spiritual knight to keep fighting. Where the spurs allegory focuses on how both fear and love can be used to 'spur' the body into rightful action, and the shield is utilised to discuss how both fear and love help protect against the devil's attacks, the sword 'pricks the hearts of men'. This allegory functions on a number of levels. It helps with understanding the passage from Hebrews 4:12, on the 'more piercing' (*penetrabilior*) nature of the Word of God. In addition, it explains how Scripture provides the impetus for the fear and love which also act in motivating and protecting, allegorised as the spurs and shield respectively. On another level, the passage also indicates that the sword of the Word of God, penetrating to the heart, is the action of God rather than man. Yet at the same time, it also possesses utility from a social and communal perspective, of how one monk may use the Word of God to prick the heart of another.

The second part of the sword discussion in *Similitudo militis* concerns another element of the sword allegory from Hebrews 4:12, namely the word of God's power to separate one thing from another. In this instance, the word of God separates the devil from his hold on the spiritual knight's heart:

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[201] *Moralia*, 19.XXX.56: 'quia videlicet verbum Dei non est mirabile somlummodo scire, sed facere. Habet quippe, sed non tenet gladium, qui divinum quidem eloquium novit, sed secundum illud vivere neglegit. Et doctus esse ad bella iam non valet, qui spiritalem quem habet gladium minime exercet. Nam resistere temptationibus omnino non sufficit, qui hunc verbi Dei tenere gladium male vivendo postponit'.
[202] *Memorials*, p. 102: 'Anceps namque gladius ex utraque parte solet incidere. Sic et sermo Dei quasi ex utraque parte videtur incidere, cum corda hominum duobus modis solet compungere, scilicet nunc terrendo, nunc blandiendo, nunc mortem aeternam sonando, nunc vitam sempiternam promittendo'.
[203] *Memorials*, p. 101. On the *Similitudo militis* spurs, see Chapter 3, pp. 127-8.

> Therefore, when the knight of Christ endeavours to exercise part of the word of God, both in himself and in whoever else he may, in a certain way he is seen to slay the ancient enemy with a sword. For as if by slaying him, by beating him down into annihilation, [the knight] violently banishes him from the hearts of those in which he formerly dwelled, by way of the sword of the word of God.[204]

As with the first part of the passage just discussed, this second section of the sword allegory exhibits both the personal, introspective element of studying scripture, and the benefits of preaching it to others. Unlike the allegorised defensive arms and the horse of the body, which can only help with fleeing and defending the soul from the devil, the word of God is the only weapon able to cut away the devil from his hold on the heart. The lance, allegorised as foresight (*providentia*) is able to pierce through (*transfixum*) the devil when the knight is suitably prepared, but the sword of the word of God is the only weapon that can explicitly slay (*iugulare*) the devil.[205]

Bernard of Clairvaux discusses the word of God as a sword in a number of his *Sententiae*, *Parabolae*, and sermons. In *De filio regis* ('Of the King's Son'), one of the *Parabolae*, the sword of the word of God is given to the new recruit when he is sent from the castle or camp (*castris*) of David, as a member of the spiritual army.[206] While there is nothing about what the sword signifies or how it might be 'wielded', its gifting to the recruit before leaving the camp of David probably reflects the beginning of the novice's journey towards God. The sword of the word of God is what the spiritual knight must arm himself with in order to strike back in the battle against the devil. In this instance, however, the sword alone is not enough, the recruit does not possess the requisite humility or discipline to succeed. Instead he is 'most impatient to make a name for himself rather than to conquer the enemy … disdaining the discipline of his own camp and contemptuous of his comrades'.[207] A related passage occurs in one of Bernard's sermons, *De multiplici efficacia verbi divini* ('On the Versatile Usefulness of God's Word').[208] There too the listener is placed into the camp or castle and must take the sword of the word of God into the battle: 'When the enemy is pressing against your castle and the battle of temptation begins to rise, take the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, and you will easily triumph'.[209]

In two of the *Sententiae*, Bernard instead utilises a sword to allegorise justice. The first, likening the arms to commonly held virtues, combines the concept of justice as due, more often ascribed to armour,

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[204] *Memorials*, p. 103: 'Cum ergo miles Christi hanc verbi Dei sectionem et in se et in quoscumque valet satagit exercere, ipsum antiquum hostem gladio quodammodo videtur iugulare. Quasi enim iugulando eum usque ad interniciem prosternit, dum longe a finibus suis, a cordibus videlicet, in quibus ante inhabitaverat, gladio verbi Dei illum violenter expellit'.
[205] *Memorials,* p. 103. For more on the lance in *Similitudo militis,* see: Chapter 3, pp. 114-7.
[206] *SBO,* 6.2., p. 274.
[207] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 274: 'ad faciendum sibi nomen plus quam ad hostem vincendum impatientissimus … castrorumque suorum dedignans disciplinam, sociis contemptis'.
[208] *SBO,* 6.1., pp. 183-6.
[209] *SBO*, 6.1., pp. 184-5: 'Ubi si consistunt adversum te castra et proelium tentationis insurgit, arripe gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, et in eo facile triumphabis'.

implicitly with the word of God's ability to cleave things apart, seemingly a discussion of the power of justice: '…justice, which pays others back equitably and which is like the sword that cuts on both sides to the point of division between soul and spirit'.[210] A similar allegorisation of a sword stroke occurs in another Cistercian text, the *Tractatus de natura et dignitate amoris* of William of St Thierry. There, the soul 'is severed from its love of the world by the sword of a love as strong as death. Love of the world is killed, just as the body is killed by death'.[211] The second of Bernard's *Sententiae* discussing the sword in relation to justice explores the tale of David and Goliath. Bernard explains that when taken up by David, Goliath's sword, signifying anger, is 'turned to a good purpose sought with zeal', and used to cut away pride and excess.[212] The power of the word of God is such that anger, a sin, can be turned into righteous zeal for justice: 'the sword of the devil is transformed into the sword of Christ, so that which once served sin may now serve justice'.[213]

Several mentions of spiritual and other moralised swords occur in Alan of Lille's *Arte praedicatoria*, there used as allegories for a number of virtues and practices. It appears several times in the section on justice, where Alan likens the exercise of worldly justice to a sword, a model sermon clearly aimed at princes and others with judicial power. However, the chapter also makes clear the inner, spiritual importance of the correct application of worldly justice:

> [Justice] is medicine for the vices, the antidote to sin. This is the sword which defends both parts of a man; the body against external injuries, the soul against inner vexations. This is the stone with which David struck down Goliath and freed Israel from slavery. Without discretion, [justice] is a sword in the hand of a madman. Without power, it is a sword in the hand of a cripple; without mercy, it is a sword in the hand of a tyrant.[214]

The emphasis here is on the spiritual importance of doing justice rightly, with discretion, power, and mercy, with warning of the possible connotations for the soul of the wielder of the allegorical sword of justice. In another chapter on 'instruction in watchfulness' (*informatio ad vigiliam*), the sword is again invoked in discussions of the spiritual elements of the bodily vigil, performed at night:

> The faithful soul should, like a man of great strength, 'Guard the bed of Solomon' (Song 3:7), and hold his sword across his thighs in the face of the terrors of the night. Not only in worldly vigils, but also in spiritual, the faithful soul should be watchful … [he should]

[210] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 53: 'iustitia, quae est gladius utrobique incidens ad divisionem animae et spiritus'.
[211] *Guillelmo a Sancto Theodorico opera omnia pars III: Opera didactica et spiritualia*, ed. Stanislai Ceglar and Pauli Verdeyen, CCCM 88 (Turnhout, 2003), p. 194: 'fortis ut mors dilectio pervadit dulci amoris gladio ab amore et affectu saeculi, sic occidens eam funditus et interimens, sicut mors interimit corpus'.
[212] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 89: 'in zelum bonum conversa transit in usus'.
[213] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 89: 'Gladius ergo diaboli mutatur in gladium Christi, ut qui ante peccato nunc serviat iustitiae'.
[214] PL 210, col. 0151A: 'Haec est medicina vitiorum, antidotum peccatorum. Haec est gladius qui utramque partem hominis defendit; corpus ab exterioribus injuriis, animam ab interioribus molestiis. Haec est lapis quo David Goliam percussit, et Israel a servitute liberavit. Haec, sine discretione, est gladius in manu furiosi; haec, sine potential, est gladius in manu contracti; haec, sine misericordia, est gladius in manu tyranni'.

> wield the sword of discretion, to restrain the stirrings of the flesh and the attacks of the devil which are to be most feared and avoided in the darkness of this world.[215]

Again, this example demonstrates the close alignment of worldly or bodily practice, in this case vigils, with the spiritual struggle such an act also entails. The reminder is to remain aware that in the depths of the vigil, the 'darkness of this world', the Christian is most likely to come under attack, and so the spirit must restrain the body with discretion. The sermon to knights in the *Arte praedicatoria* also draws parallels between worldly and spiritual battle. After discussing a number of the exemplary figures for knights to emulate, Alan notes that the sword-belt, a symbol of knightly status, should outwardly reflect the knight's readiness to engage in internal, spiritual struggle: 'The cohort of the thebaid, too, so wore the sword-belt of outward knighthood that they inwardly fought devotedly for God'.[216] In many ways this also echoes Ralph Niger's purpose in writing *De re militari*, that without the internal, spiritual pilgrimage that represented spiritual reform of the knighthood, the worldly armed pilgrimage that was Crusade was pointless.

Alan of Lille's choice of the sword-belt also carried a connotation of knightly service that was not present in the sword alone. The receiving of the sword-belt, rather than just the sword itself, differentiated the knight who had undergone dubbing from the common soldiery, with the term 'belted knight' (*miles accinctus*) often appearing in records.[217] While similarly equipped warriors who fought in the same ways appear in sources from the period, these were differentiated from the 'belted' knights by the fact that they are often noted as not having received the belt of knighthood (*cingulum militiae*) or been dubbed.[218] This belt could be removed as a symbolic removal of knightly status. This was carried out by a papal legate against Thomas of Marle, who, although a successful participant in the First Crusade, later returned to evil practices that earned him the despisal of the Church.[219] Alan of Lille's specific reference to the 'sword-belt of outward knighthood' and 'outward appearance' of knighthood indicate there was an expectation on the belted knight to also be willing to fight the spiritual battle.

In many ways, the discussion of the sword-belt in this chapter of *Arte praedicatoria* reflects Bernard of Clairvaux's praise of the Templars in *De laude*, who were armed 'inwardly with faith, outwardly

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[215] PL 210, col. 0178D-0179A: 'Debet enim unusquisque fidelis tanquam vir fortissimus ambire lectum Salomonis, et tenere gladium super femur suum, propter timores nocturnos. Quod non solum vigiliis materialibus, verum etiam spiritualibus debet unusquisque fidelis … id est uti gladio discretionis, ad refrenandum motus carnis et insultus diaboli, qui maxime in tenebris hujus mundi cavendi sunt, et timendi'.

[216] PL 210, col. 0186A: 'Thebaea etiam cohors, sic exterius utebatur militiae cingulo, quod interius devote militabant Deo'.

[217] For more on this see: Jonathan Boulton, 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity: The Knighting of Counts' and Kings' Sons in England, 1066–1272', in Stephen D. Church and Ruth Harvey (eds)., *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood V* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 47-100.; Barber, 'When is a Knight', pp. 9-10.; Jones, *Medieval Sword*, p. 50.

[218] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp.

[219] Steven Isaac, 'The Afterlife of the Medieval Christian Warrior', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (2022), pp. 29-30.; For the details of the stripping of Thomas of Marle's sword-belt see: *Vie de Louis VI*, pp. 14, 172-8, 250-4.

with steel' (*intus fide, foris ferro*).[220] Alan's purpose in preaching to knights in *Arte praedicatoria* also appears to have been similar to Bernard's disparagement of the worldly knighthood in *De laude*. In the chapter on preaching to different audiences, the preacher is advised to urge (*moveat*) knights 'not to threaten strangers; let them exact nothing by force, terrify no-one with violence; let them be defenders of their homeland, guardians of widows and orphans'.[221] The predations knights are to be urged to avoid are, however, exactly what Alan goes on to accuse them of in the chapter on preaching to knights.[222]

Alan's discussion on the purpose of knights in this chapter of *Arte praedicatoria*, which he then contrasts with complaints of their worldly misdeeds, presents an ideal that they should live up to: 'For this especially were knights ordained, that they should defend their native land, and that they should repel the attacks of the violent upon the Church'.[223] As explored in the shield section above, and in Chapter 1, Alan's model of the knight has a notable parallel in the Lady of the Lake's explanation of the history of knighthood in the Prose *Lancelot*. Although Alan contrasts this high purpose with the rather grittier realities of knightly misdeeds, the *Arte praedicatoria* chapter also provides the would-be preacher with a remedy to this dichotomy. The knight must preserve worldly peace but also, crucially, his own inner peace: 'Let the knight be girded outwardly to keep the uneasy peace of the world, and also inwardly with the sword of the word of God to preserve the peace of his own heart'.[224] This spiritual sword, 'by which vexations of mind are kept at bay' (*quo repelluntur molestiae mentis*), is reiterated as part of the spiritual arms discussed at the very end of the chapter.[225] The sword of the word of God, which forms part of this spiritual panoply, is necessary for the knight to overcome the predisposition towards vice, earlier bemoaned as the failing of the worldly knighthood: 'Armed with these [spiritual arms] let him contend against the three-fold enemy: against the Devil, lest he seize him; against the world, lest it reduce him; against the flesh, lest he desire what is forbidden'.[226]

The discussion of the sword in *De re militari* is shorter than that in the *Arte praedicatoria.* In *De re militari*, the sword of the word of God comes after the discussion of the armour and helmet. The wording of the short section on the sword implies that only when those virtues allegorised as defensive equipment are secure can man go about taking the battle to the devil: 'When man is well protected, so that he does not fear the darts of the enemy, he fearlessly and at close range seizes this enemy who

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[220] *SBO,* 3., p. 220.
[221] PL 210, cols. 0185A-0185B: 'non imminentes alienis; nil violenter exigant, neminem concutiant, sint defensores patriae, tutores orphanorum et viduarum; sic exterius gerant arma mundi, ut interius armentur lorica fidei'.
[222] PL 210, cols. 0186B-0186C.
[223] PL 210, col. 0186B: 'Ad hoc specialiter instituti sunt milites, ut patriam suam defendant, et ut repellant ab Ecclesia violentorum injurias'.
[224] PL 210, col. 0186B: 'Accingatur ergo miles exterius ad reformandam violentam pacem temporis; interius quoque gladio verbi Dei, ad restaurandam pacem proprii pectoris'.
[225] PL 210, col. 0186B.
[226] PL 210 [add ref]

rushes upon him'.[227]This is then followed by a more practical interpretation of the meaning of 'wielding' the word of God: 'For he who rightly intends to teach and preach and discuss the word of God, faithfully precedes by example and works what he teaches and preaches'.[228] The implication here is that the knight should live the word of God by the example of his life, rather than just paying lip service to it, while the passage also suggests that clerics should encourage the knights in this by their own holy example.

As with the other spiritual arms, *De re militari* also discusses how the sword can be lost or broken, and the consequences of its loss. Utilising the word of God to improper purposes breaks the sword, while 'ignorance or obstinacy' (*ignorantia vel obstinatione*) causes it to be removed from the wielder.[229] The former implies utilising the word of God to fulfil one's own ends rather than the will of God, while ignorance, wilful or otherwise, of the word similarly removes its protective spiritual power. Ralph is careful, however, to make clear that the word of God itself cannot be broken or lost in any way, only removed from man through his own failings: 'For indeed the word of God, which is a sword, is itself inviolable, but since it is made vain by man's sin, [the sword] can be said to be broken or snatched away, not in itself but in its effect'.[230] In both the section on the sword and how it is lost or broken, Alan appears to be aiming criticism at clerics. That the word of God can only be taken up like a sword once the other virtues are in place may be reminding those preaching to others that only when their own lives are virtuous can they make use of the word of God. If they choose to fulfil worldly goals, promote the seeming word of God to their own ends, or not understand what they preach, the sword representing God's word is snatched away from them through their own failings. This has significant connotations for those who may be considering preaching earthly crusade before examining their own conscience and encouraging the same in their audience.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed a significant amount of allegorical material around the Ephesian 'core' of the spiritual arms: armour, helmet, shield, and sword. All of the arming allegories from the period studied drew on scriptural precedents, but other qualities were also ascribed to these arms in different texts, in accordance with the precedent of flexibility of meaning, set out by Augustine in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. The armour of justice from Ephesians occurs in several texts, and imagined as a hauberk offered authors the chance to draw deeper symbolism out of the connected rings of mail.

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[227] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'Munito quippe homine, ne iacula inimici timeat, alium secure cominus excipit occurrentem'.
[228] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'In enim verbo Dei docendo et predicando et disserendo digne intendit, qui fideliter exemplo et operibus precedit, quod docet et predicat'.
[229] *De re militari,* p. 113.
[230] *De re militari*, p. 113: 'Licet enim verbum Dei, quod est gladius, sit inviolabile, quia frustratur sua culpa hominis, non in se, sed in effectu suo frangi dicitur vel eripi'.

In *Similitudo militis*, protection is granted by the armour of justice only as long as good works are maintained. To perform good works, in the Benedictine sense, was to live rightly within the monastic community, and so the monks' soul was protected by justice as long as they persisted in these. Leaving off from good works removed the same protection. This idea of living properly within community also resonates with the medieval (and earlier) concept of 'justice-as-due'. To live justly as a monk was to fulfil the function of praising God while rejecting the flesh, the world, and by extension, the devil. To offer the latter contempt was also part of living justly, and any worldliness would be in violation of that.

In the *Glossa ordinaria*, the rings of mail existed as an allegory for the interlinked nature of the virtues, and the same discussion took place within *De re militari* concerning the protection offered by the interlinked articles of faith. Ralph Niger also likened the rings to interconnected virtues, drawing extensively on the reality of the four-into-one construction of chainmail to stress the protective power of the cardinal virtues in particular. In addition, Ralph drew on the monastic ideas of obedience and discipline to add symbolic meanings to the straps and ties which secured the armour. Though Ralph ascribed both faith and justice to the armour, his message was that either virtue only offered spiritual protection while it was secured with obedience and discipline. Analysis of the spiritual armour of faith and justice in *De re militari*, demonstrates that Ralph possessed excellent working understanding of knightly armour, not least how it was constructed and fitted. The first book of the work drew on this knowledge to stress the importance of a less worldly life, encouraging faith as a protection for the soul, and the importance of abstinence, discipline, deliberation and counsel in maintaining that spiritual protection. All of these reflect his overall purpose in writing the work, to encourage inner reform of the knighthood before any further undertaking of worldly crusade.

Justice-as-due recurs in Bernard of Clairvaux's spiritual armour of justice. However, Bernard's definition of living justly within the monastery emphasised communal harmony, offering obedience, instruction, cheerfulness and patience where appropriate depending on one's relationship with others. More widely, Bernard also exhibits a greater flexibility in ascribing properties to armour, casting it as a metaphor for humility, temperance, and faith. In addition to steel, faith is what Bernard praises the Templars for being armed with in *De laude*. Notably, it is faith rather than justice that Alan of Lille chooses to promote as the spiritual armour for knights to aspire to in the *Arte praedicatoria*. Taken with his criticisms of the knighthood as explored in the previous chapter, the choice of the armour of faith suggests that the ideal of knighthood Alan promoted was much closer to that of the Templars.

The helmet, despite its protective importance in the real world, receives the shortest amount of discussion in the spiritual arming texts of the period. Texts largely focus on the helmet of salvation occurring in Ephesians 6 and 1 Thessalonians 5, but the allegory is often dependent upon the helmet's

relationship with the head, itself allegorised frequently as reason. The head is cast as the seat of reason by Bernard of Clairvaux, and the same is implied in *Similitudo militis*; in both cases the hope for salvation protects this, indicating that audiences were being encouraged to keep the hope for salvation as the guide for their rational actions at all times. The head is reason in *De re militari* as well. Though protected in this case by faith in the Trinity, Ralph makes clear that this faith is the sure hope of salvation. Ralph's addition of the faceplate allows for a discussion of protecting the senses against temptations offered them by the world, anticipating the focus on bodily withdrawal in the later *Ancrene Wisse* Group and also reflecting an older, monastic focus on rejecting the world.

The shield is mentioned the most of all the moralised arms in scripture, and resultingly carries the most varied meanings in medieval spiritual arming texts. Ephesian concepts of repelling the devil's attacks, depicted as various missiles, remained particularly popular. *Similitudo militis* discussed the idea of faith's protective properties in this regard but its depiction of the shield protecting both rider and horse reflects the larger real-world shields current during its early twelfth-century composition. Patience in adversity is another common allegory, again evident in *Similitudo militis* and again protecting both horse and rider (body and soul). This idea appears to derive from *Moralia in Iob* and recurs in a lay preaching context in Alan of Lille's *Arte praedicatoria*. Ralph Niger attempts to draw together a number of scriptural shields in his 'double shield' of God's truth and good will, reflecting his use of the 'double armour' of faith and justice, derived from 1 Thessalonians 5:8. This is then related to the Ephesian shield of faith; having faith in the truth of God is what provides God's protection in the shape of his good will. Interestingly, on the shield, Ralph offers what we might consider a more 'Old Testament' idea of God coming to protect His faithful.

The shield of faith in particular leads to one of the more curious developments in spiritual arming allegories, the appearance of the Trinitarian diagram in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century which comes to be known as the *scutum fidei*. The likeness of the original Tetragrammaton diagram of Petrus Alfonsi to the smaller, more triangular thirteenth-century shield offered a new utility to the diagram as a visual representation of the Ephesian shield of faith. The idea behind its imagining as a shield echoes Ralph's ideas about the protection offered by the helmet symbolising faith in the Trinity; faith in the Trinity symbolised within the diagram is what offers spiritual protection. The influence of such thought is evident in depictions of the *scutum fidei* in both text and art. In England this is further reinforced through the particular rendition of the diagram with a Crucifixion scene portrayed above the roundel depicting the Son. This process is seemingly bound up with ideas of the cross itself as a protective 'shield', as indicated by the appearance of the idea in English hagiography and in *Ancrene Wisse*. This would indicate that the socially widespread idea of the cross as a protective spiritual 'shield' in thirteenth-century England derived originally from monastic discussions of the protective powers of faith.

The potent symbol of the sword remained largely unchanged in indicating the word of God from Ephesians. The ability of the word of God to separate, like a sword, one thing from another derives from Hebrews 4:12, as do medieval discussions of the sword's point and double-edged nature. In *Similitudo militis* the sword operates somewhat like the spurs of love and fear in its ability to prick the conscience of others, but it is also that which can strike against the devil, a meaning which also occurs in Bernard of Clairvaux's writing. It is Bernard's *De laude* that the sword allegory of *Arte praedicatoria* draws on in its use of contrasting the ideal of knighthood against the misdeeds of its worldly practitioners. The sword in the detailed *De re militari* receives surprisingly short shrift, but what is crucial in its description is the fact that it can only be taken up when the other virtues, allegorised as defensive arms, are securely in place. This carried important connotations for those 'wielding' the word of God, that is, those delivering sermons to the knighthood. If not wielded properly, by one unprotected by his own virtuous living, it was liable to be snatched away, and its efficacy removed. The word of God was, of course, infallible, which may be why the meaning ascribed to the sword remained unchanging across all the texts examined here. This reinforces the point about the sword made in *De re militari* that if it was somehow removed from a man, then the fault lies entirely with man who has wielded the word of God unjustly.

Chapter 3 – The Lance and the Horse in Spiritual Warfare

This chapter explores the appearance of two components associated with knightly combat in the twelfth and thirteenth century spiritual arming allegories: the lance and the horse. Both were first adopted by monastic writers during the first half of the twelfth century as arms of the *miles Christi*. The emergence of the horse as a standard part of the contemporary knight's equipment, and the adoption of the lance used from horseback, offered medieval writers the opportunity to expand the concepts which could be allegorised in discussions of spiritual warfare. The horse representing qualities of the body is evident in *Similitudo militis*, *De re militari*, and the labels ascribed to it in the Harleian knight illustration, so too is the lance representing perseverance. The lance of charity mentioned by Bernard recurs in Alan of Lille's *ad status* sermon to knights in *Arte praedicatoria*, while the horse of heavenly desire described by Grosseteste in his letter to Richard Marshal also drew on Bernard's *Parabolae*. Within the monastic discussions of spiritual arming, two main allegories of the horse emerge in the earlier part of the twelfth century. The first of these is the conception of the horse as the body, given its first extensive treatment in *Similitudo militis*, where it operates as an allegory for 'the outer body of the inner man' (*interiori homini corpus exterius*).[1] The second tradition stems from the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, and appears repeatedly in his *Parabolae* and *Sententiae*. This is the horse of the desire for heaven, the mounting of which is often interpreted as the first step on the soul's journey to become closer to God.[2] Each of these traditions of allegory appears to have influenced subsequent texts designed for preaching or lay consumption.

Use of the Lance in Mounted Combat, c.1050–1250

The charging knight, holding his lance underarm in the 'couched' position, recurs frequently in western European visual and literary sources from c.1050, and appears to have become the dominant technique of mounted spear use in Western Europe by c.1100.[3] Both the absence of the technique and, at times, incredulity at its use are expressed in Byzantine and Islamic sources from around the time of the First Crusade, a period of intense military contact with Latin western Europeans ('Franks').[4] The purpose of the couched lance charge, in the words of R.H.C. Davis, 'was to weld horse, knight

[1] *Memorials*, p. 98.
[2] For examples see *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 263, 268.
[3] Gassmann, 'Mounted Combat', p. 71.
[4] Tsurtsumia, 'Couched Lance', p. 82 and see footnotes there. Gassmann has suggested that the absence of the couched lance in Byzantine and Islamic sources indicates that it was a Norman innovation of the eleventh century, rather than being borrowed from another culture: 'Mounted Combat', p. 77.; Strickland has questioned whether the widespread portrayals of the technique represent any twelfth-century 'revolution' in battlefield techniques, arguing that couched lances are also evident in ninth-century Carolingian art, and that overarm strikes with lances are evident in art from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: *War and Chivalry*, p. 361.

and lance into a single missile which could be launched at the enemy'.[5] The horsemanship, strength, and courage needed to successfully carry off the technique required extensive training of both horse and rider.[6]

According to a variety of contemporary written sources, the couched lance charge was capable of inflicting massive damage on an opponent. Certainly, the force bestowed on the point of the lance by the weight and speed of the charging horse was phenomenal; the lance-head was easily capable of penetrating the mail and padded armour of an opponent, or instantly debilitating his horse.[7] Several passages from the *Chanson de Roland* attest to the effectiveness of the couched lance against other cavalry. The first is included here as an example, though the passages often repeat these descriptions with minor variations for literary effect:

> The count rides on to strike Aelroth with all his might,
> He breaks his shield and tears his hauberk open;
> He splits his breast and shatters all his bones,
> Severing from his back his entire spine.
> With his spear he casts forth his soul,
> And, giving him a firm push, makes his body topple.
> With a free blow of his lance he flings him dead from his horse.[8]

A number of similar passages depict which individual charges another, and how the couched lance pierces their mail and shield to kill them.[9] Though never specified as being held underarm, the couched lance technique is strongly implied as this is the most effective way to unhorse or pierce through riders in the manner described.[10] The *Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal* recounts how the Marshal killed the future Richard I's horse with a single thrust of his lance when the two were

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[5] Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 24. The debate over the beginning of the couched lance charge, also known as 'mounted shock combat' is long-running and remains contentious, though it is generally agreed that it was widely practiced by the first half of the twelfth century. To trace the arguments see: Jean Flori, 'Encore l'usage de la lance: La technique du combat chevaleresque vers l'an 1100', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale (Xe-XIIe siècle)*, 31 (1988), pp. 213-40; Victoria Cirlot, 'Techniques guerrières en Catalogne féodale: Le maniement de la lance', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale (Xe-XIIe siècle)*, 28 (1985), pp. 35-43; Bernard S. Bachrach, 'On the Origin of William the Conqueror's Horse Transports', *Technology and Culture*, 26 (1985), pp. 505-31; David C. Nicolle, 'The Impact of the European Couched Lance on Muslim Military Tradition', *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*, 10 (1980), pp. 6-40; François Buttin, 'La lance et l'arrêt de cuirasse', *Archaeologia*, 99 (1965), pp. 77-178; D.J.A. Ross, 'L'orginalité de 'Turoldus': Le maniement de la lance', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 6 (1963), pp. 127-38 and *idem*., 'Pleine sa hanste', *Medium Aevum*, 20 (1951), pp. 1-10; Lynn White Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 1-38. See also: Tsurtsumia, 'Couched Lance', pp. 81-108;

[6] Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, pp. 19-22; DeVries and Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 13-14; Moffat, 'Arms and Armour', p. 161.

[7] Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 174; Hanley, *War and Combat*, p. 39.

[8] *Roland*, ll. 1198-1204: 'de toutes ses forces le comte va frapper Aëlroth, / lui brise l'écu, lui entaille le haubert, / fend sa poitrine et fracases ses os, / et lui sépare toute l'échine du dos; / il lui arrache l'âme du corps avec son épieu, / l'enforce à fond, fait chanceler son corps, / il l'abat mort du cheval, de toute la longeur de sa lance'.

[9] *Roland*, ll. 1225-1307, 1536-1628.

[10] Hyland, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 89.

charging towards each other, a feat all the more impressive given that horse armour was being increasingly employed in this period.[11]

While the potential power of the couched lance charge is clear, evidence suggests the technique appears to have been mainly employed against other cavalry. The rider could unhorse or kill his mounted opponent, the former providing opportunities for capture and ransom, and both outcomes nullifying the mobility benefits of enemy cavalry on the battlefield. In *Erec and Enide*, Erec makes two charges against a pair of robbers, piercing their mail and shields, unhorsing and killing them one after another.[12] Shortly afterwards come vivid descriptions of broken collarbones, pierced necks and punctured stomachs, injuries where mail and shield offer seemingly no protection.[13] William Marshal was once grievously injured through both thighs with a lance, a wound which bled extensively, required bandaging, and later re-opened when he exerted himself.[14] The tournament often provided real-world opportunities to hone such technique with less lethal outcomes, but still with the promise of ransoming knights and capturing horses. Indeed, the 'mercenary nature of the tournament', where knights could win spoils and ransoms, reflected their conduct on the battlefield and prioritised individual prowess at successfully unhorsing an opponent.[15] In *Cligès*, by way of example, Sagremor is unhorsed by a successful lance charge at the tournament and is captured by Cligès.[16] Nevertheless, with the momentum of the charging horse behind it, even the blunted lances used in tournaments could kill. Roger of Wendover recounts how Geoffrey de Mandeville, the earl of Essex, was mortally wounded at a tilt or joust (*equestrem ludum*) in 1216, when the knights were armed 'with only spears and linen armour' (*hastis tantum et lineis armaturis*).[17]

The couched lance was not a particularly useful technique against infantry, where riders would instead switch to either a sword or to an overhand grip with the lance.[18] Charging into infantry might make them scatter, but a determined infantry formation that held its ground presented real problems, particularly if armed with spears. The spear-armed infantryman could impale a horse before the mounted warrior's lance would reach him.[19] R.C. Smail suggested that in the twelfth century, whether against cavalry or infantry, the lance was only the weapon of the 'first attack', with only the grip changing based on the opponent, and that when the lance inevitably broke prolonged melee would be

[11] *History of William Marshal*, ll. 8845-8849. On the use of horse armour from the late twelfth century onwards, see below, p. 133.
[12] *Erec et Enide*, ll. 2859-2881.
[13] *Erec et Enide*, ll. 3004-3023, 2594-2598.
[14] *History of William Marshal*, ll. 1699-1857.
[15] Gassmann, 'Vegetius', p. 187.
[16] Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ed. and trans. (French) Charles Méla and Olivier Collet (Paris, 1994), ll. 4672-4678.
[17] *Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur flores historiarum: Ab anno Domini MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett, Vol. 3. (Rolls Series, 1889), p. 176.
[18] John Gillingham, 'An Age of Expansion, c.1020-1204', in Maurice Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999), p. 76.; Bradbury, *Medieval Warfare*, pp. 244-5.
[19] Gassmann, 'Mounted Combat', pp. 71, 80.

continued with the sword.[20] References to lances breaking in prolonged combats are evident from chivalric literature from across the period studied here. In the *Chanson de Roland*, for example, Roland breaks his lance after 'fifteen blows' (*a quinze cols*) and is then forced to draw his sword, while Oliver wears his own lance down to a 'stump' (*un trunçun*) informing Roland that the fighting was too fierce to allow him time to safely draw his sword sooner.[21] Notably, in the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, William is described as attacking the English infantry with his sword from horseback before his first horse is killed under him.[22] Evidence also suggests that in battle, where lances were harder to replace than in tournaments, the same lance would be reused in successive charges against other mounted opponents until it broke.[23]

Use of the couched lance against opposing cavalry, and either an overhand grip or sword against infantry, is supported by pictorial representations of knightly combat from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A mid-twelfth century *Life* of St Edmund shows the lance being employed against cavalry in the couched position, while one is being directed at a downed or unhorsed opponent (Figure 14). Three of the knights featured on early thirteenth-century wall paintings of a crusade cycle at Claverley church, Shropshire, are being unhorsed by an opponent with a couched lance (Figures 15, 16, 17).[24] A mid-thirteenth century illustrated manuscript of the *Chanson d'Aspremont* contains another example of an unhorsing by a couched lance (Figure 18). Matthew Paris's drawing of Richard Marshal unhorsing Baldwin de Guînes at Monmouth in 1233 (Figure 19) depicts a similar situation, with the accompanying account describing Baldwin as being 'severely wounded' (*graviter vulneratus*) in the process.[25]

[20] Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, pp. 11
[21] *Roland*, ll. 1322-1364
[22] *The Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow (Oxford, 1999), ll. 469-480.
[23] See for example *Cligès*, ll. 3692-3752; *Erec et Enide*, ll. 5951-5965.
[24] Unearthed in the early twentieth century, the Claverley frieze was long considered a *Psychomachia*, but more recent work has deciphered that it is a cycle of crusade imagery concerned with the exaltation of the Cross, and featuring imagery from the *Chanson de Roland*. See: Christopher Barrett, 'Roland and Crusade Imagery in an English Royal Chapel', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 92 (2012), pp. 129-68. Drawings of the individual knights involved in the combat can be seen in David Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050-1350*, Vol. 2 (White Plains, 1988), pp. 820-1.
[25] *CM*, iii., p. 256.

Figure 14: Miscellany on the Life of St Edmund, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.736 f. 7v.

Figure 15: Claverley church frieze, c.1200-1220. Taken by author, 2023.

Figure 16: Claverley church frieze, c.1200-1220. Taken by author, 2023.

Figure 17Claverley church frieze, c.1200-1220. Taken by author, 2023.

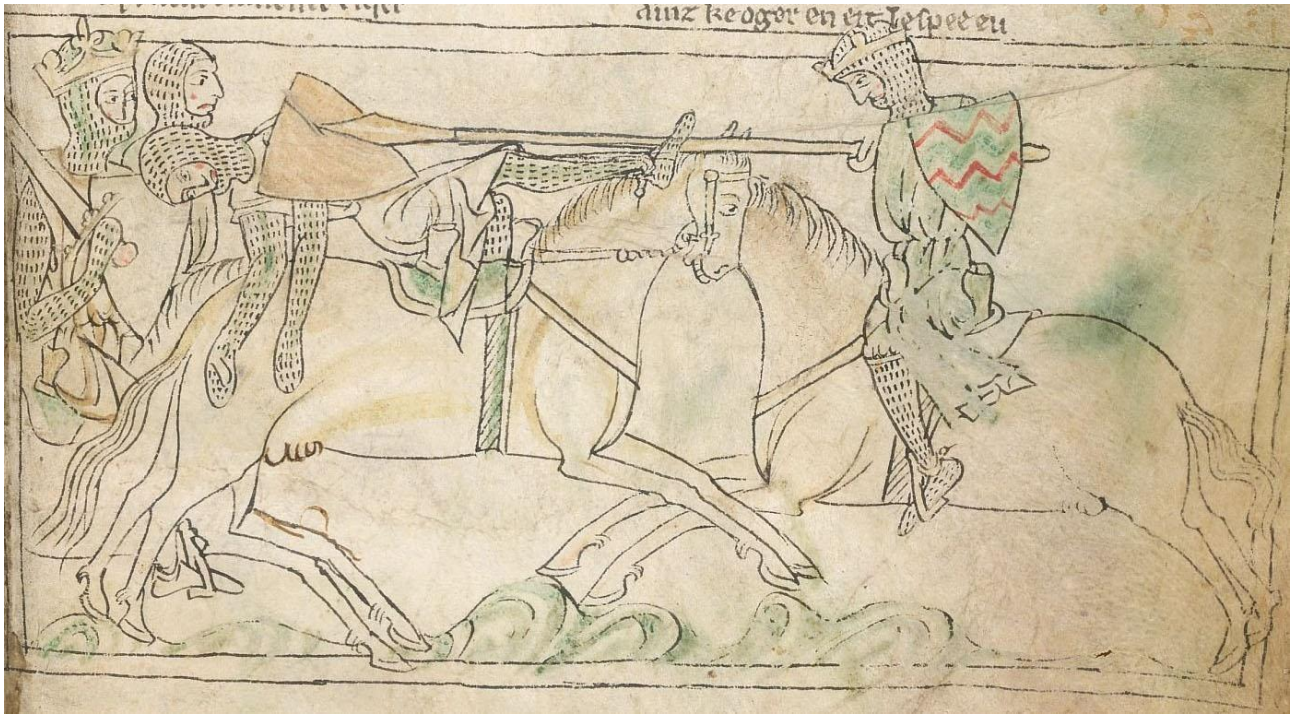

Figure 18: Chanson d'Aspremont Unhorsing Scene, from British Library Lansdowne MS 782, f. 11r.

Figure 19: Richard Marshal unhorsing Baldwin de Guînes, Corpus Christi MS 016II, f. 88r

The Lance in Spiritual Warfare

Unlike the weapons explored in the previous chapter, the cavalry lance does not form part of any set of spiritual arms from the Bible. Spears do occur frequently in the Bible, however, almost all of these occurring in the Old Testament. In the Vulgate, the terms *hasta*/*hastam*/*hastae* ('spear/spears') occur more than twice as often as *lancea*/*lanceam*/*lanceae* ('lance/lances'), though neither is specified as a cavalry spear; riders are mentioned holding both *hastae* and *lanceae*, as are people on foot.[26] In the twelfth and thirteenth century spiritual arming texts, however, the term *lancea* is universally preferred where a lance is described as one of the spiritual arms.[27] Beginning with the *Similitudo militis*, the earliest of the knightly spiritual arming allegories, a number of themes emerge which are repeated in subsequent lance allegories. The first is the distance at which an enemy may be struck with a lance compared to a sword. Even when discussing the worldly knight's arms, the author of the *Similitudo* notes that '[The knight] takes up the lance in his hands, that the enemy who remains at a distance may be run through'.[28] When the lance is returned to near the end of the text, the concept of being able to strike at a distance recurs. In this case, the spiritual lance is foresight (*providentia*), and discussed as working towards good ends as a means to fend off the devil at a distance: 'For just as a worldly

[26] *Hasta* occurs 11 times, *hastam* 18, and *hastae* 8, for a total of 37 occurrences; *lancea* appears on 6 occasions, *lanceam* on 8, and *lanceae* on 2, making 16 occurrences. Of all of these, only one instance occurs in the New Testament, in John 19:34: the piercing of Christ's side on the cross is done with a *lancea*.
[27] *Memorials*, pp. 98, 102.; *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 18, 88; *De re militari*, pp. 98, 103-4, 109.; PL 210, col. 187A.
[28] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'Lancea in manibus tenetur, ut inde hostis adhuc longe semotus transfigatur'.

adversary is transfixed by the lance while still at a distance, so the ancient enemy is in a certain way pierced through foresight'.[29] In this sense, this would reflect battlefield practice of the lance being the weapon of the first attack, and through foresight the devil is run through on the end of the lance, meaning the spiritual knight can avoid further, closer contact with him.

Perseverance in good works is alluded to as a way of striking the devil: 'if [the knight] urgently perseveres in good works, in mind and body, indeed the devil is struck, suffering the great torment of persecution'.[30] Later, in the section on the lance, it is clear that this weapon is what the devil is struck with through good works:

> Truly, as we have said, the knight ought to take the lance with his hands. Because our works are often done in accordance with the divine Scriptures, those same works are often done by the hands. To hold the lance in our hands, then, is to have foresight in our works. For when the knight of Christ proposes to do something, he ought to direct himself towards this work of the mind, considering carefully towards that end with foresight … If, then, the knight of Christ has continually striven for providential care in all his works, he will easily be able to overcome his adversary, as if piercing him with the lance of foresight.[31]

The early twelfth century date of *Similitudo militis* may also reflect a more flexible use of the lance than by later medieval knights. Eleventh and early twelfth century visual portrayals of knights, for instance in the Bayeux Tapestry, show them holding spears in an overarm postion.[32] This technique was much easier with the lighter, shorter lances of the period; those depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry were probably around nine to ten feet in length, notably lighter, narrower, and shorter than the lances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which were only of use in the couched lance charge.[33] In addition, the tendency of knights to dismount and fight on foot in several battles is a reminder that the couched lance was not always the preferred method of fighting. Dismounting appears to have been far more common in the twelfth than the thirteenth century; Henry I fought using largely dismounted forces at Tinchebray (1106) and Brémule (1119), while there is also evidence that knights dismounted to fight the Scots at the Battle of the Standard (1138).[34] Dismounted knights offered the medieval general significant defensive potential, with cavalry more often being held in reserve in this

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[29] *Memorials*, p. 102: 'Sicut enim temporalis adversarius adhuc longe semotus transfigitur lancea, ita hostis antiquus quasi adhuc longe divisus quodammodo transfigitur providentia'.
[30] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'si etiam in bonis operibus et animo et corpore instanter perseveraverit, et quidem diabolum magno persecutionis cruciatu ferit'.
[31] *Similitudo*, p. 102: 'Verum, ut diximus, miles noster ipsam lanceam debet tenere manibus. Saepius in divinis scripturis, quia per eas solemus operari, opera per manus solent designari. Lanceam itaque in manibus tenere est in operibus providentiam habere. Cum enim miles Christi aliquid proponit agere, statim ad ipsum opus mentis intuitum debet dirigere, et ad quem finem tendat, diligenti providentia circumspicere … Si igitur miles Christi hanc providam sollicitudinem in omnibus operibus suis iugiter habere studuerit, ipsum adversarium suum tamquam lancea providentiae transfixum facillime superare poterit'.
[32] Ascherl, 'Technology of Chivalry', p. 271.
[33] Ayton, 'Arms, Armour and Horses', p. 199; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 26.
[34] *OV*, vi., pp. 88, 236-8, 348-50; *Louis VI*, p. 196; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 315-7, 326; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 23;

period, and their charge used to rout a wavering enemy.[35] Abbot Suger's description of Brémule highlighted the perils of cavalry charging into well-ordered infantry: '…against the Normans' surprisingly well-aligned and positioned ranks … they gave ground when they could not withstand the pressure from their foes' ordered rows'.[36]

While the *Similitudo*'s taking-up of the lance after mounting the horse of the body would suggest that the spiritual soldier is fighting mounted, the way in which the devil fights is never clearly specified. Although the horse of the body is mentioned as essential for fighting against him, it is not clear from the text whether the devil himself is mounted or on foot. The descriptions of the devil's attacks and the ways in which he can be struck in the *Similitudo militis* seem to transcend the traditional roles of ordinary, worldly opponents. He attacks the spiritual warrior either with missiles or in hand-to-hand combat at different points in the text. In the section on the shield, for instance, the text draws on the scriptural imagery from Ephesians in discussing how the devil fires 'poisonous darts' (*virulentis iaculis*), 'fiery darts' (*tela ignea*), and 'deadly arrows' (*mortifera spicula*).[37] By contrast, use of the sword is described as the method 'by which the same enemy is slain at close quarters'.[38] The protection of the shield against the devil's arrows before this suggests that the author was imagining two combatants closing the distance to each other as mentioned above, the devil firing missiles of temptation that the knight deflects with his shield, before the devil is either run through with lance or slain with the sword when the distance has been closed.

It is also unclear if the devil is himself mounted or fighting on foot. While the killing power of the lance was well-established and frequently portrayed in literary sources, there are several references to knights switching to the sword against other mounted opponents once the lance is no longer of use. In *Le Couronnement Louis*, for instance, Bertrand switches to his sword after the lance is finished with (probably broken) early in a clash with the Saracens: 'after using his lance, he drew his sharp blade'.[39] Similar scenes appear in twelfth-century romances. In *Cligès*, for example, swords are reverted to after lances are broken at three separate points in the text.[40] An early passage in the *Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal* demonstrates similar: 'But William the Marshal proved himself as a valiant knight: having broken his lance, he drew forthwith his sword and went right into the fray to

[35] Gillingham, 'Age of Expansion', p. 78; Hanley, *War and Combat*, p. 17; Gassmann, 'Mounted Combat', pp. 72, 80.
[36] *Louis VI*, p. 196: '[Normannorum] extraordinarie ordinatis et compositis aciebus insistentes … eorum compositam instanciam ferre non valentes'.
[37] *Memorials,* p. 101.
[38] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'unde idem hostis cominus iuguletur'.
[39] 'The Crowning of Louis', trans. David Hoggan, in Glanville Price (ed.), *William, Count of Orange: Four Old French Epics* (London, 1975), p. 26. I have been entirely unable to locate a copy of the edition of this text to provide the Old French here.
[40] *Cligès,* ll. 1925-1927, 3760-3763, 4912-4924.

lay about him'.[41] If the devil was conceived of as a mounted opponent, the reference to first attempting to run him through with the lance before resorting to the sword would be accurate, but if the devil is on foot then this would reflect the overarm lance use of the earlier twelfth century in which *Similitudo militis* was authored. Nonetheless, the language has enough ambiguity that it could be interpreted as the use of a lance followed by a sword against mounted opponents, ensuring a wider applicability and a longer period of relevance as an allegory as fighting techniques changed over time.

One of the seeming advantages of the way spiritual combat is allegorised in the *Similitudo militis*, then, appears to be its utility and flexibility. The devil's attacks of temptation are described as missiles which need to be defended against, echoing the message of Ephesians 6:16. At the same time, the spiritual knight is afforded the opportunity to strike the devil in melee using the lance of foresight, mirroring the brutal effectiveness and prestigious prowess of the successful couched lance charge in *chansons de geste* and romances. Should the lance of foresight fail, the spiritual knight can then resort to the sword of the word of God, again reflecting both literary models and the real-world practice of knightly combat.

As with the other arms, the other main occurrences of a spiritual lance appear in various writings of Bernard of Clairvaux. Twice in his *Sententiae*, Bernard allegorises charity as a lance. The first of these mentions appears to imply that acts of charity are a means of fighting the spiritual battle. Allegorising the three virtues of patience, humility and charity as arms of the spiritual knight, Bernard describes the latter 'as a lance, through which all are attacked, as the Apostle says: 'to provoke unto charity' (Hebrews 10:24), and in doing so to all, waging the war of the Lord (Exodus 17:16)'.[42] That this lance is perceived as being used from horseback is suggested by the addition of the horse of good desires (*equum boni desiderii*) shortly afterwards as one of the things needed by the knight of Christ.[43] The concept of 'striking out' at all and sundry with charity recurs at the end of a later sentence also discussing spiritual arms: 'Charity is the lance with which we strike out in all directions'.[44] Its placement as the last of the spiritual arms here reflects the arming topos seen in other spiritual arming texts of putting weapons on last.

Charity (*caritas*) was, of course, a central concept in Cistercian thought. Bernard certainly could and did write on charity and love as translations of *caritas*, evidenced not least by his works *De diligendo Deo* ('On Loving God'), and his sermons on the Song of Songs are well-known works of his dealing

[41] *History of William Marshal,* ll. 909-913: 'Mais Guilleaume li Mareschals / S'i esprova comme vasals, / Quer il out sa lance freite; / Maintenant a l'espeie treite / Si va ferir emi le tas'.
[42] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 18: 'quasi lanceam, per quam, sicut dicit Apostolus, omnes impetens in provocatione caritatis et omnibus omnia se faciens, belligeratur bellum Domini'.
[43] *SBO*, 6.2., 18.
[44] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 88: 'Caritas lancea est qua undique percutimus'.

with love.[45] However, as seen here, he could also frame charity within more militaristic language. In addition, in two of Bernard's *Parabolae* a personified Charity is sent by God at the culmination of the story to relieve the besieged human soul.[46] As with the lance in the second of the *Sententiae* studied above, charity is needed to turn spiritual defence into attack against the devil. In the parable *De conflictu duorum regum* ('Of the Conflict Between Two Kings'), it is Charity who, after relieving the besiegers, orders 'the army to be put into order, the gates to be opened, and the enemies to be pursued, declaring "I will go to the gates of hell" (Isaiah 38:10)'.[47]

As with the arms discussed in the previous chapter, the lance recurs in texts of the late twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries designed to be used in preaching, often to knightly audiences. There, as with the biblical arms explored earlier, the monastic influence is evident. The lance of charity, for instance, recurs in Alan of Lille's *Arte praedicatoria*, as part of the virtues knights are advised to 'arm' themselves with as good Christians.[48] Ralph Niger's *De re militari* follows a similar body and soul division to *Similitudo militis*, allegorised respectively as horse and rider.[49] However, where the *Similitudo* employs the lance of foresight (*providentia*), *De re militari*, while acknowledging an association with foreseeing things (*providens*), allegorises the lance as perseverance (*perseverantia*), and hope (*spei*).[50] Ralph's reasoning for this is related more to the order in which worldly knights armed, than the function of the lance. While in both the *Similitudo* and *De re militari* the weapons are the last thing to be taken up by the knight, Ralph's arming deliberately follows a more practical and realistic order, the allegorical knight only taking up his shield and lance after mounting. This no doubt reflects both Ralph's own experience of knightly arming and an awareness of a knightly audience for preachers, who would appreciate a degree of verisimilitude in his allegorical arming. Ralph's spiritual knight puts on his armour from the feet upwards, taking up his helmet last and girding his sword before mounting the horse (*equo ascendendo*).[51] Only once mounted is he handed the shield, and finally, the lance.

Where the lance of foresight draws on the lance's length and ability to strike an enemy before being struck, and Bernard's lance of charity allegorises the virtue as the most powerful weapon with which the spiritual knight strikes out, Ralph Niger instead derives the lance's allegorisation from the fact that it is taken up last of all the arms. His explanation reinforces this concept, that patient perseverance

[45] For the sermons on the Song of Songs see *SBO*, 1-2. For *De diligendo Deo*, see *SBO*, 3., pp. 119-54; See also: Constant J. Mews, 'Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter Abelard and Heloise on the Definition of Love', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, 60 (2004), pp. 641-5.
[46] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 266-7, 272-3.
[47] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 273: 'ordinari exercitum, aperiri portas, et persequi inimicos praecipit, aperte denuntians: vadam ad portas inferi'.
[48] PL 210, col. 187A.
[49] *Memorials*, pp. 98-9; *De re militari*, p. 103-5.
[50] *De re militari*, pp. 103-4.
[51] *De re militari*, pp. 98-103.

in hope is the final piece needed by the spiritual knight to succeed once all of his other virtues are in place. Ralph's lance allegory therefore relies less on the actual function and usage of the lance than is with the case with *Similitudo militis* and Bernard's lance allegories. Nonetheless, as with the other arms in *De re militari*, he ties the lance closely to certain Scriptural passages:

> Finally, the lance of hope or of perseverance is lifted; of hope because it does not fail, for 'tribulation works patience, and patience trial, and trial hope, and hope does not confound' (Romans 5:3-5). What the truth of faith protects, resolute hope lifts up and raises on high, and 'he who until the end shall persevere' (Matthew 10:22) in the good will be saved if he can be so prudent.[52]

The lance is taken up as the last piece of equipment when the rest of the spiritual knight's protection is in place. In this sense it follows Ralph's employment of the sword as analysed in the previous chapter. Where the sword is only taken up once the other virtues allegorised as defensive arms are secure, Ralph's description includes that fact that each piece of equipment and its associated quality is already in place when the lance of perseverance is taken up. Once the knight is fully protected, the sword of the Word of God can do its work:

> If intention is signified by the *chausses*, conscience by the hauberk, reason by the helmet and truth by the shield, then perseverance is signified by the lance. When intention is directed properly, conscience is kept unharmed, truth is preserved inviolate, reason stands out clearly above all, and perseverance is maintained without interruption; then the word of God, that is the sword, can most securely fight for and protect the ark of faith.[53]

Rather than a weapon, the lance is instead the last of the qualities needed to be taken up to succeed in the spiritual battle. The sword of the word of God is what the spiritual warrior fights with in *De re militari*. This seems to draw extensively on monastic thought about perseverance. Perseverance in good works was key to success in the spiritual battle, according to *Similitudo militis*: 'if [the knight] perseveres in good works, in mind and body, indeed the devil is struck, suffering the great torment of persecution. Then indeed the knight of Christ overcomes the devil, when he embraces persevering in good works'.[54] One of Bernard's *Sententiae* discusses the 'arms of virtue' (*arma virtutis*), though in this particular passage Bernard only discusses the virtues themselves rather than allegorising them as weapons.[55] The final virtue mentioned there is 'a complete measure of perseverance, so that the full protection of sanctity might be obtained'.[56] In a sermon on obedience, Bernard also describes

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[52] *De re militari*, pp. 103-4: 'Demum sumitur lancea vel spei vel perseverantie, spei quia non fallit, operatur enim tribulatio patientiam, patientia spem, spes vero non confundit. Quod enim protegit fidei veritas, certa spes erigit et in altum dirigit, et qui usque in finem in bono perseveraverit, salvus erit, si tantum providens fuerit'.
[53] *De re militari*, p. 104: 'Sive per calciamenta intentio, per loricam conscientia, per galeam ratio, per scutum veritas, per lanceam perseverantia designatur. Cum enim intentio bene dirigitur et conscientia integra custoditur et veritas inviolata servatur et ratio pure supereminet et perseverantia sine interruptione protrahitur, verbum Dei, quod est gladius, securissime arcam fidei propugnat et custodit'.
[54] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'si … in bonis operibus et animo et corpore instanter perseveraverit, et quidem diabolum persequitur, cum in bene operando perseverantiam amplectitur'.
[55] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 31.
[56] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 31: 'Perseverantiae plena successio ut perfecta subrogetur custodia sanctitatis'.

perseverance as 'the goal of virtues and their consummation, repository of all good, a virtue 'without which no-one shall see God' (Hebrews 12:14) nor be seen by God'.[57] Ralph's description of the lance strongly reflect this concept of perseverance as the last thing needed after all the other virtues are in place.

This concept of perseverance being a kind of 'final ingredient' of the virtues is also evident in a contemporary scholastic definition from Alan of Lille's *Tractatus* on virtue and vice. Defined there as a species of the cardinal virtue of fortitude, perseverance is defined as the final part of what is needed by the man who already possesses a virtuous disposition and a habit of virtuous behaviours; constant perseverance is required to continue in these.[58] In the chapter of the *Arte praedicatoria* on perseverance, it is given a similar quality of being able to bring together existing virtues and is also given to the one who is successful in spiritual pursuits allegorised as physical exertion: 'Perseverance shapes merit, it colours good intention, rewards the runner and crowns the warrior'.[59] The lance held by the knight depicted in Harley MS 3244 is also labelled perseverance (*perseverantia*). This may reflect Ralph Niger's spiritual arms being an influence on the drawing, though as the last piece of knightly equipment to be taken up before being battle-ready, the lance of perseverance there may also represent the virtue's conception as a 'final ingredient', in this case the final part of a septenary of good qualities or virtues needed by the spiritual knight. As with the rest of the knightly equipment, *De re militari* also includes discussion on how the lance of perseverance is lost or broken. The lance is broken when the knight breaks off from good works, but this breaking off is a conscious decision made by the knight: 'Indeed, when we cease good work … the lance of perseverance in the good is broken'.[60] This again reflects a contemporary view of perseverance as expressed in Alan of Lille's *Tractatus*: 'Perseverance is strength of mind in a good purpose'.[61] Loss of the lance leaves the spiritual knight vulnerable to being unhorsed (*deiectione*) by Goliath, who represents all those who serve the devil by professing evil.[62]

The Horse

Horses were essential for the raiding and ravaging nature of warfare known as *chevauchée*, frequently practiced by campaigning medieval armies in this period.[63] In addition to the *chevauchée*, the mounted knight had significant advantages over infantry in being able to quickly attack, pursue, or retreat as

[57] *SBO*, 6.1., p. 251: 'virtutum finis earumque consummatio, totius boni repositiorum, virtus sine qua nemo videbit Deum nec a Deo videbitur'.
[58] 'Traité d'Alain de Lille', pp. 32, 49.
[59] PL 210, col. 146A: 'Perseverantia informat meritum, colorant boni propositum, remunerant currentem, coronat pugnantem'.
[60] *De re militari*, p. 109: 'Cum enim ab opere bono cessatur … lancea perseverantie boni confringitur'.
[61] 'Traité d'Alain de Lille', p. 32: 'Perseverantia est animi firmitas in bono proposito'. This draws on much older patristic and Scriptural descriptions of perseverance, see: Matthew 10:22, 24:13, and *De civitate Dei*, 1.18.
[62] *De re militari*, pp. 110-1.
[63] Bennett, 'Warhorse Reconsidered', p. 31. For more on the *chevauchée*, see Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 258-90.

the situation demanded, or to rapidly redeploy to another area of battle.[64] According to the Byzantine historian and princess Anna Komnene (1083-1153), the Latin knights of the First Crusade were less confident when dismounted, becoming easier targets: '…whenever they dismount, partly because of their huge shields, partly too because of the spurs on their boots and their ungainly walk, they become very easy prey and altogether different as their former enthusiasm dies down'.[65] Certainly, the mobility offered by speed allowed opportunities to both create and take advantages of situations in battle. The feigned flight of the Norman cavalry at Hastings described in the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* is credited with creating disorder in the English ranks, allowing cavalry on the flanks and those turning back from feigned fleeing to pick off disordered and isolated infantry who had pursued them.[66] The tactic breaks up the serried ranks of infantry that could present cavalry with a real problem, and relies more on mobility than sheer force of the charge, and this mobility is what is often reflected in the spiritual arming texts' discussions of horses.

In addition to the benefits granted by being mounted on the battlefield, the use of horses in combat and, indeed, the very fact of their ownership was inextricably linked with the knight's elevated social and military status. This was a pattern throughout the Middle Ages and across most of Europe; the late sixth century Byzantine treatise on warfare, *Strategikon*, stressed how the noble cavalry were better trained and equipped due to their greater freedom of time and wealth.[67] Horses were, of course, status symbols of the elite prior to the period c.1100–1250, but the prestige associated with ownership and use of horses in military settings increased significantly from the eleventh century.[68] The cavalry function became inseparable from the full-time warrior status of the knight, evident in the notable shift in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to denoting the mounted knights as *milites*, and the non-elite infantry as simply *pedites*.[69] For example, horse use and ownership is integral to Guibert of Nogent's (c.1055-1124) separation between grades of lay person in his *Dei gesta per Francos* ('Deeds of God Through the Franks'), where he discerned between the *ordo equestris* ('order of horsemen') and the *vulgus oberrans* ('wandering populace').[70]

The wealth required to keep horses was significant. They required feeding, grooming, and at times, medicine, while equestrian equipment needed maintenance, repair, and replacement. In addition to the fierce and most prestigious of the knight's horses, the *destrier*, knights also needed back-up warhorses in case of sickness or injury, different kinds of everyday riding horses known as palfreys

[64] J.F. Verbruggen, 'The Role of the Cavalry in Medieval Warfare', trans. Kelly DeVries, *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 3 (2005), p. 47; Harvey, 'Horses, Knights and Tactics', pp. 17-18; Prestwich, '*Miles in armis strenuus*', p. 205.
[65] Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter, Revised edn. (London, 2009).
[66] *Carmen de Hastingae*, ll. 423-434.
[67] *Maurice's Strategicon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, trans. George T. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984); Verbruggen, 'Role of the Cavalry', pp. 51-2.
[68] Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 23-4.
[69] Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 176-81; Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 11.
[70] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), p. 87.

and rounceys, and one or more sumpters (pack-horses) for their attendants and equipment.[71] The Old French *Règle du Temple* ('Rule of the Templars') reflects the importance of horses to the knightly function. The first specification of each role in the Order concerns the number and type of horses, and any necessary attendants that the brother of that station is allowed.[72] For instance, along with being allowed one squire, 'each knight brother may have three horses and no more without permission of the Master'.[73] In addition, the need to make adjustments to harness, or the need to test if a horse might be injured, were one of the very few exceptions for a Templar to be allowed to temporarily leave his 'squadron' (*escheiele*).[74]

The *destriers* were particularly valuable animals; two were taken by Henry II as surety against William Marshal's return from crusade, and valued at one hundred pounds each.[75] Higher status secular knights frequently had as many as six *destriers* each by the mid-thirteenth century, provided at their own expense.[76] Squires often kept fresh *destriers* to enable knights to return to combat if their mount was tired, injured, or killed. The wealthier the knight, the more *destriers* he might have, and so was able to remain effective and mobile in combat for longer.[77] Horses represented a route to greater ransom, greater plunder, larger retinues and an ability to maintain a wealthier lifestyle. More generally, the association of multiple horse ownership with worldly wealth and status appears to have been a significant factor in the promulgation of Canon Four of the Third Lateran Council, which limited the number of horses a cleric could take in his accompaniment, dependent on his station.[78] As part of wider concern that clerics were adopting the trappings of the worldly nobility, the decree reflects the fact that huge, mounted retinues were stretching the ability of both secular and clerical hosts to offer hospitality to the higher-ranking clergy at this time. In his *Apologia* to William of St-Thierry, Bernard of Clairvaux had earlier criticised this behaviour amongst the Cluniac monks:

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[71] Ayton, 'Arms, Armour and Horses', p. 197; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 31-3; Bennett, 'Medieval Warhorse', p. 32; John France, *Victory in the East*, p. 35. For a recent summary of the ongoing issues surrounding the term *destrier* in medieval sources, see: Michael Prestwich, 'Big and Beautiful: Destriers in Edward I's Armies', in Gary P. Baker, Craig L. Lambert and David Simpkin (eds.), *Military Communities in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 1-14.

[72] *La Règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris, 1886, reprint 1977), pp. 75, 86-9, 94, 100, 102-3, 105-7, 109-10, 129-30, 132, 134.

[73] *Règle du Temple*, p. 54: '*Chascus frere chevalier puet avoir III bestes et non plus, se n'est par le congié dou Maistre*'.

[74] *Règle du Temple*, p. 122.

[75] *History of William Marshal*, ll. 7244-7258.

[76] Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 33, 96-7. These would be replaced at their lord's cost if lost in military service, see: Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 25.

[77] Matthew Bennett, 'La Règle du Temple as a Military Manual', in Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 7-19.

[78] *Decrees*, p. 213.

> …is it an example of humility to ride about in such pomp, attended by so many retainers that a single abbot's retinue would be enough for two bishops? I would be lying if I said I have not seen an abbot with sixty horses, and even more, in his retinue.[79]

There is a sense in the *Apologia*, and to a lesser extent in the Third Lateran Council decree, that the issue here is one of worldly station. Multiple horses were a demonstration of worldly wealth, and something clearly associated with knights and other secular lords, perceived as unbecoming of the clergy. As Bernard continues: 'I say if you saw [such abbots] ride by you would think them not fathers of monasteries, but lords of castles; not guides of souls, but governors of provinces'.[80] The clear association of horse with status is evident from vernacular literary sources of the period. Deprivation of one's *destrier*, or being forced to ride a horse of lesser status, repeatedly emerge as causes of great shame for knights. For instance, deprivation of the *destrier* is part of the shaming of Marsile in the *Chanson de Roland*: 'You will have neither palfrey nor warhorse, nor mule nor jenny on which to ride; you will be flung upon some wretched packhorse'.[81] Later, in addition to being placed in chains and fetters after suffering the indignity of being bound and beaten by cooks, Ganelon is similarly placed on a packhorse.[82] Early in the *Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal*, the young William Marshal laments having only a palfrey, and at having to scrape and sell to buy a packhorse as well.[83] In such a state he is described as 'a poor man as regards possessions and horses' (*Povre d'aveir e d chivals*), before gaining four *destriers* along with 'hacks and palfreys, fine packhorses and harnesses' (*roncins e palefreis / E boens summers e bel herneis*) in an early tournament.[84] Despite the significant discrepancy in dates between these two texts, the similarity in emasculating a knight from performing his function through depriving him of the status symbol represented by his *destrier* is notable.

Unlike real-world practice, however, the allegorical, spiritual knight is only ever depicted as having one horse. In this, the spiritual horse seems to represent the prestigious *destrier*, particularly, as will be seen, in the *Similitudo militis* and *De re militari*, where it is specified as an active participant in the knight's spiritual combat. In those texts especially where the horse represents the body, it can also be interpreted as a message that however many horses a wealthy, worldly knight may own, the soul has only one body with which the devil can be fought. The single horse may also reflect the image of the mounted knight from *chansons* and romances, where rather than possessing entourages of servants and packhorses, heroes tend to ride around alone on a single horse until it is killed or lost in some

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[79] *SBO*, 3., p. 103: 'specimen humilitatis est, cum tanta pompa et equitatu incedere, tantis hominum crinitorum stipari obsequiis, quatenus duobus episcopis unius abbatis sufficiat multitudo? Mentior, si non vidi abbatem sexaginta equos, et eo amplius, in suo ducere comitatu'.
[80] *SBO*, 3., p. 103: 'Dicas, si videas transeuntes, non patres esse monasteriorum, sed dominos castellorum, non rectores animarum, sed principes provinciarum'.
[81] *Roland*, ll. 479-481: 'Vus n'i avrez palefreid, ne destrer / Ne mul ne mule que puissez chevlacher, / Getét serez sur un malvais sumer'.
[82] *Roland*, ll. 1821-1829.
[83] *History of William Marshal*, ll. 1174-1200, 1223-1225.
[84] *History of William Marshal*, ll. 1368-1372.

way. In such literature, the chivalric ideal of knight-on-horse represents a symbiotic whole, a 'complete' knight whose horse grants him the mobility to test himself in hostile and unfamiliar settings, or to remove himself from certain dangers.[85] The spiritual knight similarly tests himself in a battle against the most hostile enemy, with the prize being his own salvation. This is the case whether the horse operates as allegory for either the body, or the desire for Heaven.

The Horse-as-Body Allegory

Horses as allegories for human bodies occur sporadically in religious texts of the early twelfth century. In the *Glossa ordinaria* gloss on Ephesians 6:12, the evil spirits with which the spiritual warrior contends are portrayed as mounted warriors (*equites*) riding on the bodies of humans: 'For [the spirits] fight like riders on horses of men. Let us therefore kill the riders, and let us possess the horses'.[86] In this instance, the horse of the body possesses neither positive or negative qualities, and is dependent entirely on who is 'riding' it. Bernard of Clairvaux, though generally preferring to employ the horse as an allegory for morally good desires, makes one mention of the horse as allegory for the body in his *Parabolae*. In the parable entitled *De filio regis sedente super equum* ('Of the King's Son Sitting on a Horse'), the horse is described as the body of the king's son, who himself is an allegory for the soul: 'it was his own body, still bubbling with worldly energy, ostentatious and lustful'.[87] However, the first extensive treatment of the horse-as-body allegory within a spiritual knightly panoply appears in *Similitudo militis*. There, the role of the body in spiritual warfare is stressed very early on in the text. The initial description of the body's role in spiritual warfare emphasises the benefits of mobility granted by being mounted as discussed above, rather than the ability to ride down the devil in a headlong charge:

> Just as the horse is necessary for the knight, so too is the body for the inner man. For just as a knight, together with his horse, fights against his enemy, so the inner man, together with his body, fights against the devil. For with his body [that is, the horse] he opposes the devil coming to meet him, manfully resisting his temptations and urgently harrying him when he flees; being pursued and pursuing him in turn, and when reason demands, laughing as he [himself] prudently flees.[88]

Here, the *Similitudo* allegorises the advantages of mobility, particularly the ability to pursue and to flee as the situation demands. Pursuit and torment of the devil is achieved by perseverance in good

[85] Luise Borek, 'Dead Horses in Arthurian Romance (and Beyond)', in Anastasija Ropa and Timothy Dawson (eds.), *Echoing Hooves: Studies on Horses and Their Effects on Medieval Societies* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 141-5.
[86] *Glossa ordinaria,* PL 114, cols. 600A-600B: 'Ipsi enim quasi equites pugnant in equis hominibus. Equites ergo occidamus, equos possideamus'.
[87] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 274: 'proprium corpus; de succo adhuc saeculi fortis, nitidus et lascivus'.
[88] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'Sicut enim equus militi est necessarius, sic interiori homini corpus. Nam quemadmodum miles cum equo contra suum pugnat adversarium, sic et interior homo cum corpore contra diabolum. Cum corpore namque et occurrentem diabolum expugnat, eius tentationibus viriliter resistendo, et fugientem cruciat instanter persequendo, et persequentem, cum ratio postulat, deridet, prudenter fugiendo'.

works, echoing the moralisation of the lance and creating a connection between the allegorical lance of perseverance and its real-world use from horseback.[89] The emphasis on 'good works' again also recalls the armour of justice and its connotations for living 'rightly' in the monastic community. Notably, however, this comes with a reminder that it is God who ultimately allows the devil power to attack man: 'But when the devil himself is given power over man, by God's supreme providence justly arranging all things, then [the devil] is said to persecute him'.[90] In these situations, where God is allowing the devil to tempt the spiritual knight as a form of test, the advice is to flee, drawing on Matthew 10:23: 'Concerning which, the same Lord warned his disciples away from the devil's members, saying: 'if you are to be persecuted in one city, flee into another''.[91] Fleeing in the spiritual sense is to physically remove the body from the source of temptation: 'Because when the knight of Christ does this, he wisely makes mockery of the devil'.[92] In 'making mockery', the spiritual knight demonstrates a spurning of the devil through his physical flight from the source of temptation, which is considered a wise course of action. Flight from the world, of course, was the very essence and purpose of monastic or eremitic life, and in the spiritual battle 'was the surest way of precluding external temptation'.[93]

The importance of being able to control the body, and allegorisations of how this can be achieved, forms the core of the rest of the text's discussion of the allegorical horse and the requisite equestrian equipment. The first of these pieces of equipment is the bridle (*frenum*). Again, building from real-world practice, the *Similitudo* first discusses the necessity of the bridle in controlling the worldly horse, particularly in combat:

> For the knight will be unable to properly do battle against his enemy, unless the horse is subject to him, and unless it obeys him in every way. But because it is a dumb animal, and has no understanding, the knight places a bridle over its head, so that he may direct it here and there according to his own will. For he can not easily fight against his enemies unless the horse has a bridle. How could he strongly resist the enemy when his own horse is fighting against him?[94]

[89] *Memorials*, p. 98.
[90] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'Cum vero ipsi diabolo, summa Dei providentia iuste disponente omnia, super hominem potestas tribuitur, tunc illum persequi dicitur'.
[91] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'Iuxta quod idem ipse dominus de membris ipsius diaboli suos discipulos admonuit dicens: 'Si vos persecuit fuerit in una civitate, fugite in aliam''. As God was believed omnipotent, diabolical attacks were frequently considered God's methods of proving piety, most notably and frequently found in hagiography. See: Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, p. 140.
[92] *Memorials*, p. 98: 'Quod cum miles Christi facit, ipsum diabolum prudenter illudit'.
[93] Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, p. 133.
[94] *Memorials*, p. 99: 'Nequaquam namque miles contra adversarium decenter pugnare poterit, nisi equus suus sibi subiectus fuerit et nisi sibi per omnia oboedierit. Sed quia est animal mutum et non habet intellectum, miles capiti eius frenum imponit, quo eum huc et illuc etiam cum noluerit, secundum propriam voluntatem flectere possit. Neque enim expedite adversus suum pugnare poterit adversarium, nisi in equo suo habuerit frenum. Nam quomodo ipsi hosti fortiter resisteret, cum sibi proprius equus multotiens repugnaret?'.

The spiritual horse, the text continues, should be controlled with a bridle of abstinence (*abstinentia*).[95] However, the degree and extent of abstinence required depends on the wilfulness of the horse, or in another sense, the strength of each individual's bodily impulses. The worldly horse's temperament and physical nature were essential to successful fulfilment of the knightly function on the field of tournament or battle. The ideal warhorse was tall and strong, steady, brave, and aggressive, and the training of warhorses sought to enhance these desirable qualities.[96] The *destrier* was invariably a stallion, bred and trained for strength, bravery, and aggression. In battle these traits were exploited extensively; *destriers* would kick, bite, and generally throw themselves at the horses of other riders, being encouraged in this ferocity by the use of a harsh bit.[97] One particularly wild and untamed horse gifted to William Marshal required a special use of both bit and bridle to bring it under control.[98] This practice is mirrored in the *Similitudo*'s advice to the would-be spiritual knight: 'If the horse is obedient and calm, [the knight] should use the bridle little and agreeably. But if it is rebellious and untamed, he must necessarily impose the bridle upon it with great severity'.[99]

Providing a proportionate amount of abstinence is particularly important, based on the natural tendencies of the individual body. The *Similitudo* specifies that too little or too much abstinence makes his own body even more of an obstacle to his spiritual battle: 'For it is fitting that according to the nature of his body the inner man should provide the right amount of abstinence. Otherwise, it will not only be of no help to him, but even be the greatest obstacle'.[100] The correct application of abstinence is allegorised as reins (*lora*), with which the horse is kept in a straight line.[101] The two reins are laxity and severity in abstinence, and the *Similtudo* expounds the need for these to be used evenly, and warns of the consequences:

> If the inner man unevenly directs the outer [man], that is, if he imposes one [of the reins] more than the other, he will be unable to keep to the straight way. For either he will pride himself on excessively lax abstinence, or he will fail because of too much severity in self-

[95] *Memorials*, p. 99. Bernard of Clairvaux also described abstinence's role in providing the mind with control over bodily desires, describing the quality as 'that by which the pride of the flesh is tamed' (*per quam carnis superbia edomatur*): *SBO*, 6.2., p. 32.
[96]Borek, 'Dead Horses', p. 143; Hyland, *Horse in the Middle Ages*, p. 99; Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 11.
[97] Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 30; Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 18.
[98] *History of William Marshal*, ll. 1271-1302.
[99] *Memorials*, p. 99: 'Si enim oboedientim equum habuerit et quietum, in eo parvum et suave debet ponere frenum. Si vero rebellem et indomitum, magnum in eo et asperum necesse est imponat frenum'.
[100] *Memorials*, p. 99: 'Secundum enim corporis sui qualitatem decet, ut interior homo provideat abstinentiae quantitatem. Alioquin non solum sibi non erit ad ullum adiumentum, immo ad maximum impedimentum'.
[101] *Memorials*, p. 99. The use of the term *frenum* here, meaning bridle or reins or more generally restraint, appears to draw on Augustine's explanation of temperance in *De civitate Dei*, 19.4: '…temperance, which reins in the lusts of the flesh' (*temperantia nominatur, qua carnales frenantur libidines*): *De civitate Dei*, 19.4.

> control. To continue, therefore, he must impose neither on the body with indiscretion, but hold moderation with the hand of discretion.[102]

The dangers of excess abstinence are made evident in Bernard's *De filio regis sedente super equum*. There, the horse of the body, already eager for the spiritual battle, risks being driven too hard by the rider: 'and although his horse needed no encouragement, he goaded it on with the whip of fasting and the spurs of vigils'.[103] The bodily horse is then easily captured by personified enemies, Gluttony and Fornication (*Gastrimargia et Fornicatio*) because the rider has tired it out; once it eats the 'food of Babylon' (*cibis Babylonis*) it willingly goes into the service of those sins.[104] The horse of the body can then only be brought back under control by a similarly personified Obedience (*Oboedientia*) who uses a component of the bridle: an iron bit (*freno ferreo*).[105]

Further control of the body is implied in *Similitudo militis* by the saddle. Where the reins and bridle of abstinence control behaviours, the saddle's moralisation is a more general one, emphasising calm and tranquillity in all the bodily movements:

> Furthermore, the knight should have a saddle on his horse. We hold that his saddle is gentleness. The inner man should place this on the outer, that he may sit astride it more securely and guide it more fittingly. That no limb moves here or there inordinately, but that everything is rightly and calmly controlled. That he does nothing roughly, but [does] all things with tranquillity.[106]

By contrast to the bodily focus of the saddle, the allegorised spurs (*calcaria*) of *Similitudo militis* are less concerned with the physical motions of the body than they are with the mind's ability to motivate it into necessary and correct action. Where the allegorised reins and bridle of abstinence are concerned with controlling excesses of bodily behaviours, the spurs are allegorised entirely as mental motivation. As with the other equestrian equipment, these are first compared with their worldly counterparts, described as 'greatly necessary to stir the horse to advance. For too often [the horse] will not move, if it is not urged on by the knight's spurs'.[107] When the allegorical, spiritual spurs are

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[102] *Memorials*, p. 99: 'Quae si inaequaliter interior homo exteriori indixerit, id est si unum plus quam alterum ei iniunxerit, nequaquam rectam viam tenere poterit. Aut enim propter nimium remissam abstinentiam superbiet, aut propter plurimum districtam deficiet. Restat igitur,ut neutram indiscrete corpori iniungat, sed discretionis manu mediocritatem teneat'. The dangers of pride from excessive shows of abstinence seem to echo Gregory the Great: *Moralia*, 8.VI.9. The concept of all virtue as a middle point between excess and abstinence came from even older sources, appearing in Cicero's *De inventione* and Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *Topics*: Byrne, *Justice and Mercy*, p. 25.

[103] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 274-5: 'et promptum illum satis equum suum ieiuniorum verberibus et vigiliarum calcaribus perurgens'.

[104] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 275.

[105] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 276.

[106] *Memorials*, pp. 99-100: 'Debet autem miles iste super equum suum sellam habere. Eius sella creedimus esse mansuetudinem. Hanc enim debet interior homo super exteriorem ponere, ut et super eum firmius sedere et eum decentius possit regere. Videlicet ut nullum membrum huc vel illuc inordinate moveat, sed omnia decenter et mansuete contineat. Ut nihil agat aspere, sed omnia cum tranquillitate'.

[107] *Memorials*, pp. 97-8: 'eundum ipsum equum excitandum valde necessaria. Saepius namque nec gressum quidem moveret, si miles eum calcaribus non non urgeret'.

returned to later in the treatise, they are referred to as 'two kinds of exhortation' (*duo sunt exhortationum genera*).[108]

The left and right spurs are respectively the exhortations of fear (*de timore*) and love (*de amore*). The text specifies the ways in which the soul or mind (the knight) can use these to spur the horse of the body into action, and the circumstances in which the body may begin to otherwise become uncooperative:

> Those [exhortations] which are of fear are said to be on the left; those of love are said to be on the right. But fear and love of what? The fear of Hell and the love of eternal life. The fear of terrible loss and the love of delightful pleasure. The fear of perpetual misery and the love of eternal glory. Because the outer man is weak and corruptible, he therefore often ceases good works as soon as some burden presses upon him. But when the inner man feels [the outer's] desire to become sluggish at the beginning of the journey of good works, he then, like a knight, ought to stir up his horse with the aforesaid exhortations, sometimes on the left, sometimes on the right; now with fear, now with love, and sometimes with both at once.[109]

The spurs, then, allegorise mental reminders with which the reluctant body can be compelled into beginning and persevering in good works. In addition, by recalling the eternal rewards of Heaven and the alternative damnation in Hell, the spiritual knight can, in a sense, provide the impetus for the perseverance represented by the lance. The combination of metaphors is particularly apt, as the lance's power to pierce an enemy was provided by the motion of the horse on which the knight was mounted.

The respective allegorisation of knight and horse and soul and body receives another detailed discussion in Ralph Niger's *De re militari*. There are, however, some notable differences. Where the horse and its trappings are all detailed before any of the knightly arms in *Similitudo militis*, the spiritual arming of *De re militari* instead follows the order of worldly arming. Beginning from the feet up, the spiritual knight puts on the various pieces of armour and girds on the sword before mounting the horse.[110] The shield and lance are taken up after mounting, as it would be difficult to mount the horse once they were taken hold of. As with *Similitudo militis*, however, the horse itself remains an allegory for the body, which requires control by the rational mind or soul:

> And so, distinguished with these arms, we rightly mount our horse and ride upon the beast that is our flesh, so that reason may be lord over sensuality and the latter obey the former's

[108] *Memorials*, p. 100.
[109] *Memorials*, p. 100: 'Illae autem, quae sunt de timore, dicuntur sinistrae. Quae vero de amore, dicuntur dextrae. Sed de quo timore et de quo amore? De timore gehennae et de amore vitae aeternae. De timore horribilis calamitatis et de amore delectabilis iucunditatis. De timore perpetuae miseriae et de amore perennis gloriae. Quia ergo noster exterior homo est infirmus et corruptibilis, saepius aliqua instante gravitate a bono opere vellet cessare. Sed cum interior homo eum ab incepto bene operandi itinere senserit velle torpere, mox eum quasi miles equum suum calcaribus debet excitare praedictis exhortationibus, aliquando videlicet sinistris, aliquando vero dextris; id est nunc timore, nunc amore, et quandoque simul utrisque'.
[110] *De re militari*, pp. 98-103.

> power, and so that in turn it will do nothing harmful or do anything it ought not to do. Rather, it will be ruled by reason in all things.[111]

As with the *Similitudo militis*, *De re militari* also stresses the importance of the mobility granted by the horse, and incorporates this into the ways in which the body can be used to advance on the devil and attack, or flee when overwhelmed. In this, Ralph Niger seems to draw on the role of cavalry as being best deployed to attack fleeing or disrupted enemies, and to avoid combats where being mounted would put the knight at a disadvantage:

> The horse is especially suited to this warfare and the knight should be mounted on it. Thanks to its agility and strength, he can fearlessly pursue or flee. Let him pursue when the enemy is conquered or surrenders, but let him flee when a savage enemy strikes or threatens with such overwhelming force that there is no point in resisting.[112]

In addition to drawing on battlefield practice, Ralph's description of the bodily role in spiritual warfare echoes that of the *Similitudo militis*, emphasising that control of the body offers the chance to physically remove the self from overwhelming temptation or sin. This avowed need for bodily control reflects the applications of the bridle of abstinence mentioned in *Similitudo militis*, in accordance with the different appetites of each individual body. Ralph explains: 'For it is important to take proper measure of oneself, lest he be too bold'.[113] This importance of not being overly bold is reiterated in his advice on avoiding the mortal sins, which he likens to the large missiles thrown by siege engines (*tormentorum*).[114] There, as in *Similitudo militis*, Ralph cites Matthew 10:23 to reiterate the importance of fleeing overwhelmingly dangerous sins. He also draws on the example of Eleazar from 1 Maccabees 6:46, whose boldness leads to his being crushed beneath an elephant, emphasising the importance of choosing to flee sin rather than being headstrong in the spiritual battle and risking one's soul.[115]

The importance of understanding one's bodily limits and the dangers of being overly bold are also evident in chivalric literature. When prowess (*prouesse*) and wisdom (*sagesse*) were present and balanced within the knight, the result was '*mesure*', a term denoting restraint, caution, and self-control.[116] In the *Chanson de Roland*, Oliver has cause for complaint at what he perceives as Roland's lack of wisdom in blowing the horn to summon Charlemagne's army, telling him: '…sensible valour is not folly; caution (*mesure*) is better than reckless bravery', going on to explain that Roland's

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[111] *De re militari*, p. 103: 'His itaque armis insigniti consequenter et convenienter equum ascendimus et iumento nostre carnis insidemus, ut ratio dominetur sensualitati et illa obediat eius potestati, ut non faciat quod noceat vel omittat quod facere debeat, sed omnia rationis iudicio'.
[112] *De re militari*, p. 104: 'Ad hanc autem militiam equus idoneus est, cui miles insideat et eius agilitate et fortitudine securius fuget aut fugiat; fuget cum vincitur hostis aut cedit, fugiat cum hostis immanis intollerabiliter cedat vel instet, cui resistere non expediat'.
[113] *De re militari*, p. 104: 'Metiri enim se quemque decet, ne presumat'.
[114] *De re militari*, p. 106. *Tormenta* can refer to both the siege engines themselves and the missiles thrown by them, see Cotts's note in: *On Warfare*, p. 45, n. 49.
[115] *De re militari*, pp. 106-7.
[116] Crouch, *Chivalric Turn*, pp. 67-78; Cardini, 'Warrior and Knight', p. 82.

excessive desire to exercise his prowess has ultimately brought the Franks unnecessary harm.[117] Ralph Niger advises similarly, that being overly bold in life can lead to pointless loss of the soul, and that there is no shame in fleeing overwhelming sin. His advice is particularly pertinent given the anti-crusading thrust of his overall work; he is advising knights not to risk their bodies and by extension, their souls on crusade unless they have reformed the sinful ways of their everyday lives:

> No-one ought to expose himself to certain danger unless faith or justice is in peril, and it is the only way that the human loss could be eliminated or at least reduced. In that case, one ought to struggle even unto death. Even a strong man ought to flee from the greatest sins. Whence we read: 'flee fornication' … And so we should fear particular sins, and especially those for which we have already done penance, since we easily relapse when we return to our old ways. Hence it is that although we escaped once, we always ought to flee, lest we fall a second time.[118]

The worldly horse was itself vulnerable to being captured if not wounded or killed, while its loss allowed the knight himself to be more easily captured himself. Horse injuries were a constant danger in warfare, but it was also not uncommon for horses involved in long campaigns to succumb to infection, illness, or even starvation. Due to the expense of replacements, injuries to expensive warhorses were something to avoid wherever possible. This applied to combatants on both sides of a conflict; injured horses were often unlikely to survive, nullifying any value as ransom or spoils.[119] Ralph drew on these frequent occurrences in allegorising the dangers of giving the body over to sin, allegorising its capture, wounding, and even death. His message here is that giving in to temptation is to be captured by the 'enemy' (the devil), while actual physical, bodily participation in a sin wounds the horse, which a knightly audience would be well aware risked its death. The allegorical death of the spiritual horse comes about from repeated and unrepentant sinning:

> When the knight is unhorsed, sometimes his horse is lost and captured by the enemy, and sometimes it is wounded or even killed. For when sensuality is allowed to do that which it ought not to do, or what is not fitting for it to do, it is wounded. When it becomes the slave of sin, it is taken captive. And when it is dragged into habitual sin and remains obstinate in it, then the horse is certainly killed at once.[120]

As with *Similitudo militis*, the bridle and saddle are also allegorised in *De re militari*. While not ascribed the same qualities, their ultimate function in preventing the body from following its sinful impulses is the same. The bridle of discipline (*frenum disciplina*) is placed around the horse of the

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[117] *Roland*, ll. 1724-1725: '…par sens nen est folie: / Mielz valt mesure que ne fait estultie'; Ibid. l. 1731.
[118] *De re militari*, pp. 106-7: 'Nemo igitur certo periculo debet se opponere, nisi fides aut iustitia fuerit in angusto, si tantum humana iactura liberari possit aut relevari. In eo enim casu usque ad mortem concertandum est. Sunt igitur maxima peccata a quantumlibet forti viro fugienda. Unde: Fugite fornicationem … Et sic de singulis peccatis timendum et maxime de hiis, unde penitentiam egimus. Cum ad consueta revertimur facile relabimur. Unde cum semel evasimus, semper fugere debemus, ne iterato cadamus'.
[119] Hyland, *Horse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 11, 111.
[120] *De re militari*, p. 117: 'Cum autem miles deicitur, interdum equus amittitur et ab hoste capitur, interdum vulneratur vel occiditur. Cum enim sensualitas ad id quod non debet nec decet accomodatur, vulneratur. Cum autem ad servitutem peccati mancipatur, captivatur. Cum autem ad consuetudinem peccati in obstinationem trahitur, profecto statim occiditur'.

body ‘so that we can keep it from falling headlong into evil and instead lead it straight down the road’.[121] Though not following the *Similitudo militis* is ascribing gentleness (*mansuetudinem*) to it, the allegorised saddle in *De re militari* still emphasises the importance of reason controlling the senses. Ralph also includes stirrups (*scansilia*) as part of the saddle: ‘The saddle is the judgement of reason imposed on sensuality with stirrups of discipline, which are trained through instruction and labour; through these two the flesh is made subject to reason’.[122] The emphasis on discipline drew on the importance of training real-world horses. Countering the horse’s natural tendency to flight if trapped in a frightening and unfamiliar situation was essential.[123] More experienced horses learned to shy away from the impact of a charge at the last minute, needing significant discipline and control from the rider to keep them going straight towards the opponent.[124] By the same token as the bridle, saddle, and stirrups being allegories for control of the senses, their losses are all allegorised as losing that control. The bridle is snatched away (*eripitur*) when ‘every sense is given over to its own desire’.[125] The bit, similarly, ‘is lost whenever the flesh is allowed to pursue its every pleasure’.[126] The saddle’s loss occurs ‘when all sense of caution gives way to utter neglect in matters of the senses’.[127]

The spurs of love and fear also appear in *De re militari*, though these are the first thing to be put on by the spiritual knight. While not explicitly being used to spur the horse as in *Similitudo militis*, they are still used to direct the spiritual knight on the right path. They are attached to the feet of the soul, which are themselves ‘intention and action’ (*intentio et actio*).[128] They are notably followed by the *chausses* of deliberation and counsel, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, help guide the knight’s intentions and actions on the right path. The function of the spurs is still to help keep the knight on the path towards salvation, but Ralph instead discusses how the knight’s feet, his actions and intentions, are what guide the soul:

> The soul’s feet are action and intention, and with these his body walks the earth either towards salvation or towards death. For if his purpose and his actions are both good and directed toward a worthy end, a man makes progress and he benefits. If, however, they

[121] *De re militari*, p. 104: ‘ut precipitem cohibeamus a malo et directe minemus in via’.
[122] *De re militari*, pp. 104-5: ‘Sella iudicium rationis impositum sensualitati, scansilia sunt disciplina, et exercitium eius doctrina et labor, quia per hec duo subicitur caro rationi’.
[123] Harvey, ‘Horses, Knights and Tactics’, p. 9.
[124] Hyland, *Horse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 111-5.
[125] *De re militari*, p. 115: ‘omnis sensus ad suam libidinem laxetur’. The snatching of bridles was how knights attempted to capture them and their riders as ransoms in both battle and the tournament. The *Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal* is replete with examples, see: *History of William Marshal*, ll. 1333-1337, 2840-2845, 3825-3834, 7012-7022. See also Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier de la charrette, ou, Le roman de Lancelot*, ed. and trans. (French) Charles Méla (Paris, 1992), ll. 797-802.
[126] *De re militari*, p. 115: ‘quotiens ad omne libitum omnino licentia carnis laxatur’.
[127] *De re militari*, p. 115: ‘quando sollicitudo omnis circumspectionis omnium sensuum ad incuriam elabitur’.
[128] *De re militari*, p. 98.

> are evil and directed towards an unworthy end, the man regresses and his condition deteriorates.[129]

In order to guide himself in making the correct decisions, Ralph continues, the knight should put on the correct spurs. Here, the metaphors of love and fear recur, though they are love and fear of God, rather than love of salvation and fear of Hell. By contrast, the knight who is spurred along by worldly desires is on the wrong path:

> The spurs of the knight of God are love and fear, which, if they spring from a good source, spur him on and guide him in times of uncertainty, so that he might have love from God, love for him, fear on account of him, and reverence for him. If, on the other hand, they spring from avarice or from any other evil, his feet wander along the impassable paths of faithlessness, which lead away from salvation as long as such spurs are bound to those feet.[130]

Ralph's message about the spurs guiding the intentions and actions matches the recurring messages about intention throughout Book I of *De re militari*. As noted above, the lance of perseverance represents perseverance in good works and good intentions. The intentions and actions signified by the feet are further fortified by the deliberation and counsel signified by the *chausses*. The same intentions are kept on the right path by the spurs of love and fear of God. That the spurs come first in the order of arming reflects the importance Ralph gives to starting the spiritual journey with the right intentions. The allegorised loss of the spurs in *De re militari* also demonstrates the importance of right intentions to Ralph's vision of knightly spiritual reform. The spurs' loss in *De re militari* can come about in two ways. First, from deliberately sinning: 'The spurs are then snatched away when folly and carelessness weigh [the knight] down, or when obstinacy or apostasy attack and he sins indiscriminately. In this case, he is despoiled of the spurs of love and fear of God'.[131] The second way in which they can be lost appears to be simply losing focus on, or forgetting about, the love and fear owed to God: 'Sometimes, however, a knight is ignominiously discharged from service when the fear and love of God slip away, so that he loses merit with God and favour with men'.[132]

The horse allegory in *De re militari* features horse armour (*armatura equi*), notably not present in *Similitudo militis*.[133] Its inclusion here reflects the later twelfth-century composition of *De re militari*. The armouring of horses began in the latter half of the twelfth century, and its inclusion in *De re*

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[129] *De re militari*, p. 98: 'Sunt autem pedes anime intentio et actio, quibus graditur super terram sui corporis ad salutem vel ad mortem. Si enim bona fuerint propositio et actio et ad finem rectum dirigantur, procedit homo et proficit. Si vero mala fuerint et ad finem indebitum, retrocedit homo et deterit eius conditio'.
[130] *De re militari*, pp. 98-9: 'Calcaria vero militis Dei sunt amor et timor, que sua vicissitudine stimulant et dirigunt, si a bono fonte diriventur, ut sit amor a Deo et in eum et timor propter eum et ad eum reverential. Sin autem a cupiditate vel ab alia malitia emanaverint, divaricantur pedes ad infidelitatis invia saluti contraria, dum eis illigantur'.
[131] *De re militari*, p. 114: 'Demum eripiuntur calciamenta, quando pariter incumbunt socordia et negligentia sive cum obstinatione vel apostasia irruente sine delectu peccatur, quo casu et a calcaribus amoris et timoris Dei spoliatur'.
[132] *De re militari*, p. 114: 'Interdum vero miles ignominiose exauctoratur, quando amor Dei et timor pariter ab eo turpiter elabuntur, ut et apud Deum meritum et apud homines gratiam perdat'.
[133] *De re militari*, p. 105.

militari seemingly reflects its widespread use in the prestigious royal and knightly courts Ralph Niger circulated in. Armoured horses seem to appear first in later twelfth-century France, though the cloth caparisons covering horses make it hard to make out the nature and construction of horse armour in contemporary illustrations.[134] Horses were particularly vulnerable to attack, this being the quickest way to deprive a knight of the advantage of battlefield mobility. Despite their great value as spoils, there are examples of horses being targeted. Orderic Vitalis explained how the defenders of Chaumont-en-Vexin in 1097 shot the horses out from under their attackers instead of shooting the riders, acting out of 'duty to God and respect for humanity' (*timoris Dei et humanae societatis*).[135] The same practice is evident in the instructions given to crossbowmen commanded by Peter des Roches at the Battle of Lincoln in 1217, without any attempt to justify it as Orderic does.[136] The *Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal* also describes how it was easy for a combatant to thrust a dagger or knife underneath the horse's armour: 'knives and daggers drawn for the purpose of stabbing horses; their protective covering was not worth a fig'.[137]

Ralph Niger attempts to use the horse armour as a metaphor for how morally good behaviours protect the bodily senses, in the same way that the interlinked virtues form the mail-coat of the soul. The horse's head is sense perception, armoured by knowledge, 'because knowledge finds its source in sensual cognition, and from knowledge comes understanding'.[138] Modesty (*moderantia*) is what protects the hind parts, by tempering the body's concupiscence, while diligence (*diligentia*) protects the horse's neck and chest by allowing the senses to perceive truth: 'because deliberation is then aligned with diligence, and [thus] truth is clarified'.[139] If the horse's head is bodily perception, armoured by knowledge, then only when that knowledge is rightly aligned can the body be turned to help the mind perceive truth. This suggests the importance of bodily practices, of living rightly as a precursor for proper understanding of theological truths, a strongly monastic approach which seemingly reflects Ralph's source material.

Ralph's overall aim in this chapter of *De re militari* appears to be an attempt to draw a behavioural, bodily parallel with the horse armour, to match the way in which virtues combine to form the knight's own spiritual armour. However, his language suggests he is not entirely satisfied with his allegory, as well as possibly lacking confidence in his understanding of the nature of sense perception:

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[134] Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare,* p. 35; Davis, *Medieval Warhorse,* p. 21.
[135] *OV,* v., p. 218.
[136] *History of William Marshal,* ll. 16314-16324.
[137] *History of William Marshal,* ll. 16890-16892: 'E coutels treire e alesnaz / Por chevals ocire a estoc; / N'i valeit coverture un froc'. On the vulnerability of warhorses more generally, see Prestwich, 'Miles in armis strenuus', pp. 210-2.
[138] *De re militari*, p. 105: 'quoniam a cognitione sensuali est origo scientie et a scientia intellectus'.
[139] *De re militari*, p. 105: 'quoniam diligentie coheret deliberatio, que veritatem enucleat'.

> However, as to this classification of our sense perception, I would more willingly listen to those who classify it better; and would that the recognition of a better distinction would come to me! I do know that many virtues combine to form modesty, which tempers concupiscence, and these create a kind of mail-coat that adorns and protects the hind-end of sensuality. Similarly, discernment is woven from many virtues to defend our cogitations. Furthermore, the exercise of reason, which reflects on cognition, is put together from many other qualities. Perhaps we might put it better by saying that the combinations of the three aforesaid attributes are made more from behaviours than from virtues … While the armour of the soul is woven from the virtues, the armour for our sense perception is created by the combination of behaviours.[140]

The idea of the horse as a body being ridden by the devil, occurring in the *Glossa ordinaria*, reappears briefly in Part Four of *Ancrene Wisse*. Emphasising the need for firm faith, the text warns of how the body can be ridden by the devil if the anchoress gives in to her temptations: 'Anyone who inclines her heart to [the devil's] temptations is bowing down; because while she stays upright, he cannot either sit or ride on her'.[141] The dangers of allowing the self to be 'ridden' in such a way by the devil, and the perils of continued sin in this way, echo similar ideas given in *De re militari* about the capture and wounding of the horse through participation in sin:

> There was this woman who believed [the devil], who thought that he would get straight down, as he always promises. 'Do this just the once', he says, 'and confess it tomorrow. Bow down your heart, let me up, shake me off with confession if I try to ride you for any length of time.' This woman, as I said, believed him and bowed down to him; and he jumped up, and rode her both day and night for a full twenty years, that is, she committed a sin that very night through his incitement, thinking that she would make her confession in the morning, and committed it again and again, and fell so much into the habit of sin that she lay and rotted in it.[142]

Were it not for miraculous intervention, the author warns that 'she would have tumbled with [the devil], horse and load together, down into the depths of hell'.[143] The persistence in sin leading to hell again echoes Ralph Niger's message about the death of the horse due to the same, while the concept of the horse tumbling down also closely mirrors the dangers of the horse leaving the straight path as emphasised in both *Similitudo militis* and *De re militari*. This monastically derived idea that the horse

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[140] *De re militari*, p. 105: 'In hac autem divisione sensualitatis, qui melius distinguat libentius audio, et utinam mihi veniat melioris distinctionis agnitio! Scio vero, quod moderantiam que concupiscentiam temperet, multe virtutes contexunt, que quasi regimen loricale faciunt, quod posteriora sensualitatis ornet et muniat. Similiter et discretio multis virtutibus contexitur ad tutelam cogitationum, similiter et ratiocinatio, que cognitioni consulit, ex multis necitur. Aut forte dicere poterimus securius, quod horum trium predictorum contextiones fiunt de moribus magis quam de virtutibus … Armatura vero animi virtutibus contexitur, armatura vero sensualitatis morum internexione componitur'.

[141] *AW*, p. 101: 'Þeo buheð hire þe to hise fondunges buheð hire heorte; for hwil ha stont upriht, ne mei he nowðer upon hire rukin ne riden'.

[142] *AW*, pp. 101-2: 'Sum wes þet lefde him, þohte he schulde sone adun, as he bihat eauer. 'Do,' he seið, 'þis enchearre, ant schrif þe þrof to-mahren. Buh þin heorte, let me up, schec me wið schrift adun ȝef Ich alles walde ride þe longe.' Sum, as Ich seide, lefde him ant beah him; ant he leop up, ant rad hire baðe dei ant niht twenti ȝer fulle – þet is, ha dude a sunne i þe il[ke] niht þurh his procunge, ant þohte þet ha walde hire schriuen ine marhen, ant dude hit eft ant eft, ant fealh swa i uuel wune þet ha lei ant rotede þrin'.

[143] *AW*, p. 102: 'ha hefde iturplet wið him, baðe hors ant lade, dun into helle grunde'.

was an allegory for the body, needing careful control by the rational mind, is repackaged in *Ancrene Wisse* as a warning to the anchoress against the dangers of giving into temptation.

In Part Two of *Ancrene Wisse*, a number of allegories are employed to discuss the importance of control of the senses to protecting the heart. Amongst these comes a bridle, building on the phrase 'bridling his tongue' (*refrenans linguam suam*) from James 1:26. The concern here, as with the rest of Part Two, is with restricting the anchoress's looking at or conversing with those outside the anchor house.[144] By 'bridling' the senses in this regard, the emphasis is on silence, and its efficacy in avoiding the dangers presented to the anchoress by the world. This is, again, a strongly monastic idea, with an entire chapter of the Rule of Benedict being dedicated to silence. The allegorical bridle draws on the way in which a worldly bridle surrounds much of the horse's head, and the use of the bit to restrain:

> The bridle is not just in the horse's mouth, but is partly placed over the eyes and goes around the ears, because it is essential that all three of them should be bridled. But the bit is placed in the mouth, and on the quick tongue, because that is where there is most need of restraint, when the tongue is in motion and has started to gallop.[145]

The parallel appears to draw on earlier references to the bridle in discussions of the spiritual horse. Notably, Hereford Cathedral, in the region in which *Ancrene Wisse* was written, held an earlier twelfth-century copy of the Anselmian collection *De moribus* containing *Similitudo militis*.[146] The parallel was particularly apt because the senses formed part of the body which, the general message of Part Two of *Ancrene Wisse* stressed, would be given over to its wilful, sinful ways unless properly controlled and directed by the mind.

The body-as-horse allegory is a complex one. It contends with several different behavioural elements, but at its core involves rational control of the bodily impulses, and so in many ways represents most strongly the contending with the 'flesh' element of the three-fold enemy, strongly reflecting the formulation from Galatians that the flesh and the spirit contend against each other. Ralph's dissatisfaction seems to be mirrored by a lack of coherence around the body-as-horse allegory, and the complexity of sense perception offered by Ralph seems to almost push the metaphor beyond any adequate usefulness. Nonetheless, the horse represents a 'physical' aspect of spiritual warfare, and all of the various pieces of harness are designed to represent ways that the body transporting the spirit can be guided towards living rightly and away from the spiritual dangers of the flesh and the world.

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[144] *AW*, pp. 20-47.
[145] *AW*, pp. 30-1: 'Bridel nis nawt ane i þe horses muð, ah sit sum upo þe ehnen, ant geað abute þe earen, for alle þreo is muche neod þet ha beon ibridlet. Ah i þe muð sit tet irn, ant o þe lihte tunge, for þear is meast neod hald, hwen þe tunge is o rune ant ifole to eornen'.
[146] *Memorials,* p. 16. See also Chapter 4, pp. 155-8, where the relationship between the Anselmian *De custodia* and *Sawles Warde* are discussed.

The Horse of Desire for Heaven

The second kind of horse allegory employed in twelfth- and thirteenth-century spiritual warfare texts is the horse of desire (*desiderium*) for morally good things; ultimately, the desire to attain Heaven. This allegory occurs largely in the *Sententiae* and *Parabolae* of Bernard of Clairvaux, but also in some thirteenth century pastoral care contexts. The soul and the horse of good desire interact with other personified virtues and behaviours in similar ways in the first two *Parabolae*. Bernard's horse allegory in those first *Parabolae* helps emphasise the speed with which desire for Heaven, driven by fear and love, can move the soul closer to God even before attaining other virtues.

The first of these, *De filio regis* ('Of the King's Son'), describes Man as the son of a powerful king, God.[147] It summarises the fall of Man as this son's capture and enslavement by the devil. To rescue Man, God sends two of his servants (*seruorum*), Fear (*Timor*) and Hope (*Spes*) to free the son from the dungeons of the devil. Hope places the son on a horse: 'I have brought for you a horse which your father sent, a horse named Desire. Astride this horse and with my guidance you will advance, safe from all of these [captors]'.[148] While Hope guides the direction of the horse, Fear's role echoes that of the spur of the same name from *Similitudo militis*, as he 'urges the horse on with blows and threats' (*verberibus urget et minis*).[149] The horse is covered with 'soft rugs of pious devotion' (*mollibus stramentis piae devotionis submissis*), and the son is given 'spurs of good examples' (*bonorum exemplorum calcaribus*).[150] The overall message here is that the desire for Heaven alone can (at least initially) move the soul quickly towards God, guided by hope, driven by fear, with the soul seated in piety and guiding heavenly desire by using examples of good living.

However, this rapid motion of desire for Heaven requires a degree of control. Bernard notes that the horse of desire is at this point 'lacking a bridle' (*frenum defuit*).[151] Prudence (*Prudentia*) and Temperance (*Temperantiam*) arrive to slow the horse's headlong progress by providing a bridle. Their guidance is offered to prevent the horse from falling off the path it is on, and echoes the role of the reins and bridle in bodily horse allegories:

> "If you keep running in this way you will stumble, and if you stumble you will fall. If you fall, you will be giving back the King's son to his enemies, although you are trying to free him. For if he falls, they will seize him". Saying this, [Prudence] restrained that fervid

[147] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 261-7.
[148] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 263: 'a patre missum equum desiderii, cui cum insederis, me duce ab his omnibus securus proficisceris'.
[149] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 263.
[150] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 263.
[151] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 263.

> horse of desire with a bridle of discretion, and gave the reins into the control of Temperance.[152]

Discretion, then, is given by Prudence and controlled by Temperance, to better control desire and keep it on the right track. The control given by the characters of Prudence and Fortitude, through the bridle and reins of discretion is similar to the role of abstinence, also allegorised as reins, in *Similitudo militis*. Aided by 'Fortitude, the Lord's distinguished knight' (*Fortitudo, miles Domini egregius*), the son is guided along the 'road of Justice' (*viam Iustitiae*) towards the 'castle of Wisdom' (*castra Sapientiae*).[153] With the aid of these personified virtues and behaviours, the soul can advance through unsafe territory towards Wisdom, where it might take refuge from the devil's attacks: 'And so, while on the road, Fear added urgency, Hope drew [the soul forward], Fortitude protected, Temperance guided, Prudence kept watch and gave instructions, Justice led and directed. The king's son approached Wisdom's castle'.[154] A very similar concept is evident in Bernard's Sermon 23 on the Song of Songs, where fear of God is argued as being more important than knowledge in attaining wisdom: 'So entirely, it is one thing to know God, and another to fear Him; nor is knowledge what makes one wise, but the fear [of God].[155] The concept ultimately derives from Psalm 110:10: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (*Initium sapientiae timor Domini*).

In a sense, this idea of driving the horse in the right direction also echoes the idea of the bridle and reins being used to keep the bodily horse on track in the *Similitudo militis* and other body-as-horse allegories. Once they arrive at the castle, the soul and the virtues are besieged by the devil's army.[156] There, another horse allegory is employed to discuss how the soul is rescued. Like the soul, a personified Prayer (*Oratio*) is mounted on the horse of faith (*equum fidei*) to send for God's aid.[157] Prayer's mounted journey and entry into the court of God acts as an allegory for the way in which prayer, confession, and hymns function to communicate with God: 'Mounting the horse of faith, [Prayer] sets out along the heavenly road, and does not stop until he enters the gates of the Lord by way of confession, enters His court by way of hymns'.[158] Accordingly, prayer guides the soul heavenward, confession brings it through the gate, and the hymns carry it into the court of Heaven. This progression underscores the significant value of inner piety to the monastic outlook. In other words, while anyone may pray, only the virtuous confess sincerely, and it is the monks who habitually

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[152] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 263: '"Si sic curritis, offenditis; si offenditis, caditis; si caditis, filium regis, quem suscepistis liberandum, inimicis redditis. Nam si ceciderit, illico manus eorum super eum". Haec dicens, frenum discretionis imposuit fervido illi equo desideria, eiusque habenas Temperantiae regendas commisit'.
[153] *SBO,* 6.2., pp. 263-4.
[154] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 264: 'Sic itaque dum viam urget Timor, Spes trahit, munit Fortitudo, Temperantia moderatur, providet et instruit Prudentia, ducit et perducit Iustitia. Appropinquat filius regis castris Sapientiae'.
[155] *SBO,* 1., pp. 147-8: 'Sic prorsus, sic aliud est nosse Deum, et aliud timere; nec cognitio sapientem, sed timor facit'.
[156] *SBO,* 6.2., pp. 265-6; On this see Chapter 4, pp. 148-51.
[157] *SBO,* 6.2., p. 265.
[158] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 265: 'Ascendit super equum fidei, proficiscitur per viam caeli, nec cessat, donec intret portas Domini in confessione, atria eius in hymnis'.

recount hymns through their offices. In this sense, Bernard's allegory emphasises the importance of active piety as embodied by the monastic life, and how this is the only way that even the most righteous soul is protected from spiritual attack.

The second parable, *De conflictu duorum regum* ('Of the Conflict Between Two Kings', hereafter *De conflictu*), utilises the horse of desire and several of the personified virtues in very similar ways.[159] Fear and Hope again occur as serving the king, God, though here in a function as knights (*militem*), rather than servants. Fear is sent first to scare off the enemies who have drawn the soul away to Babylon; the soul itself is one of the citizens of a heavenly Jerusalem ruled by God. Fear, returning with the soul, is waylaid by Sadness (*Tristitiae*), and God sends Hope with 'the horse of desire and the sword of happiness' (*equo desiderii et ense laetitiae*) to rescue them.[160] As with the preceding parable, the soul is mounted on the horse of desire by Hope, who guides the mounted soul back towards Jerusalem while Fear drives it on from behind: 'Having liberated his fellow-citizen, [Hope] himself leads the horse of desire, drawing it by the rope of promises, while Fear followed, urging it on with a whip made of the cords of sins'.[161]

As with *De filio regis*, the horse in *De conflictu* that is rushing along by hope and fear alone is again portrayed as being particularly vulnerable, and God again sends Prudence and Temperance to provide a bridle of discretion:

> Again the king, whose mind is always concerned with the care of souls, sent out two counsellors to him, Prudence and Temperance. Temperance places the bridle of discretion on the horse and persuades Hope to proceed with more moderation. Prudence rebukes Fear, accuses him of shamelessness and warns him of the future.[162]

Unlike the previous parable, however, Prudence also places on the horse a saddle of caution (*sellam circumspectionis*).[163] This protects the soul on all sides: 'from behind by the confession of past sin and in front by reflection on future judgement; on the left by patience and on the right by humility'.[164] This particular part of the allegory appears to draw somewhat on the reality of saddles used for war by time Bernard was writing. These had a high pommel and cantle to help hold the rider in place and provide some protection against being dismounted, though the sides did not provide protection in the

[159] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 267-73.
[160] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 267-8.
[161] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 268: 'Sicque liberatum concivem, et impositum equo desiderii praecedens, trahebat funiculo promissionum; sed et Timor sequens urgebat facto flagello de resticulis peccatorum'.
[162] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 269: 'Porro rex, cuius animum cura semper sollicitat animarum, duos consiliarios suos ei mittit, Prudentiam et Temperantiam. Quorum Temperantia quidem equo frenum discretionis imposuit, et Spem moderatius incedere persuasit. Prudentia vero Timorem increpans et arguens improbitatis, de future commonuit'.
[163] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 269.
[164] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 269: 'post praeteritio confessione peccati, ante meditatione iudicii, a sinistris patientiae inniteretur, a dextris humilitati'.

ways described in the *Parable*.[165] These developments in the saddle coincided with the appearance of couched lance use in the eleventh century.[166] The association of Fear and Hope (the hope for heaven being the love for God) with spurs also recurs here, echoing their role in bodily horse allegories: 'Fear and Hope give two spurs to the rider, on the right foot the expectation of reward and on the left the dread of punishment'.[167]

Allegorical horses also occur alone within Bernard's *Sententiae*. The 'horse of good desires' (*equum boni desideria*), for instance, is mentioned as one of the things the knight of Christ should be equipped with.[168] Another of the *Sententiae* provides a summary of events described in the first two *Parabolae* and may indeed be a shorter record of those *Parabolae*. It concerns the horse's uncontrolled progress at the urging of Hope and Fear:

> [Fear and Hope] take charge of the prodigal son seated upon the horse of desire … Hope precedes the horse, Fear follows it. Prudence is sent to temper Fear. But as Fear is diminished, Hope is increased, and she draws the horse of desire after her too quickly. But, to prevent them rushing off a precipice or journeying away from the path, Temperance is sent to place a bridle on the horse.[169]

Another horse allegory appears in the *Sententiae*, beginning: 'We are taken up to Heaven on three horses'.[170] While these horses are not placed in a military context as those in the *Parabolae*, the allegorical saddles, spurs, and bridles used to control them, and the dangers each horse can encounter, offer similar advice on spiritual progress through the allegory of the horse itself. The first of these allegories acts much like the way Fear spurs on the horse of desire:

> [The first is] anguish which derives from regret, whose hooves are bitten by the serpent; its saddle is the anticipation of receiving grace, its bridle and bit the consolation of Scripture and long-established examples, the spurs with which it is urged along are shame about the enormity of guilt and contemplation of the fear of punishment; its pitfall is despair.[171]

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[165] Hanley, *War and Combat*, pp. 38-9; Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, p. 19; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 35-7; Prestwich, 'Miles in armis strenuus', p. 206; Hyland, *Medieval Warhorse*, pp. 8-9.

[166] This high saddle, combined with long stirrups, necessitated an awkward straight-legged riding style as depicted in art from the mid-eleventh century well into the fourteenth. This was beneficial for making and protecting against couched lance charges, but presented difficulties in fighting with the sword and more generally with feeling the motion of the horse underneath. See: Gassmann, 'Mounted Combat', p. 79; Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, p. 15.

[167] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 269: 'Spes et Timor dederunt ei calcaria, Spes in dextro pede exspectationem praemii, Timor in sinistro metum supplicii'.

[168] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 18.

[169] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 13: 'Haec duo, apprehendentes filium prodigum positum super equum desiderii … Spes praecedit equum; Timor subsequitur. Mittitur Prudentia ut temperet Timorem. Sed minutio timoris est augmentum spei et immoderate post se trahit equum desiderii. Sed, ne incurrant praecipitium aut iter devium, mittitur Temperantia ut equo frenum imponat'.

[170] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 52: 'Equi quibus ad caelum evehimur tres sunt'.

[171] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 52: 'Dolor ex paenitudine, cuius ungulas coluber mordet; huius sella est de veniae perceptione praesumptio; frenum et camus, solatia scripturarum et exemplaria veterum; calcaria quibus urgetur, de reatus enormitate confusio, de poenae consideratione formido; fovea, desperatio'.

All of the horse's equipment concerns guilt, fear, repentance, and the desire to be forgiven. That the horse can fall into a pit (*fovea*) echoes the concern about the horse's stumbling in the *Parabolae*, when desire for Heaven is driven on too quickly and not bridled with prudence and temperance.

The second horse is harnessed with equipment indicating more positive qualities, similarly to how Hope differs from Fear in the *Parabolae*. Its description also echoes some of the warnings of excessive abstinence as seen in the bodily horse allegories:

> There follows [a horse of] religious fervor, that on which Mordecai sits in royal robes (Esther 6:8-11), the saddle of which is the temperance of the weight of discretion; its bit and bridle mistrust of things of one's own flesh, and the useful merit of perseverance. Its spurs, the longing to act honourably and the hunger for fraternal benefit. Its pitfall is lack of moderation.[172]

This passage refers to the monastic sense of communal life. It reflects essentially the acknowledgement that one can desire to act correctly in accordance with the Rule, but must also rely on the same desire from the rest of the community. Where both of these horses have their associated 'pit' into which they can fall, the third horse, 'the desire which derives from love' (*desiderium ex amore*), does not.[173] While both fear and religious zeal, represented by the first two horses, have many positive properties, the horse of desire having no pitfall reinforces the more general emphasis on love and charity in Cistercian thought. Charity or love (*caritas*) was a particularly prominent theme in writings from the earliest proto-Cistercian communities which would later become an established order.[174] Jean Leclercq placed Bernard among what he termed a 'second generation' of Cistercian writers alongside William of St. Thierry, who in his *De natura et dignitate amoris* ('On the Nature and Dignity of Love') considered the monastery as 'charity's own school' (*specialis caritatis schola*).[175] This monastic emphasis is reflected in Bernard's description of the horse of desire, whose spurs are 'the transitory nature of the present world and the eternal stability of the future one'.[176] Like the horse of desire from the first two *Parabolae*, this horse of desire is led along by the hope for Heaven, though this hope is neither specifically mentioned or characterised: 'It is led forward by the

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[172] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 52: 'Sequitur fervor ex religione, cui supersedet Mardochaeus in veste regia; huius sella, temperans discretionis gravitas; frenum et camus, suspecta conditio carnis suae et utilis emersio perseverantiae; calcaria, excercendae honestatis cupiditas et fraternae commoditatis aviditas; fovea, intemperantia.

[173] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 52.

[174] Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. Volume 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (Chicago, 1978), p. 23.

[175] *Guillelmo a Sancto Theodorico opera omnia pars III: Opera didactica et spiritualia*, ed. Stanislai Ceglar and Pauli Verdeyen, CCCM 88 (Turnhout, 2003), p. 198; Jean Leclercq, 'The Renewal of Theology', in Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto, 1982), p. 70. William was probably influenced in this by readings of Ovid and Augustine, and synthesised older ideas of desire and longing towards a more virtuous ideal of charity. See: Mews, 'Definition of Love', pp. 640-2. Similar themes are also evident in Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and are given by Eadmer, Anselm's biographer, as reason for writing the work: *The Life of St Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (London, 1962), p. 30; Leclercq, 'Renewal', p. 77.

[176] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 52: 'fluxa labilitas praesentium, stabilis aeternitas futurorum'.

affection to see God'.[177] While mounting the horse of desire is the first step on the journey towards the experience, *desideratur* is not only the beginning but the overall goal of the monastic life in Bernard's outlook; the desire to experience unity with God. This experiential goal differs significantly from scholastic approaches, a uniquely monastic outlook highlighting that, as Leclercq put it: '…the Lord is there at the beginning. He is there at every stage, He is at the close, He is the End. The important word is no longer *quaeritur*, but *desideratur*; no longer *sciendum*, but *experiendum*'.[178] The anticipation for Heaven must not, however, be headlong and unregulated; hence the need for a bridle of discretion.

Where Bernard's horse allegories in the *Parabolae* and *Sententiae* were primarily designed for monastic audiences, the ideas expressed there do reappear in certain thirteenth-century pastoral contexts. Robert Grosseteste's letter to Richard Marshal borrows heavily from several of Bernard's writings on the horse of desire, as well as elements from other horse allegories discussed earlier:

> …mount the horse of holy and heavenly desire; its bridle is discretion, its saddle is circumspection, it sees in advance the severity of the Judgement yet to come and the shame of past sin behind. There are two stirrups, humility on the right and [reminder of] sin on the left, and two spurs, on the right the promise of future blessedness and on the left the fear of Hell.[179]

The 'horse of holy and heavenly desire' is clearly derived from Bernard of Clairvaux, as is the bridle of discretion, both of which appear in the first two *Parabolae*. The saddle of circumspection, or caution (*sella circumspectionis*) also comes from the parable *De conflictu duorum regum*. In that *Parable*, the saddle protects the front by reflecting on future judgment, while it is the eyes of Grosseteste's horse which see what lies ahead. The saddle in the parable protects from behind by confession of past sin, and again, Grosseteste's horse sees this same behind. The spurs of love and fear have precedents in *Similitudo militis*, *De re militari* and Bernard's *Parabolae*. The stirrups (*scansilia*), on the other hand, have no immediate precedent in the spiritual arms, but the association of the positive property with the right foot and the negative with the left accords with the spurs' placement in *Similitudo militis*, Bernard's *Parable* and *De re militari*. The association of the left side with evil remains consistent; the foot in the stirrup of sin uses the spur of the fear of hell, whilst that in the stirrup of humility uses the spur of future blessedness. Again, this echoes Bernard in how fear drives desire for heaven along by fear of hell and reminder of past sins, and how hope pulls desire forward with the promise of future salvation. The message for Richard Marshal in the letter is clear:

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[177] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 52: 'ductor, affectuositas videndi Deum'.
[178] Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 7.
[179] *Epistolae*, p. 40: 'ascendatis equum sancti et caelestis desiderii, cujus fraenum sit discretio, sella circumspectio, praevidens ante districtionem futuri iudicii; retro, confusionem praeteriti peccati. Duo sint scansilia, a dextris humilitas, a sinistris peccata. Duo calcaria, in dextro pede promissio beatitudinis futurae, in sinistro metus gehennae'. As I believe Grosseteste is following Bernard here, the use of *peccata* on its own implies the reminder or recall of past sins, similar to Fear's role in Bernard's *Sententiae* and *Parabolae* discussed earlier.

the fear of sin and the hell it leads to, and the act of humility and the future blessedness it promises, are ways to 'spur' the self towards Heaven.

Chapter Conclusion

The additions of the horse and lance to spiritual warfare imagery in this period allowed for a more extensive employment of concepts. The lance demonstrates significant flexibility, probably due to the complete lack of precedent for it in the scriptural spiritual arms. In *Similitudo militis* it represents foresight, the ability to fend off the devil 'at a distance', before he can come close enough to make a threatening attack on the soul. It is also employed in a dual purpose, reinforcing the idea of perseverance in good works already laid out in the allegorised mail rings of the armour of justice. The lance's association with perseverance is also adopted by Ralph Niger in *De re militari*, though with none of the connotations of a spiritual 'weapon'. The sword of the word of God, for Ralph does the work of fighting spiritual enemies, while the lance, as the last thing taken up by the spiritual knight, represents the importance of persevering in all of the virtues with which he has previously been armed.

For Bernard of Clairvaux, the lance most commonly represents charity, with which the monk strikes back against the devil and the world, echoing the wider Cistercian importance placed on the virtue itself. However, perseverance as a 'final ingredient' of virtues is also evident in Bernard's work, and is described as such in Alan of Lille. Though neither associate the lance with perseverance, the employment of a 'lance of charity' in the *Arte praedicatoria*, and Alan's similarity to Bernard's thought on perseverance, strongly indicate that Alan's preaching messages were significantly influenced by Bernardine thought.

Regarding the horse, one of the key differences between the allegorical horse and real-world knightly practice is that the spiritual warrior has only a single mount rather than owning a number of horses. While never made explicit in any of the texts, this possibly reflects the simple fact that the soul only has the one body that it can inhabit, and which can aid it in fighting the three-fold enemy. It may also reflect the heroic trope of the single knight and horse found in romance writing. The horse-as-body allegory that is employed first in *Similitudo militis* drew on the real-life advantage of being mounted, that of mobility. This is framed as the ability to physically flee sin by moving away from the source of it, allegorised as fleeing the devil when it is prudent to do so. The harness associated with this allegorical horse is, concordantly, largely concerned with bodily control: the right amount of abstinence explained as reins and bridle, and the saddle of gentleness encouraging measured control in all bodily movements.

These same themes are largely reflected in Ralph Niger, strengthening the indication that *Similitudo militis* may have been a key source text for *De re militari*. Again, Ralph emphasises the importance

of mobility offered by the horse in terms of the ability to move away from sources of sin, and likewise the various pieces of harness operate as metaphors for bodily control. Ralph, however, introduces the horse in the correct order of military arming, being mounted once all the equipment save shield and lance are taken up. This drew on Ralph's own experiences of knightly combat, and possibly was designed to add a greater degree of verisimilitude to his arming allegory. The idea of the horse as metaphor for the body also appears in *Ancrene Wisse*. This text already places great emphasis on bodily control, and this is further evident by its reference to a 'bridle' as a means to control the tongue. The example of a woman being 'ridden by the devil' after giving into temptation, however, seems to echo the *Glossa ordinaria* commentary rather than any direct monastic precedent.

While Bernard of Clairvaux does make use of a horse-as-body allegory in one of his *Parabolae*, his work exhibits a notable preference for allegorising the horse as the desire for Heaven. In *De filio regis* and *De conflictu*, the horse is a metaphor for the beginning of the soul's journey towards God, driven at first by Fear and Hope, with the aid of virtues the desire is 'bridled' with discretion and better able to be guided by virtues. Robert Grossteste's reference to a 'horse of holy and heavenly desire' in his letter to Richard Marshal is clearly derived from Bernard.

The spurs are almost the same in all texts where they are mentioned. As fear of hell and hope (or love) for God, they are employed as ways to prick the conscience, to 'spur' the self along the way to righteousness with reminders of the possible fates that await the soul. Allegorised as servants and soldiers in two of the *Parabolae*, these operate in much the same way. The spurs in *De re militari*, on the other hand, appear different in one sense, driving the knights' 'feet' of action and intention along the right path. However, the spurring of the horse in the other texts can also be thought of as guiding the action and intention of the body, or of the soul's desire for God.

Chapter 4 – Castle Allegories and Spiritual Warfare

The defensive properties of the castle were the focus of several allegories during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. None more so than allegories concerning spiritual warfare through the cultivation of virtues imagined as fortifications with which to protect the soul, or the conceptualisation of monastic or anchoritic enclosure as defence against the world. Unlike the spiritual arms, however, there were no scriptural precedents for moralised fortifications. Contemporaneous with the appearance of the moralised mounted knight in *Similitudo militis*, a number of distinctly medieval building allegories, including castles but also churches and cloisters, suddenly appear in the twelfth century monasteries.[1] Prior to this, edifice allegories had been restricted to exegesis of scriptural buildings, most notably the Temple and the Tabernacle, though texts like Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* demonstrate that scriptural edifice allegories continued in use into this period.[2] Patristic exegesis, most notably Bede's *De templo* and *De tabernaculo*, and Gregory the Great's recasting of Job as an building under siege by the devil, informed the *Glossa ordinaria* commentaries on scriptural structures which have been suggested by Whitehead as 'the principal exemplar' behind the significant expansion of edifice allegories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[3]

The Latin term *castellum* in Antiquity originally referred to settlements usually smaller than the *civitas* (city) like towns and villages, whether fortified or not, while *castrum* carried the more militaristic connotation of camp, again fortified or not. For instance, in Matthew 21, when Christ comes to Bethphage he instructs two disciples to 'go into the village' (*ite in castellum*), while in Luke 10:38, Christ 'entered into a certain town' (*intravit in quoddam castellum*). *Castella* and *castra* also described the forts and associated settlements of the western Roman Empire, which of course continued in habitation and use after the collapse of the Empire in the West.[4] There is some evidence from Gregory of Tours (d. 594) that *castellum* and *castra* were used to describe the further fortification of naturally defensible sites in areas like the Auvergne, but the association of *castellum* with the motte-and-bailey consisting of a wall, ditch, mound and tower only begins with the appearance of this kind of structure in the tenth century.[5] Even then *castellum* and *castrum* are still used in pre-Conquest Norman-authored Latin sources to describe Anglo-Saxon *burhs*.[6] Indeed, three of these components (ditch, wall, and tower) are evident in Ælred of Rievaulx's sermon below. The 'openness'

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[1] See: Whitehead, 'Making a Cloister'.
[2] Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. Joseph W. Goering and F.A.C. Mantello (Toronto, 1984)
[3] D. Hurst (ed.), *Bedae venerabilis opera: pars II opera exegetica 2A De Tabernaculo, De Templo, in Ezram et Neemiam*, ed. D. Hurst, CCCM 119A (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 3-139, 143-234; *Moralia*,, Preface IV.9-11.
[4] Charles L. H. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), p. 15.
[5] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 44-6.
[6] Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society*, pp. 32-3.

of the description of Ælred's allegorical castle suggests that any building possessing at least these three features could still be termed *castellum* in the mid-twelfth century.[7]

However, the semantic shift of *castellum* is particularly evident when a longer view is taken of how the word was translated into vernacular languages in the later Middle Ages. Where a classical Latin *castellum* could indicate any population centre, fortified or not, it was increasingly defined by medieval exegetes of the twelfth century onwards as the singular defensive and residential edifice from which the modern 'castle' is derived.[8] By around 1300, *castellum* was frequently being translated into the Middle English 'castel', referring to impressive, lordly residences with military function, rather than being used to denote a town.[9] A thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem about the Passion, when discussing Jesus's sending of disciples into Bethphage refers to the same biblical settlement as a '*chastel*'.[10] A similar Middle English homily from the thirteenth century also refers to Bethphage as a 'castel'.[11] The change in the way in which the Latin terms were translated is evident in the various vernacular translations, expansions and adaptations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin *Historia regum Britanniae* ('History of the Kings of Britain') written by 1139.[12] This was adapted into Anglo-Norman by Wace as the *Roman de Brut* in 1155, and then sometime around the beginning of the thirteenth century into English as simply *Brut* by Laȝamon.[13] Taking into account the imaginative expansion of each text from its predecessor, Wheatley has noted that not only do the vernacular authors consistently render *castellum* and *castrum* as the Anglo-Norman '*chastel*' or English 'castel', they also translate *oppidum* (pl. *oppida*, 'town/towns') into castles, indicating that 'instances of the word *castellum* in historical texts set similarly in the ancient past … were understood as referring to buildings in some ways similar to medieval castles'.[14]

This chapter explores how castles were employed to symbolise spiritual defences during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Beginning in the monastery, where the castle once again emerges in an Anselmian and Bernardine context as metaphor for the spiritual protection offered by virtuous

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[7] Wheatley, *Idea of the Castle*, pp. 29-31.
[8] Mann, 'Allegorical Buildings', p. 198; Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle*, pp. 19-23.
[9] Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066–1500* (Macclesfield, 2005), p. 81; Wheatley, *Idea of the Castle*, pp. 35-7. Coulson has noted how the Latin terms were still used to refer to both fortified residences and towns well into the thirteenth century, indicating at least some continuing degree of ambiguity: *Castles in Medieval Society*, pp. 32-4.
[10] *"Cher alme": Texts of Anglo-Norman Piety*, ed. Tony Hunt and trans. Jane Bliss (Tempe, 2010), p. 200. Notably, this text prefers to use the term 'city' (*cité*) elsewhere, and this occurrence may be for the purposes of rhyming.
[11] '*In dominica palmarum*', in *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Richard Morris, EETS Original Series 34 (1868), pp. 3-11, see ll. 5-6.
[12] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of* De gestis Brittonum [Historia Regum Britanniae], ed. Michael D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007). On the dating of the text see Ibid., p. vii.
[13] *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British, Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter, 1999). On the date, see Ibid., pp. xii-xiii; *Laȝamon: Brut, Edited from British Museum Ms. Cotton Caligula A. IX and British Museum Ms. Cotton Otho C. XIII*, ed. G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, EETS 250 & 277, 2 vols. (London, 1963-78).
[14] Wheatley, *Idea of the Castle*, pp. 31-43.

perseverance in the monastic life, it then examines how these themes were repurposed for the female anchoress in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group. Both contexts explore the militarising imagery associated with guarding the senses and with restricting contact with the temptations offered by the world through enclosure. Finally, it compares the allegorisation of the Virgin Mary as a castle in a sermon of Ælred of Rievaulx with the later and more extensive rendering of the Virgin as castle in Robert Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman poem commonly called *Château d'amour*. Throughout, the various moralisations are compared back to those applied to arms in previous chapters' analysis, to explore how similar themes of spiritual warfare were recast from the language to single combatant to besieged fortification.

Monasteries and the Monastic Life as Castles

In the first half of the twelfth century, when the *miles Christi* was being reimagined as a knight in the monastery, the castle was also being employed to explain concepts of spiritual warfare. Orderic Vitalis, for instance, described his fellow monks as *castrensibus Christi*, a garrison or group of encamped soldiers that echoed the concept of *milites Christi*, and the monastery itself as 'a castle of God against Satan, where cowled champions may engage in ceaseless combat against Behemoth'.[15] In the *De moribus* and *De similitudinibus* collections , the short text *De regno et villa et castello et dungione* (hereafter *De regno*) casts God as a king who wars with the devil to defend his kingdom. The *villa* (town) itself represents the entirety of those within Christendom, with each house representing each of the faithful. When the devil attacks, those outside the town of Christendom, the 'Jews and pagans' (*Iudaeos atque paganos*), and those Christians within the town whose faith is weak, have their souls carried away as captive (*captivas asportat*).[16] There are other Christians whose houses are too strongly fortified with their faith: 'Yet those who he finds strong, after he is unable to overcome them, he at length leaves off from, though with regret'.[17] The castle, meanwhile, representing the monastic life, represents safety from the depredations of the devil, though any monk taking refuge from the world is lost if he returns from the safety of that castle:

> Neither can [the devil] go up to the castle, nor do any harm to those who have taken refuge there, unless they return to the battle taking place in the town. But if those within return for their parents, because they hear they have been killed or otherwise ill-treated, or have looked back at them through some hole or window, they can be easily killed or wounded by him. Wherefore it is necessary that they should never heed the clamour of their parents, nor return to the war, not even look back … in the monastic life there is such strength

[15] OV, 3., pp. 144-6: 'castrum contra Sathanan construatur Deo ubi … vestra cucullati pugiles Behemoth conflictu resistent assiduo'.
[16] *Memorials*, p. 67.
[17] *Memorials*, p. 67: 'Illos vero quos fortes invenit, postquam eos superare nequit, tandem, licet tristis, dimittit'.

> that, if a monk takes refuge there, unless he repents of the life and returns, he cannot be harmed by the devil.[18]

The monastic life is portrayed as the only reliable refuge from the devil. In its portrayal of the dangers of looking back or returning to the town, it reinforced to monks that retreat from the secular world must be complete, that any return to the world risked having the one's soul carried off by the devil in the spiritual battle raging endlessly outside.

The *donjon* or keep (*dungione*) above the keep represents the angelic life (*conversationem angelorum*), a state unobtainable in this world. It is described as so secure from the dangers of the world outside that no-one who arrives there would ever wish to return: '…there is such security in the *donjon* that if anyone can manage to ascend there, he would never wish to return'.[19] This perception of the keep reflects not just security, but prestige. The Old French *donjon*, seemingly Latinised in this text as *dungione*, is originally derived from the Latin *dominarium*, which carried connotations of lordship and linked the *donjon* with the authority and prestige of its builder.[20] *Donjons* were the homes of lords when in residence in a castle and themselves symbolic of lordship; entry to them was very much a prestigious and public event.[21] The association here with the spiritual prestige of the angelic life seemingly represents not only spiritual security but a sense of spiritual prestige, to reside among angelic beings rather than other humans, monks or otherwise. What is also clear is that the *donjon* of the angelic life can only be accessed through the castle of the monastic life, again reinforcing the importance of retreat from the world. As the text explains, while the faith of some non-monastic Christians may be strong enough to resist the devil, the only true security and ascension to the angelic life is found through the monastery, the castle of the text. This also reflects monastic thought about their own way of living, which was considered preparation for the celestial life.[22]

Notably, it is only the monastic life represented by the castle, and the ultimate goal of that life as represented by the *donjon*, that are cast as militarised structures. This suggests that the purpose of the text may have been to both reassure monks about remaining withdrawn from the world, and to admonish them for any contact with it. The castle promotes the spiritual security found through persistence in the monastic vocation, in much the same way as the armour of justice and lance of

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[18] *Memorials*, pp. 66-7: 'In castellum quoque non potest ascendere nec illuc confugientibus quicquam mali facere, nisi redierint ad proelium villae. Sed si suorum amore parentum redierint, quia eos audiunt occidi et male tractari, vel per foramen aut fenestram respexerint, tunc eos facile occidere aut vulnerare poterit. Quapropter necesse est eis ut numquam ad clamorem parentum attendant nec ad bellum revertantur vel respiciant … In monachatu autem firmitas est tanta, ut, si quis illuc confugiens monachus effectus fuerit, nisi inde paenitendo redierit, a diabolo laedi non possit'.
[19] *Memorials*, p. 66: 'Tanta vero securitas in dungione, ut, si quis illuc poterit ascendere, numquam eum inde libeat redire'.
[20] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, pp. 46-7.
[21] Leonie V. Hicks, 'Magnificent Entrances and Undignified Exits: Chronicling the Symbolism of Castle Space in Normandy', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), pp. 57-8; Pamela Marshall, 'The Great Tower as Residence', in Gwyn Meirion-Jones, Edward Impey and Michael Jones (eds.), *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c.800–1600*, British Archaeological Reports Series 1088 (Oxford, 2002), pp. 29-30.
[22] Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 83-4.

foresight in *Similitudo militis* provided spiritual protection to the monk persevering in good works. Despite this, *De regno* differs from *Similitudo militis* in that is ascribes none of the individual architectural components with specific qualities or virtues as occurs with the spiritual arms of the *miles Christi*. By contrast, in the first two *Parabolae* of Bernard of Clairvaux, *De filio regis* and *De conflictu duorum regum*, however, a castle is associated with a specific virtue. Both *Parabolae* follow a similar premise: the soul is rescued from captivity by a personified Fear and Hope sent by God, it mounts a horse of desire, and then with the aid of further virtues continues on a journey towards Heaven.[23] In both of these, the soul comes to take refuge in a castle. In *De filio regis* this is a 'castle of Wisdom' (*castra Sapientiae*), and in *De conflictu* a *castrum* belonging to a personified Justice.[24]

Both of these castles represent safe refuges along the road to Heaven, but both also come under siege by the devil's army of temptation. The castle of Wisdom in *De filio regis* is attained only once the horse of desire is being guided not only by Hope and Fear, but also more carefully by the personified virtues of Prudence and Temperance, who as described in the previous chapter provided the horse with the bridle of discretion. Fortitude, 'the distinguished soldier of the Lord' (*miles Domini egregius*), leads them into the castle along the road or way of Justice (*viam Iustitiae*), a concept derived from Ecclesiasticus 1:33, 'Son, if you desire wisdom, keep justice' (*Fili, concupiscens sapientiam, conserva iustitiam*).[25] That both this wisdom and spiritual safety are representative of the monastic life is indicated in the qualities and virtues allegorised as the castle's defences. A 'deep ditch of humility' (*fossa profundae humilitatis*) surrounds the castle (*castra cingebat*), above which is 'the strongest and most beautiful wall of obedience' (*fortissimus et pulcherrimus murus oboedientiae*).[26] The wall of obedience is decorated with pictures of 'good examples of history' (*bonorum exemplorum historiae*), reflecting the monastic purpose of recording history to provide moral lessons through exemplars to be emulated or avoided.[27] The spiritual strength and the importance of monastic obedience are represented by the grandeur and strength ascribed to the wall, 'constructed with ramparts and a thousand shields hung from it'.[28] That the castle represents monastic life is most clearly

[23] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 261-73.
[24] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 264, 270.
[25] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 264.
[26] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 264.
[27] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 264. On the monastic approach to history-writing, Matthew Paris wrote in his *Flores historiarum*: 'For it is good, to the praise of God, to preserve in writing the events of notable things, in order that those coming after, by reading, may be warned to avoid evil things which deserve punishment, and encouraged to do things which the Lord will fully reward' (Bonum quippe est ad Dei laudem eventus rerum notabilium scribendo perpetuare, ut subsequentes legendo castigentur mala quae digna sunt ultione devitando, et bona quae Dominus plene remunerat operando): *Flores Historiarum, Volume 2: A.D. 1067-A.D. 1264*, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1890), p. 375. On similar in William of Malmesbury, see: Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, 2012), especially pp. 2-7.
[28] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 264: 'Aedificatus autem erat cum propugnaculis; mille clypei ex eo pendebant'.

indicated by the 'door of profession' (*porta professionis*) which 'stood open to all, but a gatekeeper stood at the threshold inviting those who were worthy and turning back the unworthy'.[29]

The castle belonging to Justice in *De conflictu* does not have moralised architectural components like the *De filio regis* castle of Wisdom, but instead seems to draw more on the realities of castle life as understood by hosts and visitors. In *De conflictu*, Prudence sends her squire or arms-bearer (*armiger*), Reason (*Ratio*) to greet Justice and announce the arrival of the soul and the other virtues. On their arrival they are greeted with generosity and given bread by Justice, and invited inside: '[Justice] inquires who they are and whence and for what purpose they have come. And when they had related the matter, he rose up with a cheerful countenance, came to meet the fugitives with bread and met them like an honoured mother'.[30] Here, the dwelling is briefly referred to as a *domus* ('house'), but within a couple of lines is again referred to as a *castrum* once it comes under siege, this change reflecting both the defensive and residential, lordly nature of worldly castles.[31] While it does not lay out the virtues on which monastic life depended like the previous parable, the castle of Justice is still regarded as a safe refuge from the besieging temptations outside, echoing the safety of the castle from the pseudo-Anselmian *De regno*. For instance, Justice reminds a panicking Fear that the castle is 'rocky and inaccessible' (*saxosus et inaccessibilis*) to the enemy, reflecting the fact that the monastery could be considered a safe haven from the dangers of the world.[32] Furthermore, a 'castle named Justice' (*castellum cui nomen est iustitia*) also occurs in the *Sententiae*, where the besieged are protected by the 'wall of Reason' (*muro rationis*).[33]

Both of these *Parabolae* highlight different but related concepts surrounding the monastic life. The castle of Wisdom is accessible when the desire for Heaven, represented by the horse, is aided with the cardinal virtues. The soul's progress is guided with discretion by the virtues of prudence and temperance, and with the aid of fortitude guided along the road of justice towards wisdom. On arrival, only monastic profession allows the soul entry, but once inside, that soul is protected by the monastic virtues of humility and obedience and reminded constantly of good historical exemplars. The hope and fear which drive the desire to attain Heaven therefore represent a crucial starting point for the journey closer to God. However, to undertake this spiritual journey properly requires the attainment of cardinal virtues and entry to the monastic profession, where obedience and humility can protect them from the temptations of the world. The castle belonging to justice in *De conflictu* can similarly be understood as an analogy for monastic life if we understand justice as *sua cuique tribuens*, to give

[29] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 264: 'omnibus patens; ianitor in limine, dignos inducens et indignos abiciens'.
[30] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 270: 'Quaerit illa qui sint et unde et ad quid veniant, sciscitatur. Et cum rem cognovissent, hilari vultu surgens fugientibus occurrit cum panibus, et obviavit eis quasi mater honorificata'.
[31] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 270.
[32] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 270.
[33] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 13.

each his due. In the theological sense, this meant to live rightly. In this way it is employed much like the armour of justice in the arming texts; the spiritual protection afforded by justice rendered one safe from the world as long as one was living rightly, the same concept of good works needing to be continuous in the armour of justice from *Similitudo militis*. While the monk inhabited the castle of justice, by living rightly, then they were protected; temptation would find the monks' refuge 'rocky and inaccessible' as the parable described.

However, while in both *Parabolae* the soul is supported and protected by virtues, the besieged within also send a messenger to God, allegorised as their king, to send forces to relieve them. This again indicates that the castles symbolise the monastic life, in a similar way to the pseudo-Anselmian *De regno*. The fugitive soul in each parable must take refuge in a castle from the army of the devil, who constructs or brings up 'siege engines of temptation' (*tentationum machinae*).[34] The relentless assaults cause the besieged in both parables to send Prayer (*Oratio*), another character, to ask for aid from God. In *De filio regis* Prayer is mounted on the 'horse of faith' (*equum fidei*) and 'enters the gates of the Lord in confession, enters his hall in hymns', while in *De conflictu* Prayer is a messenger (*nuntius*) fulfilling the same role.[35] In *De conflictu*, it is the important Cistercian virtue of Charity (*Castitas*) that is sent to relieve the besieged. Charity arrives with her knightly household (*familia*) comprising 'joy, peace, patience, forbearance, kindness, goodness, gentleness', who first break through the enemy lines to relieve the besiegers, and then sally out with them to rout the enemy.[36] In *De filio regis*, Charity is described as 'the queen of Heaven' (*reginam caeli*) who descends to the besieged along with 'the whole heavenly court' (*tota comitatu curia caelestis*), who similarly rescue those within the castle.[37]

Like *De regno*, in the *Parabolae* the monastery and monastic life are designated by the safe castle, but where connotations of lordship are drawn on and represented in *De regno* by the angelic life of the *donjon*, the relationship is portrayed more as a messenger sent to a royal court to beg for relief. This reflects something of a convention in medieval siege warfare of the time. There was (though not always observed) a concept of 'conditional respite', whereby the besieged could negotiate and be allowed to petition their lord for aid; if the lord failed to relieve them he was considered to have failed in his military obligations to them and the besieged could surrender without penalty.[38] Both *Parabolae* appear to draw on this concept, depicting God as a king who always sends aid to rescue his petitioners who resist the devil's siege in his name. Through these allegories, Bernard therefore situates the

[34] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 265, 270. The latter reference simply mentions '*machinis*', though the implication is the same as they are part of the devil's besieging army.
[35] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 265: 'intret portas Domini in confessione, atria eius in hymnis', 271-2.
[36] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 273: 'gaudio, pace, patientia, longanimitate, benignitate, bonitate, mansuetudine'.
[37] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 266.
[38] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, pp. 84-9; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*

relationship between the monk and God within a framework of lordly obligations. This technique had been employed since at least the eleventh century. Gregory VII frequently couched ideas of holy war in the contemporary language of vassal military service to a lord, such as the warfare of Christ (*militia Christi*), and the service (*servitium*) and vassals (*fideles*) of St Peter.[39] In a sense, Bernard was drawing on established techniques; similar bonds of vassalage and military service were strong themes of the *chansons de geste*.[40] This language of service had been employed successfully by the Church before, and was evidently something that a knightly recruit to the monastery might more easily understand: when besieged by the temptations of the world and the devil, send prayer to God for the relief offered by charity.

In his sermons and *Sententiae*, Bernard uses the language of fortification as allegories for the soul, body, or both. For instance, in a sermon entitled *De custodia cordis* ('On the Keeping of One's Heart'), he refers to 'the castle of the soul' (*animae castrum*) which must be protected from enemies. Expanding on the theme from Proverbs 4:23, 'With all watchfulness keep your heart', Bernard crafts an allegory for the soul as a castle surrounded and attacked from all directions. These attacks include the lusts of the flesh from below, the judgement of God from above, memory of past sin from behind and temptations to come from ahead.[41] He also places this advice within a strictly monastic context, referring to issues arising from others monks as attacks from left and right: 'From the left, of course, the troubles from arrogant and murmuring brothers; from the right, fervour and devotion of obedient brothers, and the latter by two means: either by envying their deeds or by being jealous of their unusual grace'.[42] A sermon on the conversion of Saint Paul allegorises attacks on monks' meekness (*mansuetudinem*) as three 'battering rams' (*ariete*): 'hurtful words, the loss of material things, and bodily injuries'.[43] The allegory of battering rams returns in one of the *Sententiae*, where they symbolise the sins which attack the 'walls of virtue' (*virtutum muros*) and 'bring down the citadel of reason' (*arcem deiciunt rationis*).[44] Both of these examples place the monk as a fortification under attack from sin: in the context of difficulties encountered with retaining humility and meekness in the day-to-day life of the monastery, and stressing the protective importance of virtue and reason, and the ways in which sin can damage or destroy these.

One of the *Sententiae* discusses the 'two walls' (*duos muros*) of the soul, which draws on the same idea of an inner and outer man as seen in the *Similitudo militis*. This particular allegory is employed

[39] Robinson, 'Soldiers of Christ', pp. 177-82. See also: Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 46-7.
[40] Vander Elst, *The Knight*, pp. 18-19.
[41] *SBO*, 6.1., p. 323.
[42] *SBO*, 6.1., p. 323: 'a sinistris, arrogantium fratrum et murmurantium inquietudo, a dextis oboedientium fratrum fervor et devotio, et hoc duobus modis: aut bonis eorum actibus invidendo, aut singularem eorum gratiam aemulando'.
[43] *SBO*, 6.1., p. 28: 'verborum iniuriis, damnis rerum, corporis laesione'.
[44] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 163.

to describe the struggles between the desires of the soul and those of the flesh, and the relationship between the two within each person:

> The inner wall [of the soul] is natural anger, that power of the soul through which it grows angry at the vices and is fortified against temptations. The outer wall is the body; the soul is enclosed by it and kept, as it were, imprisoned in it. Defended by its inner wall, the soul wants to reject all the things that are of the flesh, if it were possible to do so. Pressed in by the outer wall, however, it sometimes descends to the filthy regions marked by carnal enticements. Nevertheless, the soul is situated between the walls; while of necessity it does not disdain the flesh, neither does it love it passionately.[45]

The theme of both the inner and outer self being castles is more explicitly made in other of the *Sententiae*. One sentence, discussing the three 'fortifications' (*munitiones*) which defend the soul, concerns not only an inner watchfulness against sin, but also the protection offered from saintly and divine sources: '…assiduous watchfulness, which is the enclosure; the intercession of the saints, which is the strongest possible palisade; and divine protection, which is the wall defending the soul from the enemy's assault'.[46]

Two of Bernard's more detailed *Sententiae* draw on Matthew 21:2, particularly the *castellum* mentioned as being opposite Bethphage, and the tied ass and colt found within. Bernard renders the scriptural *castellum* into much more defensive, militaristic structures which seem to reflect the idea put forward by Wheatley that the Latin term *castellum* was increasingly coming to be interpreted as signifying a castle. Furthermore, the wording of the biblical passage, with the *castellum* being 'against you' (*contra vos est*) inspires Bernard to utilise motifs of opposition against the soul's rightful desires. In the first of these *Sententiae*, the *castellum* opposite Bethphage is therefore interpreted as a hostile fortification representing the human will: 'Within us we have a castle which is opposed to us; that is, our own will, whose wall is obstinacy, whose tower is pride, whose weapons are our wicked excuses, and whose provisions are our perverse pleasures'.[47]

In the other sentence drawing on Matthew 21:2, the *castellum* opposite Bethphage is similarly described as representing the will, or more accurately the mind when it is given over to the will. The castle is described as:

> …the mind which is given over to its own desires. In that castle stands the wall which is obstinacy, because a person of this sort resists with an obstinate spirit all the things which are enjoined on him. There are also weapons inside, that is, harsh words with which such

[45] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 116: 'Murus interior est ira naturalis, scilicet vis animae, qua vitiis irascitur et contra tentationes munitur. Murus exterior est corpus, quo anima includitur, et quodammodo incarcerata tenetur. Interiori muro munita, anima, omnia quae carnis sunt, si possibile esset, respuere cupit. Exteriori autem muro pressa, nonnumquam etiam ad sordes carnalium illecebrarum descendit. Sed inter murum et murum posita est, quando carnem nec in necessitate respuit, nec in voluptate diligit'.
[46] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 44: 'sedula circumspectio, quae est saepes; sanctorum intercessio, quae est vallum firmissimum; divina protectio, quae est murus protegens ab incursu hostium'.
[47] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 71: 'Intra nos habemus castellum, quod contra nos est, id est propriam voluntatem, cuius murus obstinatio, cuius turris superbia; cuius arma pravae excusationes; cuius escae malae delectationes'.

> an individual snaps, and he is often feared because of them and defended by them lest anything be imposed on him. The food in the castle is the fruit which follows from this, since for his obstinacy and harsh words he frequently gets some repose, because at least it is gratifying for him to fulfil his own will.[48]

In both of these *Sententiae*, the ass and the colt tied up within the *castellum* symbolise that person's humility, obedience, and simplicity.[49] As the second of these *Sententiae* goes on to explain, the person is sinning in keeping these virtues captive within their wilful obstinacy. Confession of sins renders the castle, formerly opposed to them, into a citadel of Christ, composed of architectural allegories for good virtues rather than obstinacy: 'What previously was a castle of the devil becomes 'the city of our strength, Zion: our Saviour is its wall and rampart' (Isaiah 26:1). The wall is humility, the rampart patience'.[50]

A Monastic Inheritance: Castle Imagery in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group

The castle appears as a recurring metaphor for protecting the soul in the thirteenth-century *Ancrene Wisse* Group of Middle English prose religious texts. The castle is employed primarily to signify bodily restraint and withdrawal from the world, rather than a mnemonic for the ordering of internal virtues.[51] Strongly monastic concepts of physical withdrawal were partly to be achieved through securing the anchor-house against the encroachments of the world, but it was also imperative that within that structure the anchoress needed to guard her personal self against those temptations. Though she may look out or converse through the windows of her cell, it was through her eyes, ears, and tongue that she did so, and so control over her own body was equally important as control over access to her cell. Concepts of spiritual warfare emerge in association with allegories of fortification in *Ancrene Wisse*, and also in *Hali Meiðhad* and *Sawles Warde*. In these texts, they operate as allegories for the anchor-house, as well as for the human body and, especially in the case of *Sawles Warde*, the psyche. All provide prescriptive advice on defending the self against the dangers of the flesh and the world, and the temptations to sin that arose from both.[52]

This is not to say that weapons are not present in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group as metaphors for both spiritual attacks and defences. However, they are largely something to be avoided and most of the militaristic allegories involve taking shelter in castles, with a very passive, defensive language

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[48] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 82: 'id est in mentem propriae voluntati deditam, in quo castello est murus obstinatio, quia ad omnia quae ei iniunguntur huiusmodi homo obstinato animo resistit. Arma sunt intus, id est amara verba quibus remordet, et saepe pro his timetur et ne sibi aliquid iniungatur defenditur. Escae in castello fructus quem inde consequitur, quia pro obstinatione, pro amaris verbis aliquam requiem saepe adipiscitur, saltim quia dulce est ei implere propriam voluntatem'.
[49] *SBO*, 6.2., pp. 72, 82-3.
[50] *SBO*, 6.2., p. 83: 'et qui prius erat castellum diaboli efficitur 'urbs fortitudinis nostrae Sion: Salvator ponetur in ea murus et antemurale'. Murus humilitas, antemurale patientia'.
[51] Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, p. 91.
[52] Christopher Cannon, *The Grounds of English Literature* (Oxford, 2004), p. 48.

ascribed to the anchoresses' practice of spiritual warfare. Nonetheless, Part Four of *Ancrene Wisse* describes a whole host of pious behaviours that mirror monastic practices, which are described as 'arms' (*armes*) against temptation:

> Pious meditations, fervent and incessant and ardent prayers, firm faith, reading, fasting, keeping vigil, and physical labour, the comfort of someone else to talk to just when the pressure is greatest, humility, patience, a generous heart, and all the virtues are arms in this battle, and unity of love above everything else. Anyone who throws away his weapons is asking to be wounded.[53]

Despite this, the anchoress is not herself described as wielding any form of arms other than shields throughout *Ancrene Wisse*. Though 'all the virtues' are described as 'arms in this battle', they are not ascribed to individual pieces of equipment as is the case in the spiritual arming texts. Indeed, as will be seen below, the general advice is to retreat within the castle of the anchor-house and not look out at the world, lest she fall victim to some allegorical weapon of temptation.

The idea of imagining the anchoress's cell as a castle bears some similarities to concepts of the monastery as a castle as seen in *De regno*. Like the monastery and monastic life in *De regno*, the cell is cast as a refuge from the besieging, rampaging devil. This idea of a building and living by a Rule being protections against the devil demonstrate a repackaging of monastic concepts, recirculating widely among mendicants and other scholastically-trained clerics involved in pastoral care during this period, as well as among the laity themselves. Indeed, *Sawles Warde*, one of the treatises of the Katherine Group, has been identified as an adaptation of a text associated with the Anselmian *De moribus* and *De similitudinibus* collections, *De custodia interioris hominis* ('On the Keeping of the Inner Man'). The dangers of looking out at the world, or interacting with it, are likewise evident in a text with strong influences on *Ancrene Wisse*, the *De institutione inclusarum* (c.1160-62) of Ælred of Rievaulx.[54] The *De institutione* is a Rule written for Ælred's sister, a recluse like those the *Ancrene Wisse* Group texts were designed for. One of the main concerns of *De institutione* is restricting the recluse's access to the world, particularly through the window of her cell. She is warned of the dangers to her soul from contact at her window with gossips, the hearing of worldly pleasures, concerns with worldly wealth, and the particular dangers that arise from conversing with men.[55]

Similar concerns emerge in Part Two of *Ancrene Wisse*, where the author prescribes significant measures for restricting the anchoress's view of the world outside her window, advising the reader to

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[53] *AW*, p. 91: 'Halie meditatiuns, inwarde ant meadlese ant angoisuse bonen, hardi bileaue, redunge, veasten, wecchen, and licomliche swinkes, oþres froure forte speoke toward i þe ilke stunde þet hire stont stronge, eadmodnesse, þolemodnesse, freolec of heorte, ant alle gode þeawes beoð armes i þis feht, ant anrednesse of luue ouer alle þe oþre. Þe his wepnen warpeð awei, him luste beon iwundet.'

[54] Ælred of Rievaulx, *De institutione inclusarum*, in A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot (eds.), *Ælredi Rievallensis opera omnia, Volume 1: Opera ascetica*, CCCM I (Turnhout, 1971), pp. 635-82. English Translation: 'A Rule of Life for a Recluse', trans. Mary Paul MacPherson, *Treatises and the Pastoral Prayer* (Spencer, Massachusetts, 1971), pp. 41-102. On the influence of *De institutione* on *Ancrene Wisse* see: 'Introduction' to *AW*, p. xxvii, xxxii.

[55] *De institutione*, pp. 638-43.

'try to be as little fond of your windows as possible' (*þe leaste þet ȝe eauer mahen luuieð ower þurles*) and to put up dark, thick curtains over them.[56] Like *De institutione*, this part of *Ancrene Wisse* is particularly concerned with the dangers inherent to conversing with or even seeing men through the window, even clerics. This leads into a discussion of how the eye is where sin first enters, which is then placed into the context of militarised allegory, unlike *De institutione*. A personified Lechery (*Lecherie*) attacks the eye through the window with 'the arrows of the roving eyes' (*schute of eche*), which if unguarded against are followed up with a 'spear of wounding words' (*spere of wundinde word*) and a 'sword of fatal touching' (*sweord of deadlich hondlunge*).[57]

To counter this, the *Ancrene Wisse* recasts the anchor-house as a castle under attack. If the anchoress avoids the arrow to the eye, 'the first weapons of Lechery's attacks' (*te forme armes of Lecheries prickes*), she is less likely to fall to the close-quarters fighting with the spear and sword of talking and touching.[58] In prescribing this defence for the soul, the window is allegorised as a castle embrasure, and the looking out of it the foolish poking of one's head above the battlements:

> And surely that woman is too much of a fool, or too rash, who pokes her head out boldly from an opening in the battlements while the castle is being attacked from outside with crossbow bolts? … The embrasures of the castle are her house windows. She should not look out of them in case she gets the devil's bolts right in the eyes when she least expects it, because he is constantly attacking.[59]

The danger to the anchoress in *Ancrene Wisse*, therefore, comes about from looking out of her window. Keeping her head below the allegorical battlements will protect her eyes from the devil's bolts or arrows of temptation. There is a notable similarity with the warning in *De regno* about looking back at the battle going on in the town, which similarly risks the soul of the one looking back.

While the virtues are not allegorised as either arms or as individual pieces of defensive architecture in *Ancrene Wisse*, one of its associated texts from the Katherine Group, *Sawles Warde*, does provide a detailed allegory of a castle household under threat from the devil. The last of the five texts which comprise the Katherine Group, *Sawles Warde* is a reworking of an earlier Latin text associated with Anselm of Canterbury, *De custodia interioris hominis* ('On the Keeping of the Inner Man').[60] The central premise of both *De custodia* and *Sawles Warde* is that only with the aid of the virtues can the

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[56] *AW*, pp. 20-1.
[57] *AW*, p. 24.
[58] *AW*, p. 24.
[59] *AW*, p. 24: 'Ant nis ha to muche chang, oðer to folhardi, þe hald hire heued baltliche forð vt i þe opene carnel hwil me wið quarreus vtewið assailleð þe castel? … Þe carneus of þe castel beoð hire hus-þurles. Ne tote ha nawt ut at ham, leste ho þe deoueles quarreus habbe amid tee he ear ho least wene; for he asailȝes ai.'
[60] *Sawles Warde*; *Memorials*, pp. 355-60. For an overview of the relationship between the texts see: Margaret Healy-Varley, 'Anselm's Fictions and the Literary Afterlife of the *Proslogion*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2011), pp. 73-110; Wolfgang Becker, 'The Literary Treatment of the Pseudo-Anselmian Dialogue *De custodia interioris hominis* in England and France', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 35 (1984), pp. 215-34; *Katherine Group*, pp. 9-11.

rational mind prevent the will from controlling the flesh. Both take as their theme Matthew 24:43: 'if the head of the household knew at what hour the thief would come, he would certainly watch, and would not suffer his house to be broken into'.[61] In each text, the individual human body and mind become the dwelling that is under threat from the devil. Both allegorise the rational mind as this head of the household, and both concern the internal struggle between the virtuous desires of the rational mind and the impulses of the wilful body.

Sawles Warde, however, carries significant militarised connotations absent from its Latin predecessor. Where *De custodia* uses *domus* ('house') throughout, *Sawles Warde* refers to this as a 'castel'. The character of Reason (*ratio*) from *De custodia*, whose counterpart in *Sawles Warde* is called '*Wit*', becomes '*Godes cunestable*' (God's constable), implying the governor of a royal castle and marking the first known use of this French-derived term in an English language text.[62] Aside from once specifying that the *domus* should be 'strongly guarded' (*forti custodia muniens*), there is no indication of a defensive architectural context to the household of *De custodia*.[63] Where both texts also stress the importance of the four cardinal virtues in protecting the dwelling of the soul, *Sawles Warde* also places these within a fortified, manorial or castle household context. *De custodia* places the virtue of prudence (*prudential*) at the first entrance or approach to the house (*in primo aditu*), while *Sawles Warde*'s equivalent character, Vigilance (*Warschipe*) is given a more clearly defined role and placement within a defensive structural context: 'Wit the husband, God's constable, calls Vigilance forth and makes her doorkeeper, who carefully watches whom she lets in and out, and from afar beholds all who are coming'.[64] Wit's delegation of what is essentially watch or guard duty to Vigilance emphasises the militaristic organisation of a castle household under a constable. At the same time, the concept of being able to watch who is coming from afar and control access to the castle implies that Vigilance is stationed in some form of gatehouse.

Both texts have messengers come to the house from Hell and Heaven, to respectively warn and encourage the household with tales of each fate. After Hell's messenger, Fear ('*timor*' in *De custodia*; '*Fearlac*' in *Sawles Warde*) departs, Fortitude's (*fortitudo*) advice in *De custodia* is among the only explicitly militaristic language in the entire treatise, repeating almost verbatim lines from Ephesians 6:10-17 about the armour of God.[65] These refer only to arming the self rather than fortifying the house more generally. After Fear leaves the castle of *Sawles Warde*, however, a short section occurs with no parallel in *De custodia*, where Wit thanks God for the aid of the virtues 'to guard and defend his castle

[61] 'quoniam si sciret paterfamilias, qua hora fur venturus esset, vigilaret utique, et non sineret perfodi domum suam.'
[62] *Sawles Warde*, pp. 6, 24. See the explanatory notes on 'cunestable' at: *Katherine Group,* pp. 269-70.
[63] *Memorials,* p. 359.
[64] *Memorials,* p. 356; *Sawles Warde*, p. 6: 'Wit þe husbonde godes cunestable cleopeð warschipe forð. 7 makið hire durewart. þe warliche loki hwam ha leote in 7 ut. 7 of feor bihalde alle þe cuminde'.
[65] *Memorials,* p. 357.

well and God's precious property that is enclosed inside'.[66] Similarly, after Love ('*amor*' / '*Liues Luue*'), Heaven's messenger, leaves the castle, *Sawles Warde* introduces another short section with no analogue in *De custodia*. It further reiterates a defensive stationing of the servants, who are allegories for the bodily senses, each of whom will now 'keep his watch and defend truly against every vice's entrance'.[67]

Sawles Warde is therefore a more militarised account of protecting the soul and guarding against the body and the will than its source text. It also bears a degree of similarity with *Similitudo militis*, which of course was part of the same *De moribus* collection where *De custodia* occurs. *Sawles Warde* and *Similitudo militis*, though allegorising different objects, both convey control of the will and the senses in a militarised context. Vigilance in *Sawles Warde* discerns which visitors are beneficial or harmful to the household at the first instance: 'which are worthy to have entrance or be shut outside'.[68] While not moralised as the virtue of prudence, the lance of foresight (*lancea providentia*) carries very similar implications of consideration and caution. Both militarise the act of discerning whether or not something is dangerous to the soul, and the ability to fend it off at a distance.

In *De custodia*, Fortitude advises the household to put on the armour of God from Ephesians 6, the same components of which are moralised as the spiritual knight in *Similitudo militis*.[69] In *Sawles Warde*, Fortitude's counterpart, Spiritual Strength (*Gasteliche Strengðe*) only names a shield, glossing over the other equipment as simply arms given by God. Nevertheless, the concept of arming the self for spiritual combat remains in Strength's speech:

> "[The devil's] strength we do not fear in any way, for his strength is not worthy except where he finds one easy and weak, unprotected by true belief. The apostle says, 'withstand the fiend and he flees immediately' (James 4:7) … is God not our shield? And all of our weapons are from His dear grace, and God is on our side and stands beside us in the fight".[70]

Strength's message is to prepare the self to be assailed spiritually, though this is framed as general defensive advice for the household rather than explicitly allegorised as individual arms. The character of Moderation (*Meað*), an analogue for the virtue of temperance, is concerned with guiding the household between the dangers of too much and too little abstinence.[71] Moderation finds notable parallels in the moralised reins and bridle of *Similitudo militis*, where the horse of the body is controlled with the reins and bridle of abstinence, and in the bridle of discretion mentioned in Bernard

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[66] *Sawles Warde*, p. 24: 'forte wite wel 7 werien his castel. 7 godes deorewurðe feh. þet is biloke þrinne'.
[67] *Sawles Warde*, p. 40: 'unþeawes inȝong his warde te witene. ant te warden treowliche'.
[68] *Sawles Warde*, p. 6: 'hwuch beo wurðe inȝong to habben. oðer beon bisteken þrute'.
[69] *Memorials,* p. 357.
[70] *Sawles Warde*, p. 18: 'for of al his strengðe ne drede we nawiht. for nis his strengðe noht wurð bute hwer se he ifindeð eðeliche. 7 wake unwarnede of treowe bileaue. þe aoistke seið. Etstont. þen feont. 7 he flið anan riht … ȝe nis godd ure scheld. 7 alle beoð ure wepnen of his deore grace. ant godd is on ure half. 7 stont bi us ifehte'.
[71] *Sawles Warde,* p. 6.

of Clairvaux's *Parabolae*. The control over emotional and bodily extremes seen in those bridle allegories, and the need to find a safe 'middle way' between them, is echoed in Moderation's message to the household:

> For many forget our Lord because they suffer too much bitter adversity, and even more because of softness and for flesh's pleasure neglect themselves often. Between hardness and softness, between the woe of this world and too much pleasure, between much and little, there is in every thing the golden middle way. If we keep to it, then we go securely.[72]

Finally, Fear and Love, the two messengers of *De custodia* and *Sawles Warde*, have their analogue as the spurs in *Similitudo militis* and other spiritual arming texts. These 'two kinds of exhortation' (*duo sunt exhortationum genera*) allow the knight to steer the horse of the body.[73] At the end of *Sawles Warde*, Moderation reminds the household that the messengers should return in turn to remind the household of why they should always guard against sin.[74] As the personified servants or soldiers of God in Bernard's *Parabolae*, Fear (*Timor*) and Hope (*Spes*) fulfil much the same roles, appearing in the same order in which they arrive in both *De custodia* and *Sawles Warde*, and the order in which their allegorisation as spurs is explained in *Similitudo militis*.

Parts Two to Seven of *Ancrene Wisse* concerned the guarding of the inner self, and it is here where we find expressed concerns with protecting the anchoress's soul through bodily practices and withdrawal from the world. Part Two in particular is explained in the Preface as concerning the role of protecting against temptation through the senses, and is framed in a militaristic terminology: 'how you should use your five senses to guard your heart … the five senses, which guard the heart like watchmen wherever they are faithful'.[75] The five senses are again referred to as 'guardians of the heart' (*heorte wardeins*) in Part Two.[76] The eyes are the most important in this regard, and the guarding of them is implied in the likening of the windows of the anchor-house to the battlements of a castle, as explored above. The author is keen to convey that the attack on the soul often begins through the eye, warning his reader that: '…all the misery that there is now, and has ever been up to now, and will ever be, came entirely from sight'.[77] This statement is supported with examples from scripture (Eve, Dinah, Bathsheba and David, and Uriah) and the authority of Augustine.[78]

The danger to the anchoress's soul presented by looking out of the allegorical embrasures of her windows, by allowing her sight to fall on the temptations of the world, is also allegorised as the

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[72] *Sawles Warde*, p. 20: 'for moni for to muchel heard of we þet he dreheð. forȝet ure lauerd. ant ma þah for nesche ant for felsches licunge for ȝemeð ham ofte. bituhhen heard 7 muchel 7 lutel is in euch worldlich þing þe middel wei ȝuldene. ȝef we hire haldeð þenne ga we sikerliche'.
[73] *Memorials*, p. 100.
[74] *Sawles Warde*, p. 40.
[75] *AW*, p. 5: 'hu ȝe schulen þurh ower fif wittes witen ower heorte … fif wittes, þe witeð þe heorte as wakemen hwer-se ha beoð treowe'.
[76] *AW*, p. 20.
[77] *AW*, p. 21: 'al þe [uuel] wa þet nu is, ant eauer ȝe wes, ant eauer schal iwurðen, al com of sihðe'.
[78] *AW*, pp. 21-4.

dangers experienced by those under siege in castles. The temptations of the world that the devil will hurl towards her are cast as crossbow bolts (*quarreus*), echoing the concept seen in spiritual arming texts, derived from Ephesians, that the shield of faith protects against the devil's darts or other missiles of temptation. This drew on the reality of the siege, the crossbow being primarily a siege rather than battlefield weapon during this period, both for attackers and defenders:

> She should not look out of [the windows] in case she gets the devil's bolts right in the eyes when she least expects it, because if she is blinded first, she is easily knocked down; if the heart is blinded, it is easy to overcome, and quickly brought low by sin.[79]

Though none of the other five senses are portrayed in such defensive language, Part Four of *Ancrene Wisse* again employs the castle as allegory for protecting the body and senses against temptation. Part Four is very much the 'spiritual warfare' segment of *Ancrene Wisse*, discussing both internal and external temptation, or as the Preface puts it: 'physical and spiritual temptations, and comfort against them, and about their remedies'.[80] The description of the inner or spiritual temptations draws on the monastic language of spiritual warfare significantly, particularly the concept of the threefold enemy: 'This inner temptation comes from the devil, from the world, from our flesh sometimes'.[81] Part Four discusses the protective powers of particular virtues against their opposing vices, essentially taking the form of a *summa* on vice and virtue, popular in the schools, and makes it more directly relevant to this particular audience.[82] This idea is also evident in the militarisation of *Sawles Warde* when contrasted with *De custodia*. After their respective descriptions of how each virtue has its opposite vice lurking outside the structure that represents the person, *De custodia* simply states: 'But there is not one thief, but many; for each vice lies in ambush for each virtue'.[83] By contrast, *Sawles Warde* renders this in language of fortification, as well as gendering the soul under threat: 'And against every good virtue who guards this house, God's dear castle, under the guidance of Wit who is the household lord, there is always its vice seeking entrance about the walls in order to murder her inside'.[84]

The *Ancrene Wisse* also moralises defensive architecture as the anchoresses themselves, who are described as being individual towers. The exalted status deriving from their reclusiveness and piety renders them as higher towers than other women in the world, yet this greater height puts them at greater risk of temptation. In Part Two the same concept is rendered as the number of bolts of temptation the devil fires at the anchoress compared to other women: 'Certainly our enemy, the

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[79] *AW*, p. 24: 'Ne tote ha nawt ut at ham, leste ho þe deoueles quarreus habbe amid te ehe ear ho least wene; for he asailȝes ai. Halde hire ehe inwið, for beo ho iblind earst, ho is eað-falle; ablinde þe heorte, ho is eað to ouercumen, and ibroht sone þurh sunne to grunde'. On the crossbow as siege weapon see: Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 358-9.
[80] *AW*, p. 5: 'of fleschliche fondunges ant gasteliche baðe, ant confort aȝeines ham, ant of hare saluen'.
[81] *AW*, p. 69: 'Þeos inre fondunge kimeð of þe feonde, of þe world, or ure flesch oðerwhile'.
[82] Cate Gunn, *Ancrene Wisse: From Pastoral Literature to Vernacular Spirituality* (Cardiff, 2008), p. 146.
[83] *Memorials*, p. 356: 'Fur autem non unus est, sed multiplex, quia singulis virtutibus singula vitia insidiantur'.
[84] *Sawles Warde*, pp. 4-6: '7 aȝein euch god þeaw. þe biwiteð i þis hus godes deore castel. vnder wittes wissunge þet is huse lauerd. is eauer hire unþeaw forte sechen inȝong abute þe wahes to amurðrin hire þrinne'.

warrior of hell, shoots (as I believe) more bolts at one anchoress than at seventy-seven ladies in the world'.[85] The anchoresses existence in community with other anchoresses is allegorised as towers' mutual protection to each other; while they are individually towers, they are connected and so can help each other, like the walls that connect towers in a castle. The author warns that the cement holding these connections together can only give way under the influence of the devil:

> Anyone who lives an exalted life should be certain she will be tempted. And this is the first comfort; because always the higher the tower, the more it is buffeted by winds. You are a tower yourselves, my dear sisters; but do not be afraid while you are so truly and firmly fixed together with the cement of shared love, each of you to the other. You need not be afraid of any devil's puff unless that cement gives way – that is to say, unless love between you breaks down because of the devil.[86]

The moat is another defensive feature allegorised to discuss protecting the spirit. Drawing possibly on Ælred's sermon, this represents the spiritual protection offered by humility:

> …a castle with a moat around it, if there is water in the moat, has nothing to fear from its enemies. The castle is every good man that the devil attacks; but if you have a deep moat of profound humility, and wet tears to go with it, you are a strong castle. The warrior of hell can attack you for a long while and get nowhere.[87]

In addition to humility as a ditch, the idea of tears as a defence against the devil is also made into part of the castle allegory. The author uses the real-world example of besieged garrisons pouring out scalding liquids on their attackers to discuss the protective power of tearful prayer: 'When strongholds or a castle are being attacked, the people inside pour out scalding water, and in that way defend the walls. You should do just the same whenever the devil attacks your castle and the stronghold of the soul: with fervent prayers pour out scalding tears over him'.[88] Tears in prayer were earlier likened to spiritual weapons in Ælred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*, again demonstrating another strongly monastic influence on the militaristic language employed in *Ancrene Wisse*. There, Ælred similarly discusses the power of tearful prayer against the devil: 'If then you also pray and take up the arms of your tears against him who incites you to impurity'.[89] There, Ælred also renders various forms of abstinence as weapons against the devil. Discussing the benefits of fasting, silence, and

[85] *AW*, p. 24: 'Sikerliche vre fa, þe werreur of helle, he scheot (as Ich wene) ma quarreus to an ancre þenne to seouene-ant-seoueti lauedis i ðe worlde'.
[86] *AW*, pp. 86-7: 'Siker beo of fondunge hwa-se eauer stont in heh lif. Ant þis is þe earste froure; for eauer se herre tur, se haueð mare windes. Ȝe beoð tur ow seoluen, mine leoue sustren; ah ne drede ȝe nawt hwil ȝe beoð se treoweliche ant se feste ilimet wið lim of anred luue, euch of ow to oþer. For na deofles puf ne þurue ȝe dreden bute þet lim falsi – þet is to seggen, bute luue bitweonen ow þurh þe feond wursi'.
[87] *AW*, p. 93: 'castel þe haueð dich abuten, ant weater beo i þe dich, þe castel is wel carles aȝeines his unwines. Castel is euch god mon þet te deouel weorreð; ah habbe ȝe deop dich of deop eadmodnesse, ant wete teares þer-to, ȝe beoð strong castel. Ȝe weorrur of helle mei longe asailin ow ant leosen his hwile'.
[88] *AW*, p. 93: 'Hwen me asaileð burhes oðer castel, þeo wiðinnen healdeð scaldinde weater ut, ant werieð swa þe walles. Ant ȝe don alswa as ofte as þe feonde asaileð ower castel ant te sawle burh: wið inward bonen warpeð ut upon him scaldinde teares'.
[89] *De institutione inclusarum*, p. 652: 'Si igitur et tu oraveris et contra libidinis incentorem lacrymarum tuatum arma levaveris'.

vigils for a monk he knew, Ælred explains how depriving the body of its wants constitutes another way to battle the devil: 'Wholesome anger with himself led him to a fierce attack upon his person; he declared war upon his body and deprived it even of what seemed to be necessary … with arms such as these he won a glorious triumph over the tyrant'.[90]

The war against the body in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group is focused largely on the preservation of chastity, and specifically virginity. *Hali Meiðhad* describes both the female self and the very concept of female virginity as towers. Like those in *Ancrene Wisse* that represent the anchoress, the tower of the female virgin is higher than others around it, and is likened to a tower of the biblical Jerusalem, though constantly under siege from the devil:

> And this tower betokens the high rank of maidenhood, which beholds, as from on high, both all widows and the wedded underneath her. For these, as thralls of the flesh, are in the world's bondage and dwell low on the earth, but a maiden stands, through the lofty life, in a tower of Jerusalem …. But Babylon's folk (which I mentioned earlier), the devil's army of hell, which are the lusts of the flesh and the egging on of the fiends, make war and always assail this tower to cast it down and drag her into slavery who stands so high inside.[91]

The idea of 'Babylon's folk' (*Babilones folc*) is a reiteration of an earlier point made on *Hali Meiðhad*'s opening theme, Psalm 44:11: 'Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline your ear; and forget your people and your father's house'. There, the people or *folc* to be forgotten are 'the gathering inside you of fleshly thoughts, which incite and draw you with their prickings to fleshly filths, to bodily desires, and urge you on to wedlock and to a husband's embrace'.[92] This idea of the devil's or Babylon's army strongly echoes that of Bernard of Clairvaux's parable *De conflictu duorum regum* where the devil's army is that of Babylon.[93] However, where Bernard casts the soul in *De conflictu* (and in the parable *De filio regis*) as already a prisoner who must escape the dungeons of the world and take refuge in a castle of justice or wisdom, *Hali Meiðhad* places the virgin reader within the safety of the tower, and warns that failure to defend herself against the devil will render her the prisoner.

The tower representing female virginity in *Hali Meiðhad* can be read alongside the idea of the status of anchoress as a tower in *Ancrene Wisse*. In *Ancrene Wisse*, as explored above, the anchoresses can support each other in their spiritual struggles as towers and walls protected each other in worldly

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[90] *De institutione inclusarum*, p. 655: 'Deinde salubriter irascens sibi, invectione gravissima irruit in seipsum, et bellum indicens corpori, etiam ei quae necessaria videbantur ademit … Talibus armis gloriosum retulit de tyranno triumphum'.
[91] *HM*, p. 2: 'Ant bitacneð þis tur þe hehnesse of meiðhad, þe bihald as of heh alle widewen under hire ant wedded baðe. For þeos, ase flesches þrealles, beoð i worldes þeowdom, ant wunieð lahe on eorðe; ant meiden stont þurh heh lif i þe tur of Ierusalem … Ah Babilones folc, þet ich ear nempnede, þe deofles here of helle, þet beoð flesches lustes ant feondes eggunge, weorrið ant warpeð eauer towart tis tur forte keasten hit adun, ant drahen hire into þeowdom þet stont se hehe þerin'.
[92] *HM*, p. 1: 'þe gederunge inwið of fleschliche þonkes, þe leaðieð þe ant dreaieð wið hare procunges to flesliche fulðen, to licomliche lustes, ant eggið þe to brudlac ant to weres cluppunge'.
[93] *SBO* 6.2., pp. 267-73.

conflicts. Read together, *Hali Meiðhad* and *Ancrene Wisse* encourage the reader to imagine herself a tower, besieged but provided with support from the nearby towers of other anchoresses. At the same time, *Ancrene Wisse* also envisages Christ as a nearby and supporting castle against the devil's army of temptation. This army attacks anchoresses all the more fiercely because of their closeness to God: 'Yes, Lord, it is strange; we are encamped here beside you who are the stone of help, the tower of true support, the castle of strength, and the devil's army is attacking us more furiously than anyone else'.[94] To defeat the devil's army, the anchoress must petition the Lord's help through prayer:

> 'Dear Lord, we do not have enough strength to be able to resist the devil's army that is attacking us so violently. But when we are so besieged, so hard-pressed, that we have no idea at all what we should do, this one thing we can do, lift up our eyes to you, merciful Lord. You must send us help, you must scatter our enemies, because we are looking to you.' So, like the good Jehoshaphat, when God appears before you and asks what you want, and at any time when you need help, disclose it lovingly in this way to his loving ears. If he does not listen to you at once, cry out more loudly and unrestrainedly, and threaten to surrender the castle unless he sends you help more promptly, and moves faster.[95]

This idea that the anchoress can petition Christ for aid in a siege draws on existing ideas of lordship and service as explored above, whereby the besieged were allowed to send messengers to their lord. The idea of nearby towers protecting each other may also draw upon the political landscape of the Welsh Marches, specifically northern Herefordshire and southern Shropshire, where the *Ancrene Wisse* Group appear to have been written.[96] The density of fortifications clustered within this border area allowed Marcher lords to provide mutual protection to one another swiftly; the idea that virginity and anchoress status were towers that could protect one another, and call for aid from the castle of Christ, has been argued by Christopher Cannon as strongly reflecting this Marcher defensive practice.[97] Compared to the rest of England during the first two decades of the thirteenth century, a period notable for the highest numbers of sieges in England prior to the English Civil War, the Welsh border area witnessed even higher numbers of castles and active sieges than anywhere else.[98] It is likely that the persistence of siege allegory in the *Ancrene Wisse* texts reflected the nature of life that the anchoress's would have understood all too well. This was a geographical area where politics was

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[94] *AW*, p. 100: 'Ȝe, Lauerd, wunder is; we beoð iloget her bi þe þet art stan of help, tur of treowe sucurs, castel of strengðe, ant te deofles ferd is woddre upon us þen upon eani oþre.'
[95] *AW*, p. 101: 'In us nis nawt, deorewurðe Lauerd, swa muchel strengðe þet we mahen wiðstonden þe deofles ferd þe is se strong upon us. Ah hwen we swa beoð bisteaðet, swa stronge bistonden, þet we mid alle na read ne cunnen bi us seoluen, þis an we mahe done, heouen ehnen up to þe, mildfule Lauerd. Þu send us sucurs, þu todreaf ure fan, for to þe we lokið.' Þus, wið þe gode Iosaphath, hwen Godd kimeð biuoren ow ant freineð hwet ȝe wulleð, ant in euch time hwen ȝe neode habbeð, schawið hit swa sweteliche to his swote earen. Ȝef he sone ne hereð ow, ȝeieð luddre ant meadlesluker, ant þreatið þet ȝe wulleð ȝelden up þe castel bute he sende ow sonre help, ant hihi þe swiðere.'
[96] For the geographical area associated with the *Ancrene Wisse* Group authors see: Bella Millett, 'The Origins of Ancrene Wisse: New Answers, New Questions', *Medium Ævum*, 61 (1992), pp. 206-28; *Katherine Group*, pp. 17-21; 'Introduction' to *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, pp. xi-xii.
[97] Cannon, *Grounds of English Literature*, pp. 152-4.
[98] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, pp. 71-2

characterised by sieges, raiding, and hostage-taking, anxieties about which have all been identified as influencing anchoritic life in this region.[99]

The concept of the anchoress being a tower or a castle herself, within the allegorical castle of the anchor-house, also seems to echo the concentric nature of the castle, where an inner structure is protected by an outer. A similar concept is seen in the Anselmian *De regno*, where the keep representing the angelic life is protected within the castle that reflects the monastic, and in Ælred's sermon on the Virgin, where the tower of charity is protected by the wall of chastity. In a similar way, Cannon noted that Parts One and Eight of *Ancrene Wisse*, concerned with exterior behaviour, bracket parts Two to Seven, which concern inner, spiritual matters.[100] To put it another way, the Rule that is *Ancrene Wisse* provides something of a first line of defence for the tower of the anchoress within. The person given over to temptation is also rendered as a captured castle in *Ancrene Wisse*. The focus is again on the body as the enemy, and lack of physical struggle represents a surrender in the spiritual struggle:

> Ease and physical comfort are the devil's heraldic devices. When he sees these devices in a man or in a woman, he knows the castle is his, and goes boldly in where he sees such banners raised up, as is done in a castle. In that people torn apart [*cf.* Isaiah 18:7], he cannot find his devices, and sees God's banner, which is austerity of life, raised up in them, and is very much afraid of it, as Isaiah testifies.[101]

The anchoress's austere living is therefore likened to defending the castle for God, which in itself strikes fear into the devil. Yet at the same time, the anchoress's status and virginity render her a greater target for the devil's attacks. While partaking in these statuses is dangerous to the anchoress's spirit because it invites greater attacks from the devil, she defends herself best by persisting in her piety and chastity; to defend the castle of herself is to not give in to the wants of her flesh. These struggles against her own body and against the world cast the anchoress as the hero of the narrative, in much the same way as the spiritual arming texts cast their readers as the heroic knight battling against the devil. Like the language of arming, the language of fortification makes active the inward, spiritual struggle. Picturing the body as a besieged castle rewrote abstinence and retreat from the world as 'an act of military endurance' akin to the narrative of a romance, but without crossing a gendered line of rendering the female anchoress as the knight.[102]

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[99] On this see: Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 97, 147-77; Cannon, *Grounds of English Literature*, pp. 145-71.
[100] Cannon, *Grounds of English Literature*, pp. 153-4.
[101] *AW*, p. 137: 'Eise ant flesches este beoð þes deofles mearken. Hwen he sið þeos mearken i mon oðer i wummon, he wat þe castel is his, ant geað baldeliche in þer he sið iriht up swucche baneres, as me deð i castel. I þet totore folc, he misseð his merken, and sið in ham iriht up Godes banere, þet is heardschipe of lif, ant haueð muche dred þrof, as Ysaie witneð.
[102] Whitehead, 'Fortress and Shield', p. 121.

The Christ-Knight: Reducing Female Agency in Spiritual Warfare?

By simply taking on her status as anchoress and persisting in it, the female reader of the *Ancrene Wisse* Group texts was reassured that she was defending herself against the attacks of the devil. However, with her body rendered as a castle within the castle of her anchor-house, her actions as an individual were bereft of a significant degree of agency. In promoting unity between the anchoresses as a way to resist the devil's missiles of temptation, Part Four draws on several examples of the power of community and mutual love. One is made explicitly for spiritual warfare purposes:

> Surely you know that when men are fighting in strong armies, those who stand firmly together are impossible to defeat? It is the same in spiritual battle against the devil. His whole aim is to separate hearts, to take away the love that holds people together; because when love fails, they are separated, and the devil gets between them at once and cuts them down on either side.[103]

Where men fight in strong armies, the community of anchoresses and the love that binds them are cast, as seen above, as towers.[104] If she looks out of the embrasures that are her cell's windows, she risks the devil's bolts of temptation in the eyes. The *Ancrene Wisse*'s advice that 'she should keep her eyes inside' (*halde hire ehe inwið*) focuses on containment, rather than active battle against the devil.[105] The anchoress's few actions within her dual castle constitute the pouring out of tears to scald the besieging devil, or the taking up of a shield, another defensive armament, to further protect herself.[106] She is not offered a sword of the Word of God or a lance of some virtue with which to strike at the devil.

Instead, Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse* instead introduces the allegory of Christ as a knight, who fights on the anchoress's behalf against these spiritual enemies. More than any other section of *Ancrene Wisse*, Part Seven utilises the language and tropes of romance.[107] God is cast as a suitor to the soul of the anchoress, a king who sends messengers from afar in the form of his prophets and Old Testament patriarchs as 'sealed letters' (*leattres isealet*), then the Gospel as 'open letters' (*leattres iopenet*), and finally 'with his own blood wrote greetings to his lady, a lover's homage to woo her with and gain her love'.[108] In this tale, the anchoress is unable to defend herself in the spiritual struggle without the masculine aid of Christ, who is cast as a knight. The anchoress is described as inhabiting a 'castle of earth' (*an eorðene castel*), which seemingly refers to both her earthly body and the anchor house

[103] *AW*, p. 95: 'Nute ȝe þe men fehteð i þes stronge ferdes, þe like þe haldeð ham feaste togederes ne muhe beo descumfit o neauer nane wise? Alswa hit is in gastelich feht aȝeines þe deouel. Al his entente is fore tweamem hearten, forte bineomen luue þet halt men togederes; for hwen luue alið, þenne beoð ha isundret, ant te deouel deð him bitweonen ananriht ant sleað on euche halue.'
[104] *AW*, pp. 86-7.
[105] *AW*, p. 24.
[106] *AW*, pp. 111-2.
[107] Christopher Cannon, 'The Form of the Self: "*Ancrene Wisse*" and Romance', *Medium Ævum*, 70 (2001), pp. 47-65.
[108] *AW*, p. 146: 'wið his ahne blod saluz to his leofmon, luue gretunge forte wohin hire wið ant hire luue wealden.'

itself.[109] This castle is under siege by devils, and though God sends support, aid, and provisions, these are accepted ungratefully by the lady, until finally God offers to personally fight off the enemies besieging her castle although he knows he will be mortally wounded.

Here, the actual spiritual warfare is done on behalf of the anchoress by the Christ-knight, rather than by any action of her own. As knight, Christ: '…showed by feats of arms that he was worthy of love, as was the custom of knights once upon a time'.[110] Christ's suffering and sacrifice is recast as the taking of injuries to defend the anchoress, and the spiritual attacks of her enemies are rendered as a tournament: 'He entered the tournament and, like a bold knight, had his shield pierced through and through in battle for love of his lady'.[111] Unlike the knightly arming allegories explored in preceding chapters, this defeat in battle does not represent succumbing to the devil. Instead, this is a reminder of Christ's willing sacrifice for humanity, but directed towards the anchoress and framed in the language and tropes of chivalric and Romance literature.

Taken in conjunction with the passages from previous Parts of *Ancrene Wisse* that render the anchoress as a castle and a tower, however, the Christ-knight removes a significant degree of both agency and, to some extent, responsibility from the anchoress in matters of spiritual conflict. She is to retreat from the world inside the castle of her cell, and defend the castle of her body from the siege of the flesh and the devil. When it comes to striking back at these threefold enemies, she is to appeal to the nearby castle of Christ for aid, or to remain inside her earthen castle while the Christ-Knight goes to battle her enemies on her behalf. The narrative of spiritual warfare in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group casts the anchoress as essentially unable to succeed in the spiritual struggle without Christ's assistance, which is couched in the overtly masculine language of both knightly prowess and lordly beneficence.[112]

From the Monastery to the Mendicants: The Virgin Mary as a Castle

The allegorisation of the Virgin Mary as a castle emerges in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Depictions of Mary as a castle emphasised her moral strength, but also associated her with medieval symbols of power and rule.[113] As outlined in the Introduction, two main texts will be explored in this regard due to their extensive allegorisations of the defensive castle architecture: the sermon of the Cistercian Ælred of Rievaulx (d. 1167) for the Assumption of the Virgin and Robert Grosseteste's thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman treatise on Creation, the Fall, and Redemption, commonly entitled

[109] *AW*, p. 146.
[110] *AW*, p. 147: '…schawde þurh cnihtschipe þet he wes luuewurðe, as weren sumhwile cnihtes iwunet to donne.'
[111] *AW*, p. 147: 'Dude him i turneiment, ant hefde for his leoues luue his scheld i feht, as kene cniht, on euche half iþurlet.'
[112] McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms,* p. 97; Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind,* p. 100.
[113] Whitehead, 'Fortress and Shield', pp. 114-5.

Château d'amour. The first of these texts was, like Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons explored above, designed for a monastic audience. The *Château d'amour*, however, was written in the vernacular for, as Grosseteste wrote: 'those who have no acquaintance with learning or Latin'.[114] Questions of the *Château d'amour*'s audience and purpose will be discussed in more detail below, but it is important to note that both of these texts draw on a passage from Luke 10:38, '*intravit in quoddam castellum*', often translated as 'entered into a certain town'. In its original context, this passage from Luke really concerns Mary Magdalene. However, over the Middle Ages, exegesis surrounding Luke 10:38 developed into praise of the divine nature of the Virgin Mary. This understanding of the scripture may have been common as early as the eighth century, in Alcuin's (d. 804) *Liber sacramentorum*.[115] The concept of the Virgin Mary as an edifice (though not specifically a *castellum*) within which Christ resided dates as far back as Athanasius of Alexandria in the fourth century, who discussed how a divine temple was built within the Virgin, while the ninth-century monk Rabanus Maurus equated this more strictly with the *castellum* from Luke.[116]

An explicit connection between defensive architecture and the Virgin in relation to Luke 10:38 first appears in *Speculum ecclesiae* ('Mirror of the Church'), the sermon collection of the Benedictine Honorius Augustodunensis (d.c.1140).[117] This sermon, like Ælred's also written for the Assumption of Mary, moralises several pieces of architecture as allegories for the virtues and qualities ascribed to the Virgin:

> In the castle there is a high tower, in which there are ramparts against the enemy, and an outer wall which guards the citizens within. This castle was the shrine of the Holy Spirit, that is, the Virgin Mary, the glorious Mother of God … in which there was a high tower, that is, humility reaching to the heights of Heaven … the outward wall was her chastity which provided inward protection to the other virtues. The Lord entered this castle when he united His human nature to Himself in the womb of the Virgin.[118]

Honorius's allegory casts the Virgin herself as a castle, her humility so great that it is likened to a tower reaching to Heaven, and the power of her chastity being like a wall that protected her inner virtues. In describing this castle as a 'shrine of the Holy Spirit', Honorius also provides a further religious significance to an otherwise secular, worldly structure. This echoes Anselm of Canterbury's *Orationes* to Mary, in the first of which he describes her 'virginity to be wondered at' (*admirabilis*

[114] *CdA*, ll. 27-28: 'Pur ceus ki ne sevent mie / Ne lettreüre ne clergie'.
[115] Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, pp. 92-3.
[116] Cornelius, *Figurative Castle*, pp. 51-3.
[117] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL 172, cols. 991B-994C.
[118] PL 172, cols. 991C-991D: 'In castello est turris alta in qua contra hostes sunt propugnacula, murus vero exterius qui est tutela civibus interius. Hoc castellum fuit illud Spiritus sancti sacellum, scilicet gloriosa Dei Genitrix virgo Maria … in qua turris alta erat, videlicet humilitas pertingens ad coeli culmina … Murus vero exterius ejus castitas fuit quae caeteris virtutibus interius munimen praebuit. Hoc castellum Dominus intravit quando in utero Virginis humanam naturam sibi copulavit'.

virginitatis) and herself as a 'shrine of goodness and mercy' (*templum pietatis et misericordiae*).[119] In the third *Oratio*, the Virgin is simply described as *mira res* ('a thing to be wondered at').[120]

Where Ælred of Rievaulx's castle allegory of the Virgin differs is that while she is still portrayed as a *castellum*, the text concerns the monks' own spiritual warfare by casting them as defensive architecture through emulation of her qualities. Rather than simply praising the Virgin as an impregnable castle of virtue, it actively calls for male monks to emulate her by constructing a similar castle within themselves, that they may receive Christ as she did. Furthermore, Ælred crafts an allegory which lists the virtues to be emulated as defensive architecture with which the soul may be protected. Beginning, like others mentioned above, from the *intravit* theme of Luke 10:38, Ælred sets out in the homily his intention for the monks to construct the scriptural *castellum* within themselves:

> Therefore, brothers, let us make ready a certain castle spiritually, so that our Lord might come to us. Indeed I say to you boldly, unless the blessed Mary had prepared this same castle within herself, Lord Jesus would not have entered into her womb, nor into her mind, nor would this Gospel be read today on her feast day.[121]

As is often the case with the arming allegories looked at in the previous chapters, Ælred then sets out some of the key properties and purposes of the real-world object which will serve as the allegory. In this case, a ditch (*fossatum*), wall (*murus*), and tower (*turris*).[122] Having set out the function of the real-world objects, Ælred begins to allegorise them in turn. He invites his audience to craft a mnemonic image of a castle in their minds, to mentally construct the various components as reminders of the necessary virtues and qualities of the Virgin they should emulate: 'So let us enter our minds, and see how all these things should be brought into being spiritually within ourselves'.[123] The first of these is the ditch, which represents humility:

> What is a ditch, but the depths of the earth? Therefore let us dig out our hearts, where the deepest earth is. Let us take away the earth which is within; let us pile it up high, for so a ditch is made. The ground that we should throw up high is our earthly frailty. This should not lie hidden within, but should always be before our eyes that it be the ditch within our heart.[124]

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[119] *Anselmi opera*, iii., p. 13. English Translation: *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Proslogion*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth, 1973, reprinted 1986), p. 107.
[120] *Anselmi opera*, iii. p. 21; *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 120. On the influence of Anselm's *Orationes* about the Virgin Mary see: Healy-Varley, 'Anselm's Fictions', pp. 149-50.
[121] PL 195, col. 303D: 'Ideo, fratres, praeparemus spirituale quoddam castellum, ut veniat ad nos Dominus noster. Audacter enim dico, quia nisi beata Maria hoc castellum praeparasset in se, non intrasset in uterum ejus, nec in mentem ejus Dominus Jesus, nec istud Evangelium in ejus festivitate hodie legeretur'.
[122] PL 195, col. 303D.
[123] PL 195, col. 304A: 'Intremus modo animam nostrum, et videamus quomodo ista omnia debent in nobis spiritualiter fieri'.
[124] PL 195, col. 304A: 'Quid est fossatum, nisi profunda terra? Ergo fodiamus cor nostrum, ubi sit infima terra. Auferamus terram, quae intus est; et projiciamus sursum, sic enim fit fossatum. Terra quam debeamus accipere, et sursum projicere, est nostra terrena fragilitas. Hoc non lateat intus, sed sit semper ante oculos nostros, ut sit in corde nostro fossatum'.

This humility is given as the first step of successfully protecting the soul from sin, and the other virtues cannot succeed without it. As Ælred explains: 'For if this ditch, that is, true humility, does not first exist in our heart, we shall not be able to build'.[125]

The next component, the wall, represents chastity (*castitas*), 'an entirely firm wall which keeps the flesh whole and uncontaminated'.[126] Ælred then begins to build on the ways in which a worldly ditch and wall provide protection to each other from attackers, as a means to discuss the relationship between humility and chastity:

> This is the wall which protects that ditch of which we spoke, so that it cannot be filled in by an enemy. For if chastity is lost, the whole heart is at once filled with filth and moral foulness, so that humility, that spiritual ditch, is entirely lost in the heart. But just as this ditch is guarded by a wall, so the wall needs to be guarded by a ditch. For he who loses humility will certainly not be able to protect chastity of the flesh.[127]

This then leads into a discussion of how virginity is endangered by pride, before Ælred moves on to the most perfect chastity, that of the Virgin. Her chastity should be emulated as it provides defence against the devil's attacks: 'For she is a holy virgin and intact, whose virginity, like the strongest wall, could never be penetrated by any person by any instrument, that is, by a temptation of the devil'.[128]

The final component is a tower of charity (*turrim charitatis*). As with the lance of charity in Bernard's spiritual arming allegories in the *Sententiae*, and Charity's role in relieving the besieged in his *Parabolae* explored above, charity again represents something of a 'final step' in a spiritual process. This is again described in its relation to the preceding virtues, but also its superiority to them. The association of the tower with something higher than other monastic virtues also reflects the depiction of the *donjon* as the angelic life in *De regno*, as Ælred explains its superior protection in a similar way: 'Whoever is in that tower does not fear his enemies, because 'perfect charity casts out fear' (1 John 4:18)'.[129] In his explanation of the three virtues' relationships, Ælred continues to develop his allegory of the defensive relationships of the ditch, wall, and tower. At the same time, he explains how having the preceding virtues without the protection of charity endanger the monks' souls:

> Without this tower, the spiritual castle of which we speak is weak. For he who has a strong wall of chastity, and also perhaps either despises or judges his brother, and does not show him as much charity as he ought; because he does not have a tower, the enemy crosses

[125] PL 195, col. 304B: 'Nisi enim hoc fossatum primo fuerit in corde nostro, id est vera humilitas, non poterimus aedificare'.
[126] PL 195, col. 304C: 'murus omnino fortis, qui servat carnem integram et incontaminatam'.
[127] PL 195, cols. 304C-304D: 'Ille est murus, qui servat istud fossatum, de quo locuti sumus, ut non possit impleri ab hostibus. Nam, si quis perdit castitatem, statim cor totum impletur sordis et immunditiis, ut humilitas, id est spirituale fossatum omnino pereat in corde. Sed, sicut fossatum istud custoditur a muro, ita necesse habet murus custodiri a fossato. Nam qui humilitatem amittit, carnis utique castitatem servare non poterit'.
[128] PL 195, col. 304D: 'Ipsa enim est virgo sancta, et intacta, cujus virginitas quasi firmissimus murus nunquam potuit per aliquod parium, vel per aliud instrumentum, id est tentatione diaboli penetrari'.
[129] PL 195, col. 305A: 'In ista turri quicunque fuerit, non timet hostes suos, quia perfecta charitatis foras mittit timorem'.

> over his wall and kills his soul. Similarly, if he appears to be humble in his habits, in his diet, in his tendencies, yet inside his soul he holds bitterness towards his superiors and brothers, that ditch of humility cannot defend him from his enemies.[130]

In his castle allegory of the Virgin Mary, then, Ælred explains not only the importance of those three core monastic virtues, but emphasises the spiritual protection offered by emulating the Virgin's chastity and abstinence. Through cultivating these virtues monks can both protect their soul and, like the Virgin, prepare themselves for the entry of God into their hearts and minds. Ælred's castle allegory depicts cultivation of virtue as a particularly defensive form of spiritual warfare, where failure to maintain these spiritual defences of humility, chastity and charity risks the death of the soul. These virtues have no precedent in the biblical spiritual arms, nor explicitly in the *Similitudo militis*. As explored in the preceding two chapters, there are arms and armour in the *Sententiae* of Bernard of Clairvaux which act as allegories for at least two of these virtues: humility as armour and charity as a lance. Ælred's homily on the Virgin therefore offers a different militarisation of these same virtues, in a more defensive vein and encouraging the monk to consider himself a fortification into which Christ can enter, rather than as the more active *miles Christi*. What remains the same is the requirement of these virtues for protection against the spiritual attacks of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

The Virgin was also allegorised as a castle by non-monastic authors, who likewise developed the same *intravit in quoddam castellum* theme from Luke 10:38. Ralph d'Escures, Archbishop of Canterbury (1114–1122) authored a sermon on the *intravit* theme which also cast the Virgin as a castle. He claimed to have delivered it in vernacular languages during the late eleventh century, and it later appeared in numerous sermon collections, including in English in a manuscript of the first half of the twelfth century.[131] There, the castle symbolising the Virgin comprises only two components, a tower and a wall. These symbolise the humility and virginity of Mary, and the mutual protection they provide each other, as they do in Ælred's sermon, is evident: 'For a castle is protected by a high tower which is enclosed by walls so that each protects the other against enemies in conflict'.[132] The late twelfth-century French preacher Ralph Ardens also composed a sermon for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. Like Ælred's homily, Ralph's sermon allegorised the Virgin's virtues as

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[130] PL 195, cols. 305A-305B: 'Sine ista turri infirmum est istud spirituale castellum, de quo loquimur. Qui enim habet murum castitatis firmum, et forte etiam, aut contemnit aut judicate fratrem suum, et non exhibit illi talem charitatem, qualem debet; quia non habet turrim, inimicus ejus transit murum, et occidit animam ejus. Similiter, si videtur humilis in habitu suo, in victu suo, in inclinationibus suis: si tamen intus habet, amarum animum erga praelatos et fratres suos, illud fossatum humilitatis non potest defendere eum ab hostibus suis'.

[131] Elaine Treharne, 'The Life of English in the Mid-Twelfth Century: Ralph d'Escures's Homily on the Virgin Mary', in Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (eds.), *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 172-6; Giles Constable, 'The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century', *Viator*, 25 (1994), p. 144; Healy-Varley, 'Anselm's Fictions', pp. 150-2.

[132] *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV*, ed. Rubie D-N. Warner, EETS Original Series 52 (London, 1917), p. 134: 'For cæstel is geclypod sum heh stepel, þe byð mid wealle betrymed, swa þæt ægiðer oðre bewereð wið unwinen gewinne'.

castle defences against specific vices: 'The castle of the Virgin was also fenced with ramparts, such as abstinence against lasciviousness, chastity against lust, generosity against avarice, patience against anger, humility against pride'.[133] However, it was in the Anglo-Norman verse *Château d'amour* of Robert Grosseteste, where the Virgin-as-castle allegory appears as a refuge for the soul, that the allegorical castle itself underwent significant development.

Through a number of *exempla*, the *Château d'amour* sets out a history of Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation and Redemption in an Anglo-Norman verse form. Though difficult to date with precision, it was most probably written during Grosseteste's period of teaching the Franciscans at Oxford (c.1229-35), possibly for educating new Franciscans lacking Latin, though the form strongly indicates it was designed for more general popular edification. In addition to the text itself stating it was written for a less Latinate audience, the forms of address used also indicate an audience perhaps used to listening to the performances of romance and *chansons*. Near the outset of his account, Grosseteste writes 'Hear me, my lords, one and all' (*O ez, seignurs, communement*), and again addresses 'my lords' (*seignurs*) after finishing his account of Creation.[134] Such calls are common at the beginning of romances, acting as almost a generic marker for the genre. Indeed, there is a repeated emphasis on telling, listening, and particularly hearing (*ore*) throughout the work, strongly indicating a performative element.[135]

Grosseteste was not the first to convert the Virgin-as-castle allegory into the vernacular. However, where Grosseteste's castle allegory differs is in the elaborate detail of its description and the 'modernity of the castle's outworks and fortifications', as will be seen below.[136] Furthermore, unlike Ælred's Virgin castle, Grosseteste is not explicitly telling his audience to emulate her virtues as spiritual protection, but instead describing her as an impregnable refuge for the spirit. As such, we might consider the castle allegory of the *Château d'amour* the 'spiritual warfare' section of the entire poem.

The focus on spiritual warfare in the castle section of the *Château d'amour* is evident from the way in which the soul taking refuge is portrayed. Grosseteste takes a moment in the poem to switch voice, becoming the supplicant begging entry to the castle of the Virgin:

> …to you my soul is come, who at your gate calls and cries, and raises hue and cry: Sweet lady, help, help! Royal lady, open, open! … I am besieged outside your castle by three of

[133] Radulfus Ardens, *In Epistolas et Evangelia Sanctorum Homiliae*, PL 155, col. 1429A: 'Castrum quoque beatae Virginis fuit propugnaculis vallatum, ut abstinentia contra ingluviem, castitate contra luxuriam, munificentia contra avaritiam, patientia contra iram, humilitate contra superbiam'.
[134] *CdA*, ll. 43, 469.
[135] See for example: *CdA*, ll. 20-1, 483, 519, 1495.; Southern, *Grosseteste*, p. 228-9.
[136] Southern, *Grosseteste*, p. 226, n. 32.

> my enemies: the world, the flesh, and the devil, which bid me everywhere and always to do evil; they do great harm to my soul.[137]

Warfare is further drawn upon in the way in Grosseteste's portrayal of how the three enemies have attacked the soul. The devil convened the forces of these three enemies at a 'great parliament' (*Grant parlement*), each of which brought to bear their own 'armies' (*oz*) of sins. The devil brings the sins of pride, anger, and sloth (*orgoil, ire e peresce*); the world, envy and greed (*envie e cuveitise*); the flesh brings the armies of sensuality and gluttony (*delit e glotunie*).[138] Against these, Grosseteste describes the soul seeking refuge as a defeated champion (*Champion su ja recreü*).[139]

The castle into which defeated champion takes refuge, however, differs significantly in its description from that described in the Virgin-as-castle allegories from earlier sermons. The defensive features described include four turrets representing the cardinal virtues, seven barbicans representing all seven of the virtues, three baileys symbolising her virginity, chastity, and matrimony, and a deep surrounding moat of voluntary poverty.[140] The description of these colossal and perfect architectures echo the way some fantastical castles were depicted in romance, including the *Roman d'Eneas*, *Roman de Troie* and in Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*. Such descriptions frequently emphasised the strength of the fortifications, and the futility of making any attack against them. The castle of *Château d'amour* is built on a rock rendering it both prominent on the landscape and impregnable to attack:

> The tower is so well protected by a ditch, deep and high, that there is no fear of assault. It is set very high on a steadfast, solid rock, smooth from top to bottom, where no evil could lodge. No siege engine can launch anything harmful there.[141]

In addition to its impregnability and the numbered turrets, barbicans, and baileys, the castle's overall beauty and perfection is unmatched:

> The castle is fine and grand. Outside, it is painted all around with three different colours. The foundation, which adheres to the rock, is green. Great gentleness is never lacking there, for this sweet greenness never loses its colour. The colour in the middle is indigo, or blue; it is called the central colour and shines with beauty. The third colour covers the battlements all around, it is more crimson than rose, and seems a thing aflame. It shines so brightly that it entirely covers the keep … Inside, the castle is white, whiter than falling snow, and it radiates great brightness on all sides of the tower. In the middle of the tallest tower a fountain rises up, out of which flow four streams that ripple across the pebbles and fill the moat … Inside this fine and beautiful tower there is an ivory throne which shines more brightly than daylight in midsummer. It is skilfully designed, with seven steps

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[137] *CdA*, ll. 791-804, 'A tei est ma alme venue / Ki a ta porte huche e hue / Hue a huche, e hue e crie, / Duce Dame, aïe, aïe, / Reïne Dame, ovrez, ovrez … De hors tun chastel su assis / De treis de mes enemis. / C'est li diables e li mund / E ma char ki me somunt / Trestut adès de mal fere. / Mult funt a ma alme contrere'.
[138] *CdA*, ll. 805-812.
[139] *CdA*, l. 814.
[140] *CdA*, ll. 701-746.
[141] *CdA*, ll. 578-586: 'La tur est si bien enclose / De fossez parfunt e haut, / Ne ad regard de nul assaut, / Kar ele est si haute assise, / Sur une roche dure e bise / E bien poli de ci k'aval, / Ou habiter ne poet nul mal. / Ne engin ne i poet geter / Rien ki li peüst grever'.

> in order to approach it. Nothing in the world is so beautiful. The rainbow with all its colours extends around it.[142]

Several similar tropes are used to describe castles and cities from romance. The forms of address and the Anglo-Norman verse composition indicate that Grosseteste must have had some familiarity with the genre. The description of Carthage in the *Roman d'Eneas*, for example, reflects several of these. Like the Virgin castle of the *Château d'amour*, it is built on a 'great rock' (*une grant roche*), its walls having five hundred towers and seven gates.[143] There is also an emphasis on the colours and opulence of the walls: 'The stones are of grey, white, indigo and red, all set in regular order with great skill and care, all of marble and adamant … the outside of the walls were covered with marble of a hundred colours'.[144] Similar themes emerge in the description of Troy, particularly the keep of Ilion, in the *Roman de Troie* (c. 1165) of Benoît de Sainte-Maure:

> To one side stood Ilion, the principal keep in Troy … It was situated on Troy's highest spot … God never made a siege engine that could be brought up to it by any man alive. All the stones in its walls were of marble, coloured white, violet, saffron, yellow, bright red, dark blue and crimson.[145]

The castle of Brandigan from *Erec et Enide* provides another example of a 'perfect' literary castle, being impregnable to attack and taking up a prominent position on an island:

> Even if all of France, and Lombardy too, and everyone from here to Liège besieged it, they could spend their lives waiting and never win, for it's built on an island more than fifteen leagues across, containing whatever a wealthy castle could ever need – grain and fruit and wine, and all the wood and water they could want. No one could starve them out, and there's no weakness in those walls.[146]

In the *Château d'amour*, however, all of these fantastical features are designed to emphasise the spiritual protection the Virgin offers her supplicants. They employ an ekphrasis common in such

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[142] *CdA*, ll. 605-648: 'Le chastel est bel e bon, / Dehors depeint environ / De treis colurs diversement. / E si est vert le fundement, / Ki a la roche se joint. / De grant duçur ne i faut point, / Kar bien di ke duce verdure / Ne pert jamès sa colur. / La colur ki est en mi liu / Si est inde e si est bliu, / Ki meine colur est nomee, / De beauté est enluminee. / La tierce colur par en som / Les kerneaus covre environ. / Plus est vermeille ke n'est rose / E piert une ardante chose. / Tant reflambeie environ / Ke tut covere le dongon … Dedens est li chasteus blans, / Plus ke neif ki seit negans; / Ke gette si grand clarté / De lung la tur e de lé. / En mi la tur plus hautaine / Est surdant une fontaine, / Dont issent quatre ruissel / Ki bruient par le gravel, / Ke les fossez unt empliz … En cele bele tur e bone / I ad de ivoire une trone, / Ki plus ad en sei blanchur / Ke en mi esté le beau jur. / Par engin est compassez; / Al munter i a set degrez / Ki par ordre cochez sunt / Ni a si bele chose elm und / Le arc du ciel entur s'estent / Od la colur k'a li apent'.
[143] *Eneas: texte critique*, ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave (Halle, 1891), ll. 420, 443, 465.
[144] *Eneas*, ll. 422-430: 'Li quarel sont marbre bis, / de blanc et d'inde et de vermeil; / par grant esguart, par grant conseil / i sont asis tot a compas; / tuit sont de marbre et d'adamas … o le marbre de sont colors / sont peinturé defors li mur'.
[145] *Le Roman de Troie par Benoît de Sainte-Maure, publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1904-12), ll. 3041-3064: 'De l'une part sist Ylion, / De Troie le maistre donjon … El plus haut lieu de Troie sist … Onques Deus cel engin ne fist / Qui i poüst estre menez / Par nul home quic onc fust nez. / De marbre blanc, inde, safrin, / Jaune, vermeil, pers e porprin'. Descriptions of marvels are a theme in the *Roman de Troie*, extending to not only cities but also tombs, which are often followed by a degree of authorial commentary, see: Venetia Bridges, *Medieval Narratives of Alexander the Great: Transnational Texts in England and France* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 128-30.
[146] *Erec et Enide*, ll. 5384-5395: 'Se France et Lombardie tote / Et tuit cil qui sont jusqu'au Liege / Estoient environ a siege, / Nou prendroient il en lor vies, / Car plus dure de quatre liues / L'isle ou li chasteax est asis. / Et tou croist dedenz le porpris, / Quanqu'a riche chastel covient; / Et fruiz et bles et vins i vient, / Ne bois ne riviere n'i faut. / De nule part ne crient asaut, / Ne riens nou porroit afamer'.

literature, of architecture so impressive it borders on the impossible. Indeed, prior to the descriptions of how these insurmountable fortifications represent her perfect chastity and virtue, the strength she offers her supplicants in the spiritual battle is emphasised: 'she is our shield and our buckler against all our enemies who ever lie in wait for us'.[147] The meanings of the allegorical castle architecture are then explained, demonstrating how they protected the Virgin perfectly. These are bracketed by the reminder of her role as 'shield and buckler', and the begging for entry of the soul as 'defeated champion', framing them in militaristic language of protection regarding the soul. The four towers of the cardinal virtues are each guarded by porters 'so that nothing but good can enter' (*Ke rien ne puet fors bien entrer*).[148] The three baileys are the forms of womanhood which protect the soul. The outermost is marriage, the central ward chastity, the innermost Mary's perfect virginity. According to the poem, these three states are the only ones in which the soul is safe, though it is unclear whether this particular passage is directed at all listeners or specifically at women: 'Whoever wishes to be saved must pass through one of these gates' (*Par un des us l'estuet passer / Ki en le mund se vuet sauver*).[149]

The seven barbicans draw on a similar idea to that associated with the shield of faith's protection against the devil's darts or arrows. The barbicans, representing the virtues, 'guard the castle well from bolt and arrow' (*Ki bien gardent le chastel,* / *Et de seete e de quarel*).[150] Each virtue defends against its own opposing vice, in line with the relationship of vice and virtue that was particularly evident in texts of the first half of the thirteenth century, rendered visually in the Harley MS 3244 image where each capital vice faces off against a dove representing its opposing virtue and gift of the Holy Spirit. The militarised context for opposed vices and virtues also echoes the wider influence of the *Psychomachia*, for instance as seen in the climactic final battle between the vices and the virtues at the conclusion of Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*. Grosseteste's description only twice specifies that these virtues belong to the Virgin, namely her humility and chastity, implying for his audience that the cultivation of each virtue is a more universal defence against vice for themselves as well.[151]

Chapter Conclusion

The castle allegory appears contemporaneously with that of the knight, and in the same early twelfth-century monasteries, no less. The *De regno*, found in the same collections as *Similitudo militis*, portrays the monastery and monastic life as spiritual defence from the devil. Just as the *donjon* can only be accessed through the castle, its employment as metaphor for the angelic life demonstrates to

[147] *CdA*, ll. 668-670: 'Si ele nus est escu e targe, / En contre tuz nos enemis, / Ki nus aguaitent tut dis'.
[148] *CdA*, l. 708.
[149] *CdA*, ll. 725-726.
[150] *CdA*, ll. 729-730.
[151] *CdA*, ll. 733-751.

monks that only perseverance in their vocation can safeguard their souls and offer them the chance to join the heavenly hierarchy of saints and angels. In addition, the relationship between structures in the text reflected the worldly social prestige of the *donjon* in relation to its surrounding buildings.

As ever, Bernard of Clairvaux utilised the castle metaphor differently. The monastic life was still a refuge, but only one stop along the soul's journey towards God. The monastery was cast as the castle of Wisdom, where learning and understanding could be achieved, or of justice in the sense of living rightly, that is, living in accordance with the Rule. These 'castles' are strong and safe refuges for the soul, but without prayer they will remain endlessly besieged by the three-fold enemy. Only charity, that key Cistercian virtue, can rescue the besieged, and only then, when the messenger of prayer has entered the court of Heaven to call for aid. Implicit in this metaphor is the real-world idea of lordly protection for the defenders of a vassal lord's castles.

Monastic themes remain evident in the imagery of castles in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group. The anchor-house or cell replaces the monastery as the spirit's refuge against the world, but at the same time, the themes of bodily restraint are significantly heightened compared to those in monastic castle allegories. This is emphasised by the idea that the anchoress is, herself, a castle who is vulnerable to attack not just through the windows of her cell but through the eyes. The dangers of both are likened to putting one's head above the battlements during a siege and receiving an arrow in the eye. This imagery draws on the existing idea of the devil attacking with missiles of temptation, here placed in the context of a besieged castle. The anchoress's prescribed spiritual defences are couched in passive, defensive language, markedly different from that associated with the *milites Christi* in texts aimed at male audiences.

Conclusion

This study began essentially at the end, with the mid-thirteenth century rendition of the *miles Christi* in the Harley MS 3244, the last rendition of a spiritual knightly panoply in either art or text. The origins of some of the labels for that equipment were the initial driving force behind the research, and can now be answered with a greater degree of certainty. As noted at the outset, some of the Harleian knight's arms were derived directly from scripture, most notably the armour of charity from 1 Thessalonians 5:8. The helmet, labelled *spes futurii gaudii* ('hope of future joy'), can be equated with the helmet of the hope for salvation from the same biblical passage. The sword of the word of God, derived from Ephesians, was a moralisation that remained essentially unchanged in spiritual arming texts of this period, though some authors did expand on this, discussing the two edges and point of the same sword mentioned in Hebrews 4:12. The shield, faith, was also part of the Ephesian panoply. However, it is with the shield that the influence of medieval thought begins to become evident.

The Trinitarian diagram on the knight's shield of faith reflects a uniquely thirteenth-century concept. Beginning first as a diagram for the *Tetragrammaton* in the twelfth century, it had become a convenient way of illustrating the nature of the Trinity by the early thirteenth, as evidenced in the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* of Peter of Poitiers. From there, its seeming similarity with a knightly shield saw it interpreted as reflecting the spiritually protective powers of true faith in the Trinity, an idea evident particularly in Ralph Niger's *De re militari*, and by the time Grosseteste and Matthew Paris employed it in the mid-thirteenth century it appears to have already taken on the *scutum fidei* descriptor. The description of the same diagram in the Dominican Hugh of St-Cher's commentary on Ephesians 6, and the close association of Matthew Paris and Robert Grosseteste with the English Dominican Edmund of Abingdon suggest a Dominican provenance for the transformation of the diagram into a 'shield'. In the Harleian knight illustration, this is further reinforced by the preceding image of a Dominican kneeling to serve Christ and being warned of the dangers of temptation.

From there, the other equipment has little to nothing in the way of scriptural precedent. The lance, labelled perseverance, would seem to reflect the influence of *Similitudo militis*, in which perseverance made up one of the lance's properties, alongside foresight. Perseverance is the sole quality ascribed to the lance in *De re militari*. In that text, the lance is only taken in hand after all of the other arms, that is, the virtues, are securely in place, reflecting the real-world practice of arming knights. The lance's moralisation as perseverance in Harley MS 3244 would seem to indicate some degree of influence from *Similitudo militis*, and though a slimmer possibility due to its very limited circulation,

from *De re militari*. This connection would be more apparent if the Harleian knight's horse was labelled with qualities of the body, but the horse's labels complicate rather than clarify the picture.

The horse itself is labelled with *bona voluntas* 'good will', a quality not immediately apparent in any of the texts explored in this study, with the exception of God's shield of the same (Psalm 5:13) in *De re militari* and *Ancrene Wisse*. The horse's head or eyes are given the label *regni celestis desiderium* ('desire for the kingdom of Heaven'), which would suggest the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux's preferred horse allegory. This is strengthened by an association with Grosseteste's use of the same in his letter to Richard Marshal, where the horse is described as 'see[ing] in advance the severity of the judgement yet to come' (*praevidens ante districtionem futuri iudicii*).[1] Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* makes up one of the texts contained with the wider codex, and his close association with the mendicants and with pastoral care during the mid-thirteenth century is in a very similar vein.

Neither the reins and bridle, labelled *discretio* (discretion) or the spurs, *disciplinae* (of discipline, *pl*.), provide any further clarity. Discretion is the bridle given to the horse of heavenly desire by the virtues in Bernard's *Parabolae*, but can also be interpreted as the usage of discretion in bodily appetites, which would indicate a bridle more in line with that used in *Similitudo militis* and *De re militari*. The spurs, *disciplinae* may reflect a monastic influence as discipline to the vow was a particularly important component of monastic life. At the same time the word could connote learning. A case could be equally made that either the one is 'spurred on' by one's learning of good and bad examples, or by disciplined adherence to a Rule or vow. Neither, however, strongly reflect the more common attribution of spurs in the spiritual arming texts explored above, those of love and fear. The remainder of the horse labels: the saddle cloth of humility (*humilitas*), saddle of Christian religion (*christiana religio*), stirrups of the proposal of good works (*propositum boni operis*) and the four hooves or horseshoes of delight, consensus, good works and regular habits (*delectatio*, *consensus*, *bonum opus*, *consuetudo*) further confuse rather than clarify the picture.

The assembly of vices, virtues, and gifts of the Holy Spirit has been mentioned at the outset of this work as reflecting that of Alan of Lille's *Tractatus.* However, while those components to the left of the Harleian knight can be explained by this, the composition of his arms can not be accounted for in the same way. In part, the image's purpose as a septenary may be behind its attribution of labels, needing seven qualities for rider and horse each overriding the need for these to be strictly drawn from existing allegories. Certainly, this approach might reflect Augustine's assertion about the flexibility of the arms in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.[2] However, given that some of them appear to have indeed been drawn from medieval spiritual arming allegories, most notably the lance of

[1] *Epistolae,* p. 40.
[2] *Enarrationes,* Vol. 1., p. 301.

perseverance, shield of faith diagram, and the horse's desire for the heavenly kingdom, this does not seem to have been the case.

A third, and more interesting option is also worth considering; the Harleian knights arms reflected a new way of considering the knightly rendition of the *miles Christi*. Elements of the labels, taken together, suggest this may be the case. The rational soul, seated in humility and Christian religion, his feet secure in the proposition of good works, could move towards the desire of Heaven securely armed in spirit with virtues. However, this progress was only possible through the very communal values represented by the feet or horseshoes: delight in consensus, in regular habits (that is, living by a Rule as Dominicans did), and in good works. As a result, this focus on qualities with importance for both communal religious life and pastoral work would strongly reflect a new, mendicant imagining of the *miles Christi*, who set out to fight the devil through his pastoral mission and learning. This idea is lent further credence by the high number of Dominican and other mendicant texts in the codex, and by the shield of faith diagram so strongly associated with the thirteenth-century Dominican order.

Regardless, the Harleian knight illustration was seemingly composed by a person with a clear knowledge of at least some of the knightly spiritual arming allegories explored throughout this study. The appearance of elements from many of these is not surprising, especially given the widespread popularity of works associated with the likes of Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux. Elements of both writers' preference for allegories in components like the horse and lance demonstrate both strands of influence on the illustration. While very much in the realm of speculation, the richness and size of the illustration suggest it may have been designed for a particularly high-ranking Dominican friar, quite possibly one who ministered to knights and needed a visual reminder of symbolism that could be drawn from arms. Not too dissimilar to Ralph Niger's purpose in composing *De re militari*, the image may have worked as a thought exercise for the preaching, pastoral and confessional mission of its Dominican patron or owner.

More widely, as to how the spiritual arming allegories of this period drew on real-world military practice, the picture is varied. The body-as-horse allegory texts, *Similitudo militis* and *De re militari*, do this far more than any other. *Similitudo militis* utilises a fair amount of realism in its portrayal of combat, noting for instance the length of the lance which was used at a distance, and the use of the sword up close. Both texts emphasise the mobility of the horse in allegorising flight from sin, and both draw useful symbolism from the interlinked nature of rings in the mail armour. One might naturally expect a higher degree of realism and detail from Ralph Niger due to his extensive experiences at court, and in this regard he does not disappoint. However, his attempt to draw symbolism out of such a wide range of military equipment falls down in the discussion of the horse armour. Despite this, Ralph is also the only writer to discuss the perils represented by the breaking or

loss of the spiritual arms. This not only reflects his commitment to detail, but also that in his purpose of writing to edify clerics seeking to promote crusade, he wanted to paint as full a picture as possible for their target audience.

Bernard of Clairvaux, on the other hand, despite hailing from a large knightly family and having recruited so many of his male relatives to the cloister during his lifetime, employs allegories of arming and warfare much more flexibly and loosely than one might expect. Possibly due in part to the condensed nature of some of the records of his sermons, particularly in the form of the *Sententiae*, he exhibits little regard for verisimilitude or detail in his allegories. At the same time his use of the castle allegory in the *Parabolae*, while largely symbolic, does more accurately reflect contemporary social ideas among warriors about siege relief from one's lord when petitioned for aid.

Finally, the question of whether ideas symbolised as arms and defensive architecture changed based on audience now requires answering. By and large, the monastic roots of much of this material (itself layered in centuries of patristic thought) remain evident throughout much of the texts. The values and virtues promoted were denial of the desires of the flesh and rejection of the temptations of the world, both conceived of as the attacks of the devil. This concept of a three-fold enemy is evident across all texts explored in this study. Imagery ultimately originating in Ephesians, of the devil firing temptations like missiles, likewise recurs in all the texts, and the protective powers of faith, patience, humility, charity and justice (that is, living rightly) are all allegorised as defensive arms to prevent these. The appearance of the horse was significant but led to two strands of thought; an 'Anselmian' strand where the horse represented the body, and a 'Bernardine' strand of the horse of holy and heavenly desire. The former recurred in *De re militari* and elements of bodily control are similarly apparent in *Ancrene Wisse*. The latter, the Bernardine horse of desire, was utilised most notably by Grosseteste in a pastoral care context, but much of the imagery employed in the letter to Richard Marshal derived unchanged from Bernard, and even further back from scripture, which remained the highest authority.

On the other hand, when it came to castle allegories, the formats and means of communicating the monastic messages changed significantly. Ideas of the monastery and monastic life being castle-like refuges against the diabolical onslaught of worldly temptation, evident in *De regno* and in Bernard's besieged allegorical castles of Wisdom and Justice, re-emerge to represent the body and anchor-house of the anchoress in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group texts. No longer preached within the monastic community during communal services and mealtimes, this material was filtered through scholastically-educated, pastorally-minded mendicants for the direct edification of female laity by means of personal reading. Likewise, Ælred of Rievaulx's sermon comparing the Virgin Mary to a castle, whose virtues were to be emulated as spiritual defence, re-emerges in the performative Anglo-

Norman verse aspect more closely associated with the romances and *chansons de geste*, under the pen of the (again), scholastically-educated, pastorally-minded future bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste. In short, the messages of spiritual warfare, to live by scripture and defeat the devil through rejection of the flesh and the world, remained largely unchanged despite this significant change in audience. The appearance of the knight and castle allegories, and the transmission of ideas to new audiences, reflected new imaginings and employments of spiritual warfare imagery, but its core, underpinning concepts remained monastic, patristic, and even scriptural.

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