"BEAUTIFUL ON THE CROSS, BEAUTIFUL IN HIS TORMENTS": THE PLACE OF THE BODY IN THE THOUGHT OF PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS

By DAVID APPLEBY

The Humanism of Paschasius's *Vita Adalhardi*

In his literary portrait of Abbot Adalhard,[1] written soon after the abbot's death in 826, Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie[2] compared his subject's moral and spiritual progress to the method of the ancient painter Zeuxis as this had been described in Cicero's *De inventione*. According to Cicero, the people of Cortona commissioned Zeuxis to decorate a temple with the image of Helen, who was reputed to be the most beautiful of mortal women. Because nature withheld overall perfection from any individual, Zeuxis studied several handsome models and combined the best features of each in an image that was more perfect than the form of any actual maiden. Adalhard too was an artist who sought to realize a work that somehow went beyond nature, but in his case the objective was a reformation of the image of God in himself. To achieve this, Adalhard too used models, in his case the lives and deeds of the saints, whose examples

[1] On Adalhard see Brigitte Kasten, *Adalhard von Corbie: Die Biographie eines karolingischen Politikers und Klostervorstehers*, Studia humaniora: Düsseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance 3 (Düsseldorf, 1986); on the reign of Louis the Pious in general see Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt, 1996).

[2] The surviving sources inform us about Radbertus's life only in a general way. He was born toward the end of the eighth century, around 790, presumably somewhere in the vicinity of Soissons. His parentage is unknown. He was raised and educated by Abbess Theodrada and the nuns of St. Mary's at Soissons, where he took the tonsure. As a young man, he entered the monastery of Corbie, where Theodrada's brothers Adalhard and Wala held the abbacy during the years 780–815 and 826–35. At Corbie Radbertus served for a time as schoolmaster and then as abbot from 843 to about 851. His tenure as abbot ended because of some sort of disturbance or dissent among the monks at Corbie. As a consequence, Radbertus withdrew for a few years to the monastery of Saint-Riquier, but returned to Corbie before his death about 860. See Henri Peltier, *Pascase Radbert, Abbé de Corbie* (Amiens, 1938); idem, "Radbert," DThC 13:1628–39; Réginald Grégoire, "Paschase Radbert," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, 17 vols. in 21 parts (Paris, 1937–95), 12:295–301; M.-A. Aris, "P. Radbertus," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Munich, 1977–99), 6:1754–55.

The following abbreviations for the works of Paschasius Radbertus are used throughout: *De assumptione* = *Epistula beati Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione sanctae*

of virtue he discerned with the mind's eye and assimilated in an effort to resemble the transcendent archetype.[3]

This passage of the *Vita Adalhardi* exemplifies several of the characteristic features of ninth-century Frankish culture that have come to be identified with the humanism of the Carolingian period, the most obvious being Radbertus's use of Cicero. Since the nineteenth century, a main built-in assumption of this view has been that interest in ancient literature and the pursuit of the liberal arts are an index of humanism. One readily acknowledges the differences in scope between fifteenth-century *studia humanitatis* and the narrower arts curriculum known in the eighth and ninth centuries. Nevertheless, some authors of the Carolingian age exhibited a deep enough familiarity with the classics that it is possible to affirm that they anticipated at least some of the spirit of later Renaissance humanism.[4]

Mariae virginis, ed. A. Ripberger, CCM 56C (Turnhout, 1985); *De benedictionibus* = *De benedictionibus patriarcharum Iacob et Moysi*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 96 (Turnhout, 1993); *De corpore* = *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 16 (Turnhout, 1969); *Epistola* = *Epistola Radberti Pascasii ad Fredugardum*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 16 (Turnhout, 1969); *Epitaphium* = *Epitaphium Arsenii*, ed. E. Dümmler, Abh. Akad. Berlin 2 (Berlin, 1900), 1–98; *De fide* = *De fide, spe et caritate*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 97 (Turnhout, 1990); *In Lamentationes* = *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 85 (Turnhout, 1989); *In Matheo* = *Expositio in Matheo libri XII*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 56, 56A, and 56B (Turnhout, 1984); *De partu* = *De partu uirginis*, ed. E. A. Matter, CCM 56C (Turnhout, 1985); *In Psalmum 44* = *Expositio in Psalmum 44*, ed. B. Paulus, CCM 94 (Turnhout, 1991); *De passione* = *De passione sanctorum Rufini et Valerii*, PL 120:1489–1508; *Sermones de assumptione* = *Sermones de assumptione beatissimae et gloriosae virginis Mariae*, PL 96:239–59; *VA* = *Vita sancti Adalhardi*, PL 120:1507–56. I cite only these editions of Radbertus's works. Each reference will include the abbreviated title followed by arabic numerals standing for book, chapter, line, and, in parentheses, page. Because the commentary on the Gospel of Matthew is printed in three volumes, all references to it will include, in parentheses, the CCM volume number (56, 56A, or 56B) before the page number.

[3] *VA* 19–21 (1518B–19D), with the key phrase "in se Christi reformavit imaginem" at 1519C. The Zeuxis story is found in Cicero, *De inventione* 2.1 (Loeb Classical Library 386 [Cambridge, MA, 1976], 166 and 168). On the borrowing see David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia 20 (Sigmaringen, 1990), 111–12, and Dieter von der Nahmer, "Die Bibel im Adalhardsleben des Radbert von Corbie," *Studi Medievali*, Serie terza 23 (1982): 15–83, at 28–29. Adalhard's emulation of the particular virtue of various saints parallels the traditional theme of the monastic disciple's emulation of the particular virtue of this or that elder within the community, which goes back at least to Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 4 (PG 26:835–976, at 846B). See Siegmund Hellmann, "Einhards literarische Stellung," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932): 40–110, at 103, n. 227, and Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae* 7 (ed. G. Waitz, MGH, Scriptores 15.1, 125.8–10). Radbertus also used the story about Zeuxis in the general prologue of his *In Matheo*, Prologus 158–68 (56, 6), and in the *Epitaphium* 1 (18–19).

[4] The application of the term humanism in the Carolingian period manifests what Wallace K. Ferguson (*The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Criticism* [New

It is clear that the humanism of an author such as Radbertus is not simply a function of the number and range of his references to classical literature. Because the subjects of the trivium were at the heart of all education, it is not surprising to find much evidence that ancient Latin authors were read and appreciated in the monasteries of the Carolingian era, as well as other periods of the Middle Ages. It has therefore occurred to many scholars to seek some qualitative measure of monastic humanism by inquiring about the intention and spirit in which the religious resorted to the classics. Jean Leclercq offered an analysis of monastic humanism on the basis of two conflicts or tensions: first, the relation between their Christian spiritual life and the profane realities that cloistered readers encountered through classical Latin literature; second, the tension between ideas of human misery and ideas of human nobility. He observed that medieval authors could resolve each conflict on one or two levels, namely the level of practical conduct and the level of theory or principle. While modern scholars have at times given priority to one of these conflicts, or have studied one to the exclusion of the other, Leclercq maintained that it was important to address each of the tensions and to keep in view the lines connecting them.[5]

Leclercq argued that the monastic culture of the early Middle Ages reconciled in itself literary or historical humanism and integral or eschatological humanism. The former involves the study of ancient Latin literature as a means of enriching the mind and sensibilities of the reader. In addition to gaining Latin literacy through the use of the Roman grammarians and poets, the religious gained from the ancients a refined sense of beauty and a delight in words and verbal imagery. They read the classics not for the sake of understanding ancient culture on its own terms, but in order to appropriate those aspects of that culture that would contribute to the harmonious development of the human subject. As a consequence, monastic humanism should not be confused with that of the renaissance *umanisti* for whom the exploration of classical literature and the "type of ancient humanity" reflected in it was an end in itself. The latter strand of monastic humanism Leclercq termed integral or eschatological humanism. By this he meant a human life ordered according to God, with the aim of "increasing in man the influence of Him Who alone is 'perfect Man,' the Christ, the Son of

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York, 1948], 329–85) termed the "revolt of the medievalists"; that is, the effort of some scholars to establish that this or that century of the Middle Ages featured more robust symptoms of humanism than Jacob Burckhardt and other nineteenth-century historians of culture had realized.

[5] Jean Leclercq, "L'humanisme des moines au moyen âge," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* 7:959–71, at 960; idem, "L'humanisme bénédictin du VIIIe au XIIe siècle," *Analecta monastica* 1 (1948): 1–20; idem, "Umanesimo Monastica," *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* 9, ed. G. Pelliccia and G. Rocca (Rome, 1997): 1469–72.

God Who is to return in His glory."[6] This highest humanism is eschatological in the sense that only after the general resurrection of the dead and Last Judgment will human beings come to enjoy in full the true human dignity that was revealed in the Word made flesh.[7] Notwithstanding their occasional expressions of reservation about, or even rejection of, secular culture, the monks Leclercq studied reconciled the integral humanism of the ascetic life with the historical humanism of their time. In short, monastic humanism is embedded in the Latinity of cloistered authors and in the modes of thought their language expressed, rather than in their explicit references to classical literature.[8]

Modern discussions of Radbertus's thought have identified clear traces of the literary form of humanism as Leclercq described it. A case in point occurs in the *Vita Adalhardi*, where the description of Abbot Adalhard is a meeting place for the classical language of moral beauty and the Christian, biblical idiom of divine glory. The elements here are easy to identify. On one side, the terms he used to describe the abbot were central to the classical aesthetics of proportion, effulgence, and utility.[9] Radbertus and his contemporaries assimilated the language of ancient beauty — in particular words such as *decus*, *species*, *forma*,[10] *illustratus*,[11] *aptus*, *congruus*, and *dignus*[12] — as it was mediated through the works of the Latin fathers Boethius, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Bede, but also directly from some ancient sources, such as Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Quintilian, and the grammarians. Also traditional was the application of these aesthetic terms in a moral sense to the character of the abbot, whose faith and holiness were even more beautiful than his handsome visage.[13] On the other side, Radbertus's terminology reflects the biblical language of divine glory as this illuminates the human subject. The restored soul becomes a garden redolent with virtues, a second paradise, which emits the

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[6] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, 2nd English ed., trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York, 1977), 179.

[7] Leclercq, "L'humanisme des moins au moyen âge," 968.

[8] Ibid., 962.

[9] Pascal Weitmann, *Sukzession und Gegenwart: Zu theoretischen Äußerungen über bildende Künste und Musik von Basileios bis Hrabanus Maurus* (Wiesbaden, 1997); W. Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics*, 4 vols., ed. C. Barrett, trans. Adam Czerniawski and Ann Czerniawski (The Hague, 1970); idem, "Form in the History of Aesthetics," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, 4 vols. (New York, 1973), 2:216–25; Edgar De Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale*, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1946; repr. Paris, 1998).

[10] *VA* 4 (1509C).

[11] Ibid., 50 (1534C).

[12] Ibid., 15 (1516D).

[13] Ibid.

ambrosial fragrance of heaven.[14] The soul is the lovely bride of the Song of Solomon, adorned again with the nuptial robe she had once cast off through sin.[15] In the restored soul, the Holy Spirit finds both a suitable dwelling place (1 Cor. 6:19)[16] and a musical instrument attuned to divinity.[17]

More striking than any one of these themes taken on its own is the manner in which Radbertus combined them in a unified discourse. The unity of the work is such that its individual, constitutive elements may be removed and examined singly only with difficulty and at the risk of misunderstanding the meaning the author intended to convey.[18] Indeed, this integrity of the classical and Christian compound furnishes some justification for the conventional understanding of Radbertus's humanism.

Examples of this blending include Radbertus's pairing of pagan and biblical literary references, as when he quoted a passage from Virgil's *Georgics* in close association with a phrase from Psalms 34:8 (Vulgate 33:9) to describe the angelic repose and sweet taste of the Lord that Adalhard enjoyed at the monastery of Noirmoutier.[19] Again, Radbertus presented the classical cardinal virtues as the virtues that adorn the Pauline new man. Profoundly reformed in God, Adalhard advanced on a *quadriga*, the wheels

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[14] *VA* 9 (1513), 10 (1514A), 19 (1518B), 42 (1531A). See also *In Lamentationes* 2.666–79 (100), where Radbertus wrote that through moral corruption the virtuous soul turns from "hortus deliciarum Dei" into the "hortus concupiscentiarum" of Sargon the Assyrian (Isa. 20:1). For a related theme at Carolingian Reichenau and St. Gall, see Walter Berschin, *Eremus und Insula: St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter; Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1987).

[15] *VA* 21 (1519B–C), 54 (1536B), 58 (1538B), 62 (1539D). For similar themes in a different work of Radbertus, see Alf Härdelin, "An Epithalamium for Nuns: Imagery and Spirituality in Paschasius Radbertus' *Exposition of Psalm 44(45)*," in idem, ed., *In Quest of the Kingdom: Ten Papers on Medieval Monastic Spirituality* (Stockholm, 1991), 79–107.

[16] *VA* 26 (1521D) and 28 (1522D). See also *In Lamentationes* 1.1064–83 (41–42), for an inventory of the moral virtues that adorn the soul/temple of the Holy Spirit.

[17] *VA* 10 (1514B), 14 (1516B), 27 (1522C), 88 (1552C). See also *In Lamentationes* 2.779–80 (103), for the harmony of the virtues resonating in the soul/temple of the Holy Spirit. For a consideration of Christian attunement or consonance with God, see Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Seeing the Form*, trans. E. Leiva-Merikakis, vol. 1 of *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics* (San Francisco, 1982; repr. 1989), 241–57.

[18] For an example of this point about unified discourse involving a particular rhetorical figure, see Alexandru Cizek, "Der 'Charakterismos' in der *Vita Adalhardi* des Radbert von Corbie," *Rhetorica* 7 (1989): 185–204, and my "Present Absence: From Rhetorical Figure to Eucharistic *Veritas* in the Thought of Paschasius Radbertus," *Fides Quaerens Intellectum* 3 (2005): 139–68. For general remarks on the patristic and medieval "freedom of allowing validity to the partial within a surpassing whole," see Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Realm of Metaphysics in Antiquity*, trans. B. McNeil et al., vol. 4 of *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics* (San Francisco, 1989), 342.

[19] *VA* 42 (1530D–31A), where *Georgics* 2.467–68 appears.

of which were prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance.[20] And an echo of the Christianized metaphysics of beauty that had developed in the patristic period is discernible in Radbertus's use of *De arithmetica* of Boethius in a "spiritual geometry" twice in the *Life*.[21]

As these examples from the *Vita Adalhardi* show, Leclercq's view of the literary aspect of humanism provides a valuable conceptual framework for understanding one part of Radbertus's thought.[22] But this approach is incomplete. While modern scholarship has attended carefully to Radbertus's literary humanism, it has almost entirely ignored the second coordinate of monastic humanism that Leclercq identified, namely ideas of human misery and ideas of human nobility. This imbalance has resulted in an account of Radbertus's humanism that focuses narrowly on the question of his use of ancient Latin literature and his adaptation of ancient modes of thought within the experience of monastic life. The present study aims to recover a fuller view of his humanism by focusing on Radbertus's theological anthro-

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[20] *VA* 16 (1517A), where, in his account of the abbot's prudence, Radbertus wrote that "fons consilii ex ejus animo manare videretur." In the same passage, the author repeated the commonplace, which had Stoic antecedents, that prudence consists in the discernment of past, present, and future, but then concluded with the biblical observation that "sequendum Dei consilio" was fundamental to the abbot's prudence. On this see Sibylle Mähl, *Quadriga virtutum: Die Kardinaltugenden in der Geistesgeschichte der Karolingerzeit* (Cologne, 1969), 105, n. 170. On the relationship between prudence and the boy of Matthew 18:2, see *In Matheo* 8.2221–46 (56A, 866–67).

[21] First, *VA* 34 (1527), where Adalhard and his two brothers and two sisters form a *diapente*, the Greek term for the harmonic interval of the fifth; and their proportion is one and a half, for three stands in relation to two as one and a half stands to one. This harmony of the siblings on earth seems to anticipate the celestial harmony of the elect in heaven as described in the *Egloga* 172–74 (ed. L. Traube, MGH, Poetae Aevi Karolini 3 [Berlin, 1896; repr. 1964], 51): "Omnia concelebrant inibi pia gaudia passim / Et resonant omnes uno de corde canentes / Mellifluas voces in talia carmine quisque," which Radbertus appended to the *VA*. For another reference to the diapson, see *In Matheo* 9.1583–87 (56B, 979). Second, *VA* 66–67 (1541B–42A), where, noting that the topography of the new monastery at Corvey had the shape of the Greek character *delta* (Δ), Radbertus related the perfection of the triangle to that of the Trinity, and then to the Benedictine concept of the broadened heart (*dilatatum cor*). For "dilatato corde," see *Regula sancti Benedicti*, Prologue 49 (ed. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, SC 181 [Paris, 1972], 424). On this debt to Boethius, *De arithmetica* 1.1 (ed. Henry Oosthout and J. Schilling, CCL 94A [Turnhout, 1999], 13, 107–9), and for the phrase "spiritual geometry," see Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (n. 3 above), 109 and 114.

[22] Even the outstanding study of Raffaele Savigni, "'Sapientia Divina' e 'Sapientia Humana' in Rabano Mauro e Pascasio Radberto," in *Gli umanesimi medievali*, Atti del II Congresso dell'Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee, ed. Claudio Leonardi (Florence, 1998), 591–615, which is in part a response to Gérard Mathon, "Pascase Radbert et l'évolution de l'humanisme carolingien: Recherches sur la signification des Préfaces des libres I et III de *l'Expositio in Matthaeum*," *Corbie abbaye royale:* Volume du XIIIe centenaire (Lille, 1963), 135–55, remains within the horizon of literary humanism.

pology, especially his understanding of the body, as the key to his spirituality and culture.

The importance of theological anthropology becomes apparent when we return to the story of Zeuxis that Radbertus used in the *Vita Adalhardi*. Unlike the ancient painter, Adalhard's aim in emulating the best features of those around him was not the creation of a new image, but instead the reformation of the image of Christ in himself. This reference to the image of Christ brings us to the heart of Radbertus's project, for the decisive form-giver in the *Vita Adalhardi* is the Lord himself, whose example of loving obedience and humility becomes the archetype after which Adalhard was reconfigured.[23] Furthermore, it is when we begin to flesh out the objective content of the image of Christ reformed in Adalhard that the question of what it means to be human presents itself as fundamental for any understanding of humanism. The point here is not to deny the importance of the compound of secular ideas of beauty and biblical ideas of glory that Radbertus established in the *Life*; the examples already adduced show that Leclercq's notion of literary or historical humanism is applicable in the case of the *Vita Adalhardi*. But in Radbertus's case, Leclercq's remarks about the second coordinate of monastic humanism, namely ideas of human misery and human nobility, require fuller consideration before we can take the measure of Radbertus's humanism. In other words, the beauty and glory represented here go beyond humanism understood as a syncretism of biblical and classical literary and aesthetic forms in the service of an ideology that exhibits some willingness to picture human dignity as a function of Man's rational mind.

Several elements of the *Life* cannot be reconciled with classical ideas of aesthetic and metaphysical beauty. The Lord's glorification through abasement, self-emptying (*kenosis*), and descent into abandonment involves such a downward momentum of grotesque suffering and tortured deformity that it pulverizes classical standards of moderation, balance, harmony, order, aptness, and utility. Adalhard's assimilation to the Son's sacrifice, undertaken both in obedience to the Father and out of love for human beings, involves the abbot in a glory that does not fit the conventional understanding of Carolingian humanism.

Prominent in the portrait of Adalhard are just these kenotic elements of the image of Christ, namely love and descent into suffering.[24] According to

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[23] Savigni, "'Sapientia Divina' e 'Sapientia Humana,'" 610, appreciates this, as do Karl F. Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton, 1982), 126–27, and von der Nahmer, "Die Bibel im Adalhardsleben des Radbert von Corbie" (n. 3 above), 28 and 82.

[24] Carrying Christ's cross, *VA* 7 (1512A) and 82 (1549A). See also ibid., 64 (1540D): "qui ore ac manibus, cum omni circumstantia facultatum, pro libertate Christi erat omnium

Radbertus, monastic life provides not only a means of withdrawal, purification, and spiritual ascent towards the next world, but a terrestrial foretaste of the mutual love and unity of worship as these will exist in heaven. As a consequence, the *Life* includes both references to the abbot's desire to ascend to the contemplative vision of God and, what is more important here, references to the friendship and love he extended to other monks.[25] Stemming from love, which Radbertus explained "maxima lex sibi est,"[26] is the theme of the abbot as mother, a motif that modern scholarship has emphasized as a characteristic feature of the thought of St. Anselm and of Cistercian spirituality in the twelfth century, but which is already clearly evident in the *Vita Adalhardi*.[27]

Above all, the intense grief and sense of loss that animate the entire *Life* create an imbalance in the work that threatens to upset the equilibrium between secular beauty and biblical glory. Radbertus was aware of the conventions of the literary consolation as these were exemplified in the works of Ambrose, Jerome, and Sulpicius Severus. In particular he knew that, according to those conventions, the mourner's sorrow should eventually give way to joy; in other words, that grief over the dead should resolve in a proleptic vision of the wedding feast of the elect and the eschatological Lamb. But as Peter von Moos has observed, in the *Vita Adalhardi* lamentation does not cease, and Adalhard explicitly cited Jesus' behavior as justification for excessive grief for the beloved abbot.[28] Von Moos notes that the urgency of Radbertus's grief surpasses that of his literary models, and that not before the twelfth century does such an open reference to Christ's purely human

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servus." For participating in the poverty of Christ, see ibid., 23 (1520B), 56 (1537B), and 68 (1543A).

[25] For instance *VA* 47 (1533C–D) and 71 (1544A). For general orientation, though with no specific reference to Radbertus, see Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250* (Kalamazoo, 1988).

[26] *VA* 85 (1550C).

[27] Ibid., 5 (1510B), quoting Venantius Fortunatus, Appendix I (PL 88: 593C). See also *VA* 6 (1510D). See also *VA* 68 (1542B), 72 (1544C), 79 (1547B), 82 (1549B), and 71 (1543D), the last of which is cited by Caroline Walker Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing," chapter 4 of her *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 110–69, at 127, n. 59. See also M. L. Dutton, "Christ our Mother: Aelred's Iconography for Contemplative Union," *Goad and Nail*, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History 10 (Kalamazoo, 1985): 21–45. On men's use of female symbols in the later Middle Ages, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), 282–88.

[28] See *VA* 4 (1509D): "qui dum video Dominum Jesum Christum, Lazarum quem diligebat flevisse mortuum, et non solum flevisse, verum turbatum fuisse spiritu, nimium flere cogor." See also ibid., 3 (1509C) and 73 (1544D). On Christ's tears for Lazarus, see also *In Lamentationes* 3.2159 (218).

love for Lazarus appear. Radbertus's most distinctive contribution to the tradition of consolation literature is this justification of excess (*nimietas*) in mourning.[29]

This kenotic, discordant theme present in the *Life* and in Radbertus's other works is likely to be overlooked or misinterpreted as a manifestation of humanism when the latter is understood in the lopsided way outlined above. The received idea of humanism, understood chiefly as an interest in ancient pagan high culture, hardly connects with the Christo-mimetic motifs that are central in the *Vita Adalhardi* and, as we shall see, with Radbertus's wider conception of the human person.

Leclercq never worked out in detail the implications of his second coordinate of monastic humanism.[30] The task of analyzing and assessing western medieval views about human misery and human nobility has fallen to other scholars, for example Robert Bultot, Pierre Courcelle, Robert Javelet, and Peter von Moos, though it is important to add that these authors have not always seen their work as a contribution to the history of medieval humanism.[31] Glenn Olsen has recently drawn theological anthropology in its historical dimension to the center of the discussion of medieval humanism, thereby making it possible to gain a more nuanced sense of the ways authors selected and employed the means at their disposal (including, but

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[29] Peter von Moos, *Consolatio: Studien zur mittellateinischen Trostliteratur über den Tod und zum Problem der christlichen Trauer,* 4 vols., Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 3 (Munich, 1971–72), 1:137–46, especially 143. On the importance of *VA* 25–26 (1521–22B) in the longer history of the gift of tears, see Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au moyen âge: Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (Ve–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2000), 163–65, who considers this passage of *VA* to be the richest discussion of the gift of tears written in the Carolingian period.

[30] He did, however, emphasize (Leclercq, *Love of Learning* [n. 6 above], 36–37 and idem, "L'humanisme des moines au moyen âge" [n. 5 above], 961) some of the ways in which Gregory the Great's vivid awareness of the contrast between Man's created dignity and his actual corrupt state influenced western monastic authors for centuries. He also noted, for instance ("L'humanisme des moins au moyen âge," 964), that some authors of the Carolingian period expressed more overt interest than Pope Gregory the Great had in human nobility, though they were not inclined to quarrel with Gregory or Augustine.

[31] Robert Bultot, *Christianisme et valeurs humaines. A. La doctrine du mépris du monde, en occident, de S. Ambroise à Innocent III,* vol. 4 in 2 parts, *Le XIe siècle* (Louvain and Paris, 1963–64); idem, "La 'dignité de l'homme' selon S. Pierre Damien," *Studi Medievali,* Serie terza 13 (1972): 27–53; idem, "Le mépris du monde chez S. Colomban," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 4 (1961): 356–68; Pierre Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même: De Socrate à Saint Bernard,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1975); Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle: De Saint Anselme à Alain de Lille,* 2 vols. (Strasbourg, 1967); von Moos, *Consolatio*; see also Gérard Mathon's dissertation, "L'anthropologie chretienne en occident de saint Augustin à Jean Scot Erigène" (Lille, 1964).

not exclusively, the classics and their ideas about human dignity and misery) to express the concerns of their culture.[32]

In the medieval West, this was a Christocentric anthropology, for Christ revealed not only God but what it is to be human as well. This observation, that the understanding of the human person reflects Christology, is in keeping with New Testament passages such as Colossians 1:15–17 ("He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in him all things in heaven and on earth were created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers — all things have been created through him and for him. He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together"). The paradox of the Lord's glory in abasement brings into focus the human condition itself, a condition characterized both by the pathos of a sinful "not yet" and the grandeur of a divinization that is already realized in part. Christ showed that the human subject must be located at the intersection of descending and ascending trajectories.[33] Olsen is not alone when he emphasizes the need to correlate changing ideas about what it is to be human with the image of Christ as this evolved during the Middle Ages. Among historians of western theology and spirituality this "anthropological turn" has brought a renewed interest in the analogy Augustine identified between the duality of natures within a unity of person in Jesus Christ on one side, and the duality of soul and body unified as an individual human being on the other. The further possibility of gaining some understanding of the simultaneous unity and multiplicity of "Deus Trinitas" by its analogy to the image of God rooted in the structure of the human soul was a second aspect of Augustine's thought that proved remarkably fruitful in medieval thought about the human person.[34]

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[32] Glenn W. Olsen, "John of Salisbury's Humanism," in *Gli umanesimi medievali* (n. 22 above), 447–68; idem, "Twelfth-Century Humanism Reconsidered: The Case of St. Bernard," *Studi Medievali* Serie terza 31 (1990): 27–53; idem, "From Bede to the Anglo-Saxon Presence in the Carolingian Empire," in *Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols., Settimane de studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 32 (Spoleto, 1986), 1.305–32, at 320–30.

[33] See Olsen, "Twelfth-Century Humanism Reconsidered," 28–29, who cites Joseph Ratzinger [Benedict XVI], *Behold the Pierced One: An Approach to a Spiritual Christology*, trans. Graham Harrison (San Francisco, 1986), 52–53. That this observation continues to have a relevance even in the modern period is clear, for example, in the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* (*Gaudium et Spes*) 22, which Pope Paul VI promulgated in 1965, which states that "only in the mystery of the incarnate Word does the mystery of man take on light."

[34] Andrea Milano, *Persona in Teologia: Alle origini del significato di Persona nel Cristianesimo antico*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1996), 17, 261, 280–89, considers these issues and, at 289, uses the phrase "svolta antropologica." For a study of one Carolingian era thinker's understanding of person, see Vincent Serralda, *La philosophie de la personne chez Alcuin* (Paris, 1978).

Among other themes that would be worth pursuing in this regard, the understanding of the heart and the body had an important influence upon the history of medieval western spirituality and ideas about personhood. Ancient high culture tended to view the rational mind, not the heart, as the essential faculty of Man, whether leading the philosophical life of contemplation or the civic life of practical reason, and to emphasize the intellect's role as pilot of the irrational faculties and steward of the senses. This nexus of ideas helped shape early Christian doctrines of the human person and continued to influence even those patristic and medieval authors who were aware of a psychology more in keeping with Scripture, which often featured the heart as the spiritual summit of Man and the locus of his contact with divine grace. A new synthesis focused on the heart eventually emerged thanks to the tension between the platonizing image of the human person as a hierarchy of members and faculties and the Stoic doctrine of Man as centered on a single ruling principle, the *pneuma* or spark of the divine Logos, located in the depths of the heart.[35] Just as the Logos could be equated with the sun as center of the cosmos, at the center of Man the microcosm is the heart, "the Logos in us." Having no form of its own, the divine spark manifests itself in different modes according to the activities and operations of the various parts of the human mind and body. Origen and other Christian authors adopted this more unified image of the human person by assimilating the Stoic Logos to the Logos of the Gospel of John.[36] In turn, the possibility of a meaningful integration of the non-rational faculties, such as the affections, will, and senses in an account of the human person that centered on the heart gradually became apparent.[37]

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[35] Olsen, "John of Salisbury's Humanism," 447 n. 1, and idem, "Twelfth-Century Humanism Reconsidered," 43–45. For an older but still valuable survey of these developments, see Endre von Ivánka, *Plato Christianus: Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter* (Einsiedeln, 1964; repr., 1990), 309–85; for guidance to recent work on the history of the heart see *Il Cuore/The Heart*, Micrologus Library 11 (Florence, 2003) and Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago, 2000).

[36] See for example Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel according to John, Books 1–10*, 2.215 and 6.189 (trans. R. E. Heine, Fathers of the Church 80 [Washington, 1989], 153 and 221); for further references see Ivánka, *Plato Christianus*, 325–28; on Augustine's role in this development see Anton Maxsein, *Philosophia Cordis: Das Wesen der Personalität bei Augustinus* (Salzburg, 1966).

[37] See Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004) and Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford, 2000). For a recent overview of the historiography of emotions in the West, see Barbara Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 821–45; see also eadem, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Use of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1998); on the problem of the history of emotions in the modern period, see the review essay of James Smith Allen, "Navigating the Social Sciences: A Theory for the Meta-History of Emotions," *History and Theory* 42 (2003): 82–93, with spe-

Prior to understanding the constitutive role of the heart and the non-rational faculties of the soul is the question of the body's contribution to the human subject. While the mind might in some way exist apart from matter, the heart, and certainly the soul in its nutritive, sensitive, and affective dimensions, presuppose the existence of a body. The changing estimation of the human body between late antiquity and the high Middle Ages, which is a fundamental part of the story of humanism in the wider sense, has received much attention from scholars in the last twenty years.[38] The apprehension of the body and the doubts about the character and density of psychosomatic unity that were an important feature of ancient thought affected Christian culture and monasticism almost from the start. Although strict matter-spirit dualism quickly came to be considered beyond the pale of orthodoxy, before the emergence of a hylomorphic account of the human person in the thirteenth century it often proved difficult to picture the body not as an obstacle to, but as the soul's partner in, sanctification. This was especially the case in settings where asceticism and monastic discipline were prominent. Implicated also in this oscillation between acceptance and apprehension were the body's principal drives and powers, whether alimentary, sensory, or erotic.[39]

Raffaele Savigni has recently drawn attention to the role of the body in Radbertus's understanding of the human subject.[40] Savigni focuses on the

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cial reference to William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001).

[38] The bibliography is vast. In addition to the works cited by Olsen, "John of Salisbury's Humanism," 448–50, and idem, "Twelfth-Century Humanism Reconsidered," 36–38, orientation in the field is available in Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, eds., *Anima e corpo nella cultura medievale*, Atti del V Convegno di studi della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale, Millenio Medievale 15 (Florence, 1999); *I discorsi dei corpi/ The Discourses of the Body*, Micrologus Library 1 (Florence, 1993); *Le cadavre: Anthropologie, archéologie, imaginaire social (Moyen Age, Renaissance)*, Micrologus Library 7 (Florence, 1999). Also valuable are Amy Hollywood, "Inside Out: Beatrice of Nazareth and Her Hagiographer," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. C. Mooney (Philadelphia, 1999), 78–89; Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1998); Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995); Richard Valantasis, "Daemons and the Perfecting of the Monk's Body: Monastic Anthropology, Daemonology, and Asceticism," *Semia* 58 (1992): 47–79.

[39] For example see the essays collected in Glenn W. Olsen, ed., *Christian Marriage: A Historical Study* (New York, 2001); Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, eds., *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York, 1999); and my "The Priority of Sight according to Peter the Venerable," *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 123–57.

[40] Recently in "'Sapientia Divina' e 'Sapientia Humana'" (n. 22 above), 595–96, and earlier in, "Esegesi medievale ed antropologia biblica: L'interpretazione di *Genesi* 1–3 nei commentari carolingi ed i suoi fondamenti patristici," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 10 (1993): 571–614.

interpretation of Man's creation in the image and after the likeness of God (Gen. 1:26) in the five surviving commentaries on Genesis from the Carolingian period. He looks for correlations between the several senses of Scripture and the individuation of the various levels of the Christian life for which these senses were taken to stand, on the one hand, and, on the other, the idea that only the rational human soul bears Man's image-likeness relation to God, which in one form or another was the usual interpretation of Genesis 1:26 in that period.[41] Directly or indirectly behind this common interpretation was Origen, who maintained that the angels had been created before the scriptural account began and that the six days saw only the creation of corporeal reality. From this idea a series of dichotomous images followed, including that of an angelic plane of pure spirit and human world of matter, and that of an uninterrupted celestial vision of God and earthbound Man's view of divine reality as mediated through Scripture. In keeping with his understanding of the Logos in its divine being as the invisible image of the invisible God, Origen pictured only the human soul's higher, rational part as made after the image of God.[42] So influential was this idea upon subsequent theologians, above all upon Augustine, that centuries later Carolingian authors such as the author of the so-called *Dicta Albini*, Theodulf of Orleans (as principal author of the *Opus Caroli contra Synodum*), Paulinus of Aquileia, and Benedict of Aniane equated human nobility with the rational soul and saw its expression in Man's lordship over the rest of terrestrial creation.[43] In this tradition, the image-relation to God is the ontological structure of the human soul, permanent and inamissible for all; God-likeness, however, was lost with sin and is to be regained through grace and moral adhesion in a dynamic process that for a few is complete in this life, but for most only in the eschatological future.

Although Radbertus wrote no commentary on Genesis, his thought figures in Savigni's discussion as one important variation on the theme of the image-likeness relation. Alone among Carolingian authors, Radbertus located the "imago Dei" in the whole human being, body as well as soul,

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[41] Savigni, "Esegesi medievale ed antropologia biblica," 573.

[42] Ibid., 581–85; on Origen's views see Henri Crouzel, *Théologie de l'image de Dieu chez Origène* (Paris, 1956), and A.-G. Hamman, *L'homme image de Dieu: Essai d'une anthropologie chrétienne dans l'Eglise des cinq premiers siècles* (Paris, 1987), 127–52.

[43] For Augustine see G. Heidl, *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine: A Chapter in the History of Origenism* (South Bend, 2003). Some of the key Carolingian texts associated with the pseudo-Ambrosian *De dignitate conditionis humanae* are gathered by John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), 144–70; for Alcuin's approach to the soul's created dignity, see R. A. Peretó Rivas, "Alcuino de York: Sobre el Alma y sus Dignidades," *Mirabilia: Revista Eletrônica de História Antiga e Medieval* 4 (2004), http://www.revistamirabilia.com/num3/num4/artigos/art8.htm.

apparently aligning himself with the second-century figure Irenaeus, who, though rarely cited in the early medieval West, had understood the human image-relation to God in light of the incarnate Son's status as image of the Father.[44] Irenaeus took Romans 8:29 ("For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn within a large family") to mean among other things that the embodied human being prefigured the incarnate Lord. In other words, Radbertus had at least some familiarity with a patristic account in which the whole human being, body and soul, had a part in the image-relation, as an alternative to the Origenist account (in which the body has no part in that relation), which had such a great subsequent influence upon the thought of the medieval Latin West. Although Radbertus's references to this central concept of Irenaean anthropology are few, and although they occur in a literary corpus that is deeply Augustinian in its orientation, they invite us to examine in detail the monk of Corbie's approach to the body.[45] Such an examination will provide the point of departure for a separate study of Radbertus's understanding of the heart and the soul's non-rational faculties.

Radbertus's Understanding of the Body

The Human Subject as Hierarchy

Let us examine some of the effects that assimilation to Christ and participation in the Church, that is, in a grace-filled *communio*, have upon the

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[44] Maria Lodovica Arduini, "Alla ricerca di un Ireneo medievale," *Studi medievali*, Serie terza 21 (1980): 269–99, at 281–82; on the anthropology of Irenaeus, with references to the literature, see Hamman, *L'homme image de Dieu*, 49–76 and 307–10; see also Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Studies in Theological Style: Clerical Styles*, trans. A. Louth et al., vol. 2 of *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics* (San Francisco, 1984), 62–70; Antonio Orbe, *Antropología de San Ireneo* (Madrid, 1969), in particular 32–107.

[45] Savigni, "Esegesi medievale ed antropologia biblica," 600, and idem, "'Sapientia Divina' e 'Sapientia Humana,'" 596, notes references to the key Irenaean idea at *De corpore* 19.9–16 (101–2): "Denique non, sicut quidam uolunt, anima sola hoc mysterio pascitur, quia non sola redimitur morte Christi et saluatur, uerum etiam et caro nostra per hoc ad inmortalitatem et incorruptionem reparatur. Carne [carni] quidem [+ nostrae] caro [+ Christi] spiritaliter conuiscerata transformatur, ut et Christi substantia in nostra carne inueniatur, sicut et ipse nostram in suam constat adsumpsisse deitatem." This recalls Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 4.18.5 (ed. A. Rousseau et al., SC 100, 2 vols. [Paris, 1965], 2: 610–12), and ibid., 5.2.3 (ed. A. Rousseau et al., SC 153 [Paris, 1969], 34–40). Also *In Matheo* 10.697 (56B, 1086). Savigni also notes that the expression "totus homo" recurs several times, as *In Matheo* 2.3716 (56, 230); ibid., 7, prologue, 8 (56A, 690); ibid., 7.837–38 (56A, 716). To these we can add *In Matheo* 10.2070 (56B, 1127): "corpus et anima integer homo accipitur," and *In Lamentationes* 4.1059–60 (276): "integer homo ex duabus constat substantiis anima uidelicet atque carne."

human experience of embodiment as Radbertus understood it. In particular, the argument is that he did not equate sanctification with a metaphysical process of detachment or flight from the body. Although he sometimes used terms that imply a degree of body-soul dualism and a strictly hierarchical notion of the human subject, his deeper commitment was to a centered image of the person in which sin was not directly or indirectly a function of the human being's embodied condition and in which the body could contribute positively to the process of sanctification.

A clear indication that Radbertus considered the human person to be a hierarchically arranged compound of body and soul appears in his reflection on the injunction of Matthew 22:37 ("You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind"). While the whole human being is said to consist in these three parts — heart, soul, mind — this does not mean, as some have asserted, that Man has three substances. Instead, the human person comprises two substances, *anima* and *corpus*. Even the statement of 1 Thessalonians 5:23 ("May the God of peace himself sanctify you entirely; and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound") is no exception to the rule of two substances, because *spiritus* and *anima* are distinct from one another, not in substance, but in function. The soul's lower part, the *anima*, animates or gives life to the body; its higher part, the *spiritus* or *mens*, understands, calculates, and governs.[46] Right order is maintained when the higher soul is subordinate to God and when the body obeys the soul.[47] Because human nature is a hierarchically

[46] On the life-giving *anima* as the vital principle that extends throughout the body and is everywhere wholly present, see *In Matheo* 4.195–201 (56, 367). On tripartite anthropology see ibid., 10.1048–59 (56B, 1097). The source of the three-substances view that Radbertus rejected may have been Didymus the Blind as reported by Gennadius of Marseille, *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* 19 (ed. C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies* 7 [1906]: 93); idem, *De viris inlustribus* 12 (ed. E. C. Richardson, TU 14 [Leipzig, 1896], 65–66). On the importance of this passage for Carolingian thought, and with further references to the secondary literature, see Savigni, "Esegesi medievale ed antropologia biblica," 588–90. See also *In Matheo* 10.1032–59 (56B, 1096–97), where Radbertus also reduced the triad *cor–anima–mens* (Matt. 22:37) to that of *spiritus–anima–corpus* (1 Thess. 5:23) by equating *cor* with *corpus* and *mens* with *spiritus*. As Henri de Lubac, "Tripartite Anthropology," in his *Theology in History*, trans. A. E. Nash (San Francisco, 1996), 147–48, shows, while the latter equation is well founded in the Latin patristic tradition, the former is not. In several other places, referring to the same passage of 1 Thessalonians, Radbertus added that spirit and soul are one substance, and that spirit is also called *mens*, "quae preminet in homine ex qua totus regitur homo." For this see *In Matheo* 11.1976–82 (56B, 1209–10). See also *De corpore* 11.79–81 (75): "Sed quia spiritus noster atque anima una substantia est, licet spiritus aut mens dicatur, ea pars quae praeminet in homine ex qua spiritalis interdum appellatur."

[47] *In Matheo* 8.3568–74 (56A, 908). Radbertus apparently accepted some form of the theory of the senses as extramissive, according to which the five senses allow the soul to

ordered compound of the animal body and the angelic/divine soul, much depends upon the manner in which one characterizes the compound and the role in it one ascribes to the body.

In the biographies of Adalhard and Wala, Radbertus presented death as a welcome escape from the toil and hardship of the present life. The theme is emphatic in the latter work, the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, where he described the body as the *corporea vincula* and *carcer* that confine the soul. He pictured life as an opportunity to practice for death, to try on the *imago mortis*, so to speak. As the soul's release from its confinement, death is comparable to the mind's unimpeded dream vision when the body sleeps.[48] "Nam depositis proprii sensus anima eius [i.e., Wala's] repagulis expedita iam libero cernit obtutu, quae ante sita in corpore videre non poterat. Si enim dormiendo anima ad altiora se subrigit, velut sepulta in corpore, et renuntiat nonnumquam corpori rerum absentium vel etiam celestium visiones: quanto magis cum absoluta est erumnis seculi et tota vivit in Domino, qui ubique vivit, et ubique omnia complet et regit."[49]

The *corpus–carcer* theme, that is, the image of the body as the mind's earthly prison, appeared very rarely in Radbertus's work.[50] Ambrose, whose *De excessu fratris* was a major source for Radbertus, seems to have furnished the inspiration for the references in the *Epitaphium Arsenii* to the penal character of the soul's embodied condition.[51] In any case, Radbertus rejected

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extend itself temporarily beyond the limits of the body. Through them the *anima* of the body is able to perceive other bodies. See ibid., 9.1612–14 (56B, 980).

[48] *Epitaphium* 1.5 (27), body as prison and fetters; ibid., 2.23 (96), putting on the image of death.

[49] Ibid., 2.23 (95).

[50] For background see Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même* vol. 2, part 2 (n. 31 above), 325–414, with some examples from the eighth through the twelfth centuries at 374–76; more recently see Ilario Tolomio, "*Corpus carcer* nell'alto Medioevo: Metamorfosi di un concetto," *Patristica et mediaevalia* 18 (1997): 3–19, which is reprinted in Casagrande and Vecchio, eds., *Anima e corpo nella cultura medievale* (n. 38 above), 3–19; see also *In Matheo* 9.1146–48 (56B, 965), where the apostles are said to have despised not only all vices but also themselves. Although in the wake of the condemnation of Origen's teaching about the embodiment of souls as a form of punishment the *corpus–carcer* lost much of its currency, it still appeared often enough, for instance in the writings of Columbanus, Cassiodorus, John of Fécamp, and Abelard. On Columbanus see Robert Bultot, "Le mépris du monde chez saint Colomban," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 4 (1961): 356–68, at 365; on Cassiodorus and John of Fécamp see Tolomio, "*Corpus Carcer* nell'Alto Medioevo," 8 and 10; see also Peter Abelard, *Dialogus inter philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum* 1653–56 (ed. Rudolf Thomas [Stuttgart, 1970], 103).

[51] *Epitaphium* 1:5 (27), with reliance on Ambrose, *De excessu fratris* 1.72 (ed. O. Faller, CSEL 73 [Vienna, 1955], 247); on Ambrose see Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même*, vol. 2, part 2, 362; on Radbertus's debt to Ambrose here see Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (n. 3 above), 115–16; von Moos, *Consolatio* 1 (n. 29 above), paragraph 140 and Anmerkungsband, 100–101.

as erroneous the presumably Origenist view that souls existed in heaven before being sent into bodies.[52] Much more common in his writings was language that implied some degree of body–soul dualism and a strictly hierarchical notion of the self. Radbertus's comment on Matthew 6:10 ("Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven") well illustrates the attraction that a matter–spirit dualism had for Radbertus. Relying on the poet Sedulius, Radbertus wrote that the human person is a compound of heaven and earth, *anima* and *corpus*, and he equated this duality with the conflict between spirit (*spiritus*) and flesh (*caro*) as pictured in Galatians 5:17 ("the flesh desires against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh"). He explained that here "per terram carnalitas designatur per quam malignis spiritibus in nobis datur accessus." This is the earth that the serpent was condemned to eat after the Fall (Gen. 3:14); it is the flesh "that the wicked draw near to eat" (Ps. 26:2). According to Radbertus, this earth that acts against the will of God is the carnal Man who struggles against God. The earthly or carnal part of the human subject he associated with corruptibility.[53]

Again in the *De passione sanctorum Rufini et Valerii*, Radbertus described the body as a burden on the soul and a friend to vice. In the course of his justification for making a stylistic revision of the older *Passio*, Radbertus wrote that the record of the lives and virtue of saints should be preserved even more carefully than are saints' relics. The former confer greater benefits than the latter. Although the faithful gain heavenly patronage through bits of clothing and the bodily remains of the holy dead, they find much greater means of salvation in the lives and virtues of the saints, for these strengthen faith and piety, just as they inspire contempt for the world and desire for heaven. The stories of the saints are incentives of sanctity and steps ascending to the threshold of heavenly contemplation. Relics are corruptible, earthly, mortal, and reminders of the punishment of the first sin; stories of saintly virtue are lasting, heavenly, eternal, and evidence of the gift of new freedom. "Corpus namque quod corrumpitur, deprimit honestatis

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[52] *In Matheo* 12. 651–52 (56B, 1287).

[53] Ibid., 4.891–913 (56, 389–90), with reliance upon Sedulius, *Paschale Carmen* 2.17 (ed. J. Huemer, CSEL 10 [Vienna, 1885], 223, 16–18); on this see Savigni, "'Sapientia Divina' e 'Sapientia Humana'" (n. 22 above), 596, who recognizes the importance in this context of Radbertus's borrowing from Sedulius. A similar convergence of *caro* and *corpus* occurs in Radbertus's *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (249C): "Idcirco egredimini ex iis angustiis carnalibus; exuite vos veterem hominem, et induite novum qui secundum Deum creatus est. Egredimini ex hac dilectione carnali, ne sollicitudo praesentis vitae ac voluptatis suffocet in vobis verbum vitae, quo seminatum est in corde. Peregrinamini magis a corpore, ut cum Deo adesse possitis, quoniam 'qui in carne sunt Deo placere non possunt' [Rom. 8:8]. Vos autem, charissimae, jam in carne non estis, quae carnis opera in vobis mortificatis, sed in spiritu. 'Quicunque ergo spiritu Dei aguntur, ii filii sunt Dei' [Rom. 8:14]."

ac sapientiae meritum, non elevat, et carni et sanguini amica sunt vitia, contrariae virtutes."[54]

Christ's Body

The same attention to corruptibility influenced Radbertus's presentation of Christ's human body. As will become evident, however, corruptibility and mortality were neither the only nor the most important themes present in his treatment of the Lord's humanity, and this is the key to understanding Radbertus's entire approach to the human body. He was keenly aware that the Lord's assumption of human nature implicated him in a painful and trying mode of existence. One of his favorite figures for the incarnate Lord was that of the treasure buried in a field, divine perfection concealed within the contingent and imperfect. In becoming human, the Lord "omnia nostri corporis infirma susceperat" in order to experience the suffering and death which, as immortal and impassible, he could not experience in his divinity.[55] To leave the sphere of absolute being and enter the realm of becoming, the realm of spatiotemporal extension, is to move from perfection to imperfection. Throughout his writings, Radbertus contrasted the impermanence, uncertainty, and adversity of the present life with the enduring security and goodness of the next.

Radbertus found various ways of expressing this notion of the Lord's descent as a declension from real to less real, and from truth to appearance. An especially important example in the present context is the well-known distinction between *veritas* and *figura* that he developed in his treatise on the Eucharist. This instance is worth considering here because of the implications it has for Radbertus's understanding of the Lord's humanity, and in particular his human body. His central concern in *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, which was to show that the eucharistic flesh of Christ is identical to the historical body of Christ, not merely its resemblance, led Radbertus to differentiate sharply between outward, sensible appearance (which he called figure) and inner, latent reality (which he called truth). Although the consecrated elements had the "figura panis et uini," they were in truth the flesh and blood of Christ.[56] The quarrel over the nature of the real presence

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[54] *De passione* (1490B).

[55] *In Matheo* 12.1465 and 1392–94 (56B, 1312 and 1309), respectively, the quoted words appearing in the former.

[56] *De corpore* 1.47–48 (14–15). On Radbertus's terminology and doctrine see Marta Cristiani, "La controversia eucaristica nella cultura del secolo IX," *Studi medievali* Serie terza 9 (1968): 167–233, reprinted in eadem, *Tempo rituale et tempo storico: Comunione cristiana e sacrificio; Le controversie eucaristiche nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1997), 77–164; see also Roger Béraudy, "Les catégories de pensée de Ratramne dans son enseignement eucharistique," in *Corbie Abbaye Royale: Volume du XIIIe Centenaire* (Lille, 1963), 157–80; Jaro-

in the Eucharist that Radbertus's treatise touched off is not the concern here.[57] We focus instead on his understanding of the humanity of the Lord and in particular of Christ's human body.

In light of the disjunction between truth and figure that Radbertus presented, it may at first seem that he was in danger of veering toward a Docetist account of the humanity of the Lord, by reducing the Incarnation to the level of mere appearance, a shadow or veil concealing divinity. In fact, however, Radbertus did not wish to convey the impression that the Lord's humanity was in any sense unreal. As he explained, not every figure is a shadow or false. Borrowing an image from the practice of writing and orthography, he insisted that just as characters of letters are neither false nor other than the letters they represent, in the same way Christ the man is neither false nor other than God.[58] The Lord is at once both truth and figure because his external, sensible self is the figure or character of the truth that is understood or believed in an interior way. Radbertus read Hebrews 1:3 ("He is the reflection of God's glory and the exact imprint of God's very being" [Vulgate: "figura substantiae eius"]) and Colossians 2:9 ("in him the whole fullness of divinity dwells bodily") to support the assertion that two substances, both of them true, were combined in Christ. The glory and divinity in Christ show that he was consubstantial with the Father; that he was the shape or character of God's substance indicates Christ's human nature or human substance. In other words, his humanity, including his body, does veil or conceal divine substance, but it also expresses, manifests, or bodies forth divine substance.[59] Every sign has a referent, since it is the sign of something. As the lawgiver of the New Testament and himself the food of life, the Christ child brought forth from Mary

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slav Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)*, vol. 3 of *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago, 1978), 74–80. The terminology of "figura" and "veritas" appears not only in *De corpore* and *Epistola* but *In Matheo* 12.681–90, 710–13, 801–4 (56B, 1288–91).

[57] Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and the Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), 210–15, argues that both editions of *De corpore* (the first composed 831–33, the second in 843 or 844) predate the wider eucharistic controversy by at least seven years. For the controversy itself, which involved among others Ratramnus of Corbie, Gottschalk of Orbais, John Scottus Eriugena, Hincmar of Rheims, and Hrabanus Maurus, Chazelle favors a date of ca. 853–56. At about the same time (early to mid 850s), Radbertus wrote the *Epistola* about the Eucharist to his friend Fredugard.

[58] *De corpore* 4.67–69 (29–30).

[59] Ibid., 4.43–57 (29); see also *In Matheo* 12.4147–49 (56B, 1394): "in Christo et per Christum nobis reserata sunt universa," which is another way of saying that the Lord is both sign and signified. See also *In Lamentationes* 3.1853–58 (206): just as the pillar of cloud was blindness to the pursuing Egyptians and light to the fleeing Hebrews, so too "nubes corporis Christi lux credentibus non credentibus autem caecitas et petra scandali nec non et lapis offensionis."

was the *manifesta veritas* that superceded the shadows, figures, and riddles of the Old Testament. The eschatological disclosure of eternal truth provides the ultimate hermeneutic key to the meaning of the events of sacred history. In this case, the Ark of the Covenant shown to John in Revelation (11:19) was in fact Mary rather than the Mosaic Ark. "Quia in coelo visa est, monstratur species in genere, sicuti et genus per speciem declaratur."[60]

It is important to understand that it was not only his words and teaching, but the Lord's life, actions, and person that revealed the invisible, incorporeal Trinity. For this reason, he is called the face of the Father: "Quia sicut 'nemo uenit ad Patrem nisi per Filium' [John 14:6] ita nemo uidet Patrem nisi per ipsum Filium."[61] Again, following a homily of the early-fifth-century Gaudentius, Radbertus wrote that Christ's sandal, which John the Baptist was not worthy to untie, referred to Christ's flesh, with which he was clothed "quoniam terra sustinere non poterat maiestatis eius nuda uestigia." In the world no one can unfasten those sandals, because here we see not face-to-face but through a darkened glass.[62] The Canaanite woman whose faith was great (Matt. 15:28) possessed an admirable wisdom in her ability to apprehend God in man and assumed humanity in God, in such a way that God and man form one Christ, one person, one Son of God, one Son of Man, not in confusion of substance but in unity of person.[63] In his human nature, which was visible in true flesh and the form of a slave (Phil. 2:7), Christ was subject to hunger, thirst, and fatigue. In his divinity, he surpassed what is natural for human beings by feeding the multitude with five loaves and walking on the surface of the sea. The duality of operation springs from the duality of nature that is integral to the Word made flesh.[64]

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[60] *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (248B and 250A). The same principle is expressed at *In Matheo* 7.2789–91 (56A, 777), where Radbertus wrote that in the Canaanite woman who asked Jesus to expel the demon from her daughter (Matt. 15:22) the faith of the Church was foreshadowed, and that Christ coming into the land of Tyre and Sidon foreshadowed his earthly mission, "ut in specie genus presagaret cuius figuram et formam ista tenebat. Et ideo fides ecclesiae iam in illa prefulgebat." See also ibid., 7.3304–10 (56A, 793), where truth is said to fulfill and represent what is foreshadowed and prefigured in a sign or figure. See also ibid., 6.3778–82 (56A, 678–79), on the prophet Jonah as the sign prefiguring Christ.

[61] *In Matheo* 8.2728–49 (56A, 882), where the quoted words are in the final line.

[62] Ibid., 6.979–88 (56A, 586), with reliance upon Gaudentius, *Tractatus* 5.8–10 (ed. A. Glück, CSEL 68 [Vienna, 1936], 45–46).

[63] *In Matheo* 7.2873–78 (56A, 779).

[64] Ibid., 7.1913–25 and 1956–79 (56A, 750–52). The image of the needle, *acus*, which Radbertus applied to Christ's dual form, requires both a piercing point, which Radbertus represented as the divine nature, and a pierced base, which Radbertus represented as the human nature. Like a needle used to stitch together scattered bits of fabric, the Lord's divinity pierces all and his suffering human body draws all behind it. For this image see *In Matheo* 9.1066–81 (56B, 963). For other expressions of the dual operation of the two

The paradox of Christ's simultaneous concealment and disclosure appears in other metaphors Radbertus employed. Jeremiah's words "I see my own poverty" (Lam. 3:1) apply to the Lord who, as man, truly had nothing of his own and was fully subject to earthly hardship. But his was an indigence wealthier than any earthly riches, for even as pauper he possessed all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. 2:3). When obedience and love prompted the Lord of heaven to take on the form of a slave (Phil 2:7), he revealed a poverty that was "gloriosa et admirabilis."[65] Although he was rich, "pro nobis pauper factus est ut nos sua ditaret paupertate."[66] In his explanation of Matthew 5:3 ("Blessed are the poor of spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"), Radbertus admitted that nothing appears more contrary to heavenly blessedness than the miserable squalor of poverty. Indeed, the sorrow and victimization of the latter are the penal ruin of the present life. But he insisted that even though it appears impoverished by earthly standards, the life lived in faith, hope, and love is already rich with heavenly rewards, though in hope, not yet as present reality.[67]

Of course, affirming that the Lord's humanity images divine substance is compatible with understanding the Incarnation as a sort of divine pedagogy by which human beings are gradually led to a perception of spiritual truth. Radbertus did just that. Man's limited ability to understand and worship God made the Incarnation necessary. The God-man is rightly called the shape or character of the substance of divinity, because through himself he leads our infancy to spiritual things that are to be understood inwardly, and he presents himself visible to our senses so that we might grasp the things that are within him.[68] Just as "infantia nostra" learned to read in stages by first recognizing the shape of letters and then eventually rising to the under-

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natures unified in Christ, see *In Lamentationes* 3.2435–36 (228); ibid., 4.1684–88 (298); ibid., 5.800–810 (338); *In Matheo* 7.1914 and 1918 (56A, 750–51); ibid., 12.1529–33 and 12.5369–79 (56B, 1314 and 1432, respectively); *De benedictionibus* 2.1315–16 (107); *De corpore* 3.24–28 (24); ibid., 9.119–25 (56–57), with an embedded quotation from Hilary, *De Trinitate* 8.13 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A [Turnhout, 1980], 325–26); *Epistola* 766–90 (169–70), with the same embedded quotation from Hilary; *De fide* 1.10.1165–68 (39), quoting Augustine, *De Trinitate* 13.12 (ed. W. J. Mountain, CCL 50A [Turnhout, 1968], 398–99).

[65] *In Lamentationes* 3.68–100 (141–42), with the quoted phrase at 3.85 (141). For background see Jean Devisse, "'Pauperes' et 'Paupertas' dans le monde carolingien: ce qu'en dit Hincmar de Reims," *Revue du Nord* 48 (1966): 273–87; Simon Légasse, Aimé Solignac, and Michel Mollat, "Pauvreté Chrétienne," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, 12: 613–58.

[66] *In Lamentationes* 3.1038–39 (175), which parallels 2 Cor. 8:9. Similarly *De benedictionibus* 2.472–76 (81).

[67] *In Matheo* 3.1555–66, 2074–77 and 2084–89 (56, 282, and 299).

[68] *De corpore* 4.69–72 (30).

standing of the spiritual senses of Scripture, so too from the humanity of Christ one arrives at the divinity of the Father, and for that reason the former is rightly called the shape or letter of the latter's substance. Indeed, what else are shapes of letters than their characters, so that through them the force, power, or spirit of utterance is placed before the eyes? And the Word was thus shaped in flesh in such a way that through flesh our infancy might be nourished to the understanding of divinity.[69]

Radbertus made a similar point about the Eucharist as a visible sign that was intended not only to convey grace but to inspire confidence in the faithful. Christ ascended bodily into heaven in order to show human beings that, reborn in him, they should aspire to do likewise. The bread and wine of the sacrament figure or image the truth of his flesh and blood in a visible, tangible way, "ut per haec mens nostra et caro nostra ad inuisibilia et spiritalia capescenda per fidem uberius nutriatur." What the faithful sense outwardly in the sacrament is its figure or shape; what they perceive inwardly is the truth of body and blood.[70]

Anti-Adoptionism

His commitment to an anti-adoptionist Christology led Radbertus to pay some attention to the Lord's body and to affirm that, even in the form of a slave (Phil. 2:7), Christ was beautiful. Although in Christ God became man, this did not change his person, which is unchanging, nor did it involve the assumption of a person other than the one he always had. This latter assertion was the error of Adoptionism, the Felician heresy, as Radbertus called it, according to which there were two persons in Christ, one human and so considered Son of God in a nominal or adoptive way, the other the eternal Word of God and so the true Son.[71] Radbertus understood Christ's reference to his body in Matthew 26:12 ("By pouring this ointment on my body she

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[69] Ibid., 4.58–66 (29); see also *De passione* (1502C): "Sed Deus hoc veterno mortales volens liberare, Filium suum incarnari constituit, ut homo inter homines positus, ad veritatis eos viam revocaret, quatenus falsitate relicta, verum Deum nossent, venerarentur, adorarent." See also *In Matheo* 2.3648–3719 (56, 228–31), where Radbertus drew upon Augustine's *Letter 147* (ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 44 [Vienna, 1904], 274–331, especially 300, 303, 310, and 322–23), to explain both the Incarnation and the Father's utterance at Matt. 3:17 ("This is my beloved Son") as accommodations to the human need to approach spiritual truth through physical and sensible reality.

[70] *De corpore* 4.73–81 (30).

[71] The important passages are *In Matheo* 6.2626 and 2647 (56A, 641); ibid., 9.771–839, 1261–71, and 2099–2146 (56B, 954–56, 969, and 995–96, respectively); ibid., 10.2558–68 (56B, 1143); ibid., 11.1474–90 and 2501–16 (56B, 1194–95 and 1226, respectively). On the matter in general, see John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993), who refers (206, n. 8) to the traces of Radbertus's anti-adoptionist Christology discernible in *In Psalmum 44*, 2.167–71 (35), as noted

has prepared me for burial") as powerful evidence against the erroneous view that Christ had no body, or that, to the extent that he truly was human, he can only have been the adoptive or nominal Son of God. Radbertus insisted that Christ was a single person indissolubly composed of two natures or substances.[72] Whether before or after his birth, he was always true God and the very Son of God. When he ascended into heaven to resume the form of God (Phil. 2:6) and glory and brilliance equal to that of God the Father, Christ did so as true God and true human being.[73] Those who maintain that Christ either did not have a real body or, if he did, he was not the true or very Son of God, Radbertus compared to the disciples who, seeing Christ walking on water, thought him a *phantasma*. But the former were more culpable than the mistaken disciples because they persisted in error. Furthermore, to speak of a nursing mother, as the gospel accounts of the nativity do, is to speak also of the true flesh of a baby, not a *phantasma*.[74] Christ's body is the locus of the new and unheard-of conjoining of man and God, the Word made flesh, in which "tota corporaliter Diuinitas" dwelled.[75]

An important consequence of affirming the permanence of Christ's two natures appears in the discussion of Psalms 44:3 ("You are the most handsome of men"), where Radbertus explained that the statement applies to Christ in the form of a slave. The words "most handsome" can refer only to the Lord's humanity, because the dazzling glory of his divinity is not susceptible of comparison. This is another way of saying that alone among forms God's form is free of matter, motion, and the admixture of any other accident. All created things derive their being from the One whose being is

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by Härdelin, "An Epithalamium for Nuns" (n. 15 above), 102–3. To this we can add *In Psalmum 44* 3.305–29 (83).

[72] *In Matheo* 7.2873–78 (56A, 779); ibid., 11.2750–62 (56B, 1234); ibid., 12.366–83, 4985–97, and 5322–26 (56B, 1278, 1420, and 1430, respectively). Again, citing Matt. 26:12 to explain why "Dominus in sacramento uere passus dicitur et mortuus," see *In Psalmum 44* 3.332–34 (83). See also *De benedictionibus* 2.1044–45 (99): "est ualde indissolubilis, est persona Christi qui 'Deus et homo' est." See Milano, *Persona in teologia* (n. 34 above), 286, for remarks on the background of this sense of "persona" in the thought of Boethius, Augustine, and Tertullian.

[73] *In Matheo* 9.1256–71 (56B, 969) and ibid., 11.1486–87 (56B, 1195).

[74] *In Matheo* 7.1971, 2096–2103 and 2167–71 (56A, 752, 756, and 758, respectively). That nursing mother implies "ueritas carnis et non phantasma" see *De partu* 1.312–13 (57), on which see also S. Bonano, "The Divine Maternity and the Eucharistic Body in the Doctrine of Paschasius Radbertus," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 1 (1951): 379–94, at 384.

[75] *In Matheo* 10.235–41 (56B, 1072); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (249A); ibid., 2 (251C); *De benedictionibus* 2.1307–11 (307): "tota diuinitas in humanitate Christi plenissime est sicut et humanitas in diuinitate Verbi tota ut sit plena humanitas in diuinitate Verbi quia homo in Deum assumptus est sicut tota diuinitas in humanitate carnis quia 'Verbum caro factum est.'"

derived from himself, and so their forms are in a literal sense incomparable to the divine form.[76] Yet even the idea of Christ as the most handsome of men was problematic, as Augustine and Jerome had realized. This was because Isaiah 53:2–3 ("no stateliness here, no majesty, no beauty, as we gaze upon him, to win our hearts. Nay, here is one despised, left out of all human reckoning; bowed with misery, and no stranger to weakness; how should we recognize that face?") might be taken to conflict with the proposed understanding of Psalms 44:3. Radbertus resolved the issue by affirming that Christ's assumption of humanity exhibited his goodness and his mercy toward humankind who were in need of redemption. Because his beauty consisted in this goodness and mercy, the God-man manifested transcendent beauty in his human person, even during the Passion, however twisted and disfigured his body appeared. The weakness of his human nature "aut forma uirtutis fuit aut exemplum perfectae imitationis aut triumphus nostrae salutis aut certe pretium redemptionis." Hence Christ was "pulcher in cruce pulcher in flagellis," because even in the form of a slave he embodied absolute beauty.[77]

Transfiguration

Christ's humanity revealed his divinity sometimes more than others. Radbertus speculated that, on the day he expelled the merchants and moneylenders from the Temple, something must have gleamed from his face in a divine way, for otherwise it would be difficult to explain how one man could drive off many. But he was not certain, because the two were so tightly united in Christ that "nec diuina fiant sine humanitate Christi nec humanitas operetur aliquid sine Diuinitate."[78] When they saw the Lord's face shining like the sun and his clothes become dazzling white (Matt. 17:2), the three witnesses of the Transfiguration beheld not a change in Christ's substance or the compromise of the "ueritas . . . corporis" but the disclosure of the divine treasure that lay hidden within him. The brightness pouring forth from his clothing proceeded from that inner light of his that no human eye beholds (John 1:18). For this reason, Radbertus explained, "sic temperauit diuina maiestas huius uisionis formam ut et mirabilis esset uisio qua Diuinitas predicaretur in Christo et humanus eam mortalium ferre posset uisus."[79] Although its brightness was limited to a degree that human viewers could tolerate, the Transfiguration was "magnum documentum" of the divine

[76] *In Psalmum 44* 2.153–66 (34–35).

[77] Ibid., 2.177–79 and 223–55 (35 and 37), with the lines quoted in the latter place. Here I have followed the analysis of Härdelin, "An Epithalamium for Nuns," 102–3.

[78] *In Matheo* 9.3023–36 (56B, 1023–24).

[79] Ibid., 8.1160–73 (56A, 833).

form, which both the elect and the damned will behold on the Day of Judgment. Things that had not yet come to be appeared in Christ then so that, seen in him, they might the better be known. In particular, at that moment the brilliance of divinity shone visibly in the humanity of his flesh, just as at other times in contemplation the eye of the mind beholds the humanity of Christ illuminated in the splendor of his divinity. The three witnesses saw that each of his natures, human and divine, is shining and brilliant.[80] Only after the Transfiguration and the miracles worked before all was it possible for Christ to inform his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem to suffer and die.[81] Radbertus was not sure whether Christ's appearance on Judgment Day would be as dazzling or more splendid than his appearance at the Transfiguration. But he did note that the risen Lord showed himself to the eleven disciples (Matt. 28:16–17) "amplius et perfectius" than he had when he preached the Beatitudes or even in the Transfiguration, and this manifestation anticipated the perfect vision of the apocalyptic Lamb (Rev. 14:1). In any case, Radbertus affirmed that all the elect will see his glorified human body.[82]

Sharing in Christ's Poverty

Radbertus made it clear that the human body of the Lord has meaning for other human beings when he recommended participating in Christ's poverty. The saints have always emulated his poverty in the belief that, though they may not fathom the mystery of this paradoxical wealthy indigence, the "endurance of the poor is, in the end, not in vain" (Ps. 9:19).[83] The Church as a whole rejoices to share ("conparticipari") in such remarkable indigence.[84] In his Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3), Jesus promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor of the present life so that those who "Christum paupertate sequi et seruitutis iugo subire" will have the wealth and happiness of the kingdom of heaven.[85]

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[80] Ibid., 8.1179–97 and 1226–39 (56A, 833–34 and 835, respectively). That Radbertus was aware that Christ's visible aspect in the Transfiguration may be different from his appearance at the Last Judgment, see *In Matheo* 11.3120–23 (56B, 1245).

[81] Ibid., 8.1943–52 (56A, 857).

[82] Ibid., 11.1190–1215 (56B, 1186); *In Matheo* 8.912–21 (56A, 825), where there is no difference between the "claritas" of the Transfiguration and the "gloria Patris." On the risen Lord's appearance before the eleven disciples, see *In Matheo* 12.5284–92 (56B, 1429).

[83] *In Lamentationes* 3.101–4 and 120–27 (142 and 143, respectively).

[84] Ibid., 3.1021–22 (174).

[85] *In Matheo* 3.1650–54 (56, 285); see also *De fide* 1.12.1504–6 (49), on desiring "presentis uite paupertatem" for the sake of eternal things and on delighting only in Christ in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; see also *Epitaphium* 1.16 (46) and 1.18 (47), on the "sanctissima" or "beata paupertas" on earth that guarantees wealth and plenty in heaven.

Of course, on its own, indigence does not beatify; it is rather detachment from earthly things and contrition of spirit that confer blessedness. While few of the elect renounce all earthly goods, all must have contrition of heart. Those who continue to hold property may legitimately use it to meet their own needs and for various other, pious causes, so long as ownership does not become an extension of sinful desire. When he became a monk, Adalhard gave up all his own possessions, thus complying with the Lord's counsel of perfection (Matt. 19:21). But in his capacity as abbot, Adalhard had to manage ecclesiastical property and provide for the maintenance and support of his community and its dependents. Radbertus praised the abbot's moderate inner disposition, balanced as it was between a commitment to personal indigence and the obligation to hold wealth for the benefit of others; he set an example of possessing as though not possessing.[86] As for contrition of heart as an element of poverty, Radbertus wrote that he is poor in spirit who considers even the good that he does of little value, and who judges himself to be last in merit, even though in virtue and holiness he may, in fact, surpass others.[87] This echo of the *Regula sancti Benedicti* 7:51 ("The seventh step of humility is that a man not only admits with his tongue but is also convinced in his heart that he is inferior to all and of less value") is a reminder that the religious in particular are called to take a share in the poverty of the Lord. Radbertus asserted this explicitly in the *Vita Adalhardi* where he quoted the abbot as saying, in effect, that an inverse relation exists between the freedom of Christ and the ownership of earthly goods. He exhorted the monks, "estote contenti paupertate Christi, sine qua nemo est dives. Noveritis enim quod beati sunt pauperes spiritu, quibus regnum coelorum repromittitur; et ideo, fratres mei, nolite quasi proprietatis opere sectando avaritiam, possessionem aeternam perdere. Estote igitur quod vos aeterna Christi vocatio esse voluit; ut paupertate Christi participando, divites esse cum eo sine fine mereamini."[88] Elsewhere Radbertus equated the "rigor atque paupertatis Christi disciplina" with humility, con-

[86] *VA* 59 (1538D–39B).

[87] *In Matheo* 3.1624–27 (56, 284); cf. *Regula sancti Benedicti* 7.51 (n. 21 above), 484–86. The poor of spirit are blessed because they do not desire to have what they should not; they despise possessing what they have, or hold it in such low esteem they give away their possessions to others. On this see *In Matheo* 3.1640–43 (56, 285). The idea that poverty has more to do with inner disposition and intention than with actually lacking possessions was prominent in the thought of Gregory the Great. For this see Patrick Catry, "Amour du monde et amour de Dieu chez saint Grégoire le Grand," *Studia Monastica* 15 (1973): 253–75, reprinted in idem, *Parole de Dieu, Amour et Esprit-Saint chez Saint Grégoire le Grand* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1984), 61–83, at 78–79.

[88] *VA* 23 (1520A) and 68 (1543A).

tempt of the world, and the example of the saints as means of expediting the journey of the faithful along the path of God's commandments.[89]

Agreeing with the Apostle Paul, Radbertus affirmed that if we suffer with Christ, so too shall we reign with him.[90] In a limited way, all the faithful could do this through pious exercises such as fasting, provided the Holy Spirit anoints their fasting.[91] In a larger way, the willingness to suffer anything for Christ (Acts 21:13) and to resist no evil (Matt. 5:39), Radbertus described as "integritas uitae et consummata uirtus iustitiae." For the martyrs, this love-inspired action culminated in death. But the grace that made their self-sacrifice possible also enabled them to keep in view the difference between two sorts of evil. They resisted the evil that wounds the soul and for which the punishment is eternal death; they did not resist the temporal evil that harms body, possessions, and earthly affairs. Temporal evil punishes and tests the faithful but through courage and patience may be turned to the good, the victor's crown.[92] Even in the midst of tribulation, those who suffer temporal evil may experience, not fear and pain, but joy and gladness, because faith makes present their future reward.[93]

Although they could have escaped violent death, the martyrs rejoiced to share the passion of Christ in order to become his associates in glory.[94] In the case of Rufinus and Valerius, this glorification was not entirely deferred until the next life but became visible on earth during their martyrdom. In a paradoxical manner, their faces and bodies beamed with divine splendor only after they had suffered disfiguring torture and dark confinement. At first, angered by their endurance, the imperial prefect in charge of the interrogation intensified the punishment until their bodies were twisted wrecks. Yet as their physical strength diminished, their minds and inner selves grew more robust, for even the darkness of their prison could not eclipse the brilliance of heaven that their mind's eye beheld in a spiritual way. The night before the execution, that heavenly radiance illuminated their cell in a visible way, and an angel appeared to utter words of encouragement and to place glorious crowns upon their heads. When they came before him for the last time, the prefect could not perceive their crowns, but he did see handsome, healthy faces and radiant, intact bodies where he must have expected to find searing deformity. The heavenly minister who strengthened their minds also illuminated their bodies as a visible testimony of future glory, just as Stephen the protomartyr and Moses has once been illuminated out-

[89] *In Lamentationes* 1.993–95 (38).
[90] Ibid., 3.1392 (188), echoing Rom. 8:17 and 2 Tim. 2:12.
[91] *In Matheo* 4.1629–30 (56, 412).
[92] Ibid., 3.3495–3537 (56, 344–45), with the quoted words at 3496–97.
[93] Ibid., 3.2269–82 (56, 305); *De fide* 2.5.511–16 (82) and 2.6.741–42 (89).
[94] *De passione* (1497A and 1503B).

wardly as well as inwardly by the Holy Spirit. Radbertus commented that, under the new dispensation, figure and shadow have given way to the direct revelation of divine glory in the Lord's servants who are transformed by the Holy Spirit into the very image of that glory.[95] It is worth noting that Radbertus here employed two special terms that occurred also in his discussion of the Lord's Transfiguration in the commentary on Matthew's gospel, namely "transformare" and "coruscare."[96] This convergence of vocabulary suggests that the martyrs not only shared the Lord's suffering but began to have a share in his total glorification as this had been disclosed to the eyes of the disciples at the Transfiguration.

Mary's Body

In Radbertus's view, Mary was second only to her son as testimony to the corporeal dimension of sanctification. Her body became the expression of a total self-opening to divine will, which mirrored Christ's self-sacrifice in conformity with the will of the Father. No less than her faithful obedience and humble disposition, Mary's body and experience of corporality reveal an otherwise hidden aspect of what is possible for human beings. This is the case even though she alone is *Theotokos*, unique mother of a child like no other; this is the case even though her fecund virginity was more fruitful than that of any mother and more pure than that of any maiden.[97] For her body was

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[95] Ibid. (1505D–7B). The important elements of this passage Radbertus found in his source and so reflect an understanding of the glorified human body that was not new with Radbertus. See *Acta martyrii* 4–6 (ed. G. Henschen, AS, 3rd edition, June 14, Junii Tomus Tertius [Rome and Paris, 1867], 285–86).

[96] *De passione* (1507A–B): "Non enim nunc ministeriorum formas cœlestium per figuras atque umbras inspicimus, sed revelata facie gloriam Domini speculamur, in eamdem imaginem per sancti Spiritus gratiam transformati. . . . Videns itaque prœfectus admirabili sanctorum vultus majestate coruscare." This passage has no counterpart in the earlier *Acta martyrii*, which is to say that Radbertus elected to apply the terms *transformare* and *coruscare*. For the occurrence of those terms in his account of the Transfiguration, see *In Matheo* 8.1117, 1150, 1173, and 1196 (56A, 831–34). See also ibid., 12.4886–93 (56B, 1417), where the shining face and gleaming white robe of the angel who greeted the women at the Lord's tomb (Matt. 28:3) are equated with the transformed appearance of the elect in heaven: "Sed sub tali tantoque splendore preferebat coram oculis humanis speciem nostre resurrectionis et formam atque habitum in quo qui resurrecturi sunt per Christum transformandi sunt in gloriam."

[97] *De assumptione* 3.16–17 (116–17), for fecund virginity; ibid., 9.55.440–41 (133), for *theotocon/christotocon*. In his *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (240D), Radbertus called her queen of this world and the next. E. Ann Matter (*The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* [Philadelphia, 1990], 152–55) discusses references to Song of Solomon in Radbertus's Marian works. On the place of his thought within Carolingian Mariology, see I. Scaravelli, "Per una mariologia carolingia: Autori, opere e linee di ricerca," *Gli studi di mariologia medievale: Bilancio storiografico*, ed. C. M. Piastra, *Atti del I Convegno mariologico della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini con la collaborazione della Biblioteca*

the physical, individual point of origin of the Word made flesh. Her faithful obedience and humble disposition revealed themselves in full not through her words but through her body, which she gave over entirely to the mystery announced by Gabriel. In this way she demonstrated the share that the body might have in the Christian experience of complete attunement to God, a gracious sanctification that involves the entire person, body and soul. Although the meaning of Mary's body came into clear view only in post-paschal retrospect, it is important that the sanctification of her body occurred even before the resurrection of her son. Mary's assumption shows human beings the path to heaven and thus mediates the form of Christ, the eschatological lamb of God (Rev. 14:4), who is "the form of all the roads of God."[98] Because Radbertus's discussions of the virgin birth and of Mary's heavenly assumption present important evidence of the status of the human body within his understanding of Christian experience, they will repay consideration here.

Above all, Radbertus emphasized the localization of cosmic mystery in Mary's body. Her womb became the meeting place of the absolute and the contingent. In terms of time and eternity, the Word that was in the beginning (John 1:1) and that was forever with the Father entered history when it became flesh in her body. In the fullness of time, Mary gave birth to the Son who had been hidden in the ages.[99] Even though this birth occurred at a particular historical moment, the mystery of the unity of God and Man

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palatina e del Dipartimento di storia dell'Università di Parma, 1997 (Florence, 2001), 65–85; Leo Scheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerzeit*, Erfurter theologische Studien 5 (Leipzig, 1959).

[98] That Mary's assumption indicates the way to heaven, see *De assumptione* 17.110.933–34 (159); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 3 (257B): "Ecce via, qua pergere debetis." The theme of Christ the way appears fairly often in Radbertus's work, for instance *In Matheo* 12.3925 (56B, 1387); for Christ the lamb as the form of all paths and as the path of the city of God, see *In Psalmum 44* 1.290–92 and 2.48–50 (10 and 31, respectively); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (244D): "Ex cujus nimirum carne Dominus Jesus Verbum caro efficitur, qui cunctis in se credentibus januas paradisi aperire dignatus est." Echoing this idea in recent time is the 1987 encyclical letter of Pope John Paul II, *Redemptoris Mater* 4, which states that, like her Son, Mary reveals what it is to be human: "If it is true, as the [Second Vatican] Council itself proclaims, that 'only in the mystery of the Incarnate Word does the mystery of man take on light,' then this principle must be applied in a very particular way to that exceptional 'daughter of the human race,' that extraordinary 'woman' who became the Mother of Christ. Only *in the mystery of Christ* is *her mystery fully made clear*." (Italics in the original.)

[99] *De partu* 1.211–14 (54), 1.263–64 (55), 2.392–96 (83–84), and 2.481–95 (85–86); *De assumptione* 9.54 (132) and 11.66 (139); *De benedictionibus* 2.980–82 (97), 2.1193–1200 (103), and 2.1253–55 (105).

was always present in the Son, who is coeternal with the Father.[100] In addition to the theme of time and eternity, the absence or presence of spatial extension provided another way of expressing the same mystery. Because in Mary's body Christ took the "formam hominis animatam, in qua Deus inclusus liniamentis suis tenebatur," the boundless immensity of God the Word was truly encompassed within a bodily shape in the tiny space of Mary's womb. The God who is always everywhere and not confined to one place was localized in the God-man born of Mary.[101] Capturing these ideas was a homily of Leo the Great, which Radbertus quoted, urging readers to join the three Magi in venerating and adoring the virgin birth. This birth brought forth Jesus, in whom there is no separation between visible and invisible, corporeal and incorporeal, passible and impassible, form of a slave and form of God; he unifies what is from eternity and what has its beginning in time.[102] The miraculous paradox of the virgin birth itself signified the twin operations, the wonderful conjoining of human and divine in Jesus Christ.[103]

Radbertus's main concern in *De partu Virginis* was not the fact of the virgin birth, however wonderful this was, but instead Mary's intact physical condition during and after the birth. He judged it fitting that the mother's moral and bodily purity should somehow correspond to and announce the purity of her child. Radbertus's adversary in this matter was the contemporary Ratramnus, also a monk of Corbie, who had argued that, since Christ became human, his birth must have been like any other human birth and Mary's parturition the same as any other woman's. To say otherwise, Ratramnus held, would imply either that Christ had not been born or that his birth was somehow freakish and inhuman.[104] By contrast, Radbertus maintained that the birth was as extraordinary as the manner of conception and as the child she brought forth. Such a view impressed Radbertus as corollary to the plenitude of grace poured into Mary. When she was overshadowed by the power of the Almighty (Luke 1:35), God took complete possession of Mary, infusing her with his entire Word. Thus Gabriel's saluta-

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[100] *De assumptione* 10.61 (136–37); see also *In Psalmum 44* 2.247–48 (37): "Natus in fine temporum qu<i> est sine initio genitus ante omne tempus."

[101] *De partu* 2.163–72 (75–76); *De assumptione* 5.29–30.237–45 (122); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (241C), where her womb is said to be the temple, sanctuary, or domicile of the fullness of divinity, and so also the repository of "all the treasure of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2:3). See also *Sermones de assumptione* 2 (251C).

[102] *De partu* 2.237–42 (78), quoting Leo the Great, *Tractatus* 30, 146–49 (ed. A. Chavasse, CCL 138 [Turnhout, 1973], 158); see also *De assumptione* 9.58.471–76 (135); *In Matheo* 6.3139–44 (56A, 657–58).

[103] *De partu* 2.335–50 (81).

[104] For an outline of the two positions and references to Ratramnus's work, see Matter's Introduction to *De partu*, 12–14.

tion of Mary as "full of grace" was literally true, and for this reason her incomparable purity and merit manifested themselves in parturition that left Mary intact.[105]

In concrete terms this meant that, because her body was not traumatized, Mary did not suffer in giving birth. Over and over Radbertus contrasted Mary's experience of joy and ease with the damage, pain, vexation, impurity, sorrow, and groans that attend all other births.[106] So exceptional was her case that, in a loose way, Radbertus was prepared to say that in giving birth Mary was not subject to the law of nature. Yet he realized that Genesis 1:16 ("To the woman he said, 'I will greatly increase your pangs in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children'") meant that the actual mode of birth common to women is penal, not aboriginal, and so cannot be called natural in the proper sense of the term. Thus women give birth now "non ex natura primae originis . . . sed ex uitio culpae et ex maledicto iustae uindictae Dei." What women actually endure in birth is one aspect of that second or compromised nature by which human beings are born mortal and are prey to chronic ignorance and moral impotence.[107]

But Radbertus was less concerned with terminology than with keeping a clear view of Mary's purity. The overshadowing power of God protected her "ab omni aestu peccati . . . in conceptu et in partu, sicut ab omni aestu libidinis libera fuit, ita et ab omni pressura maledictionis . . . inmunis et aliena fuit." To say that she gave birth as other women do, in pain, distress, sorrow, and so forth, was to contradict the Fathers who had asserted that she conceived, gave birth, and remained a virgin. If grace had not exempted her from sin, the implication would seem to be that Christ came forth under the curse and hence was a son of wrath, born of sinful flesh.[108] Such an idea was clearly incompatible with basic tenets of the faith. Radbertus also

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[105] *De partu* 1.168–74 (52), 1.203–14 (53–54), 1.240–46 (55), 1.364–67 (59), and 1.634–37 (67); see also *De assumptione* 15.94–95 (152–53).

[106] *De partu* 1.159–60 (52), 1.227–30 (54), 1.240–41 (55), 1.286–88 (56), 1.307–9 (57), 1.333–36 (58), 1.389–97 (60), 1.520–23 (64), 1.603 (66), 1.680–82 (68), 1.740–43 (70), 2.50–54 (72), 2.133–37 (74–75), 2.195–202 (76–77), 2.259–68 (78–79), 2.289–301 (79–80), 2.415–16 (83), 2.442–44 (84), 2.522–29 (87), and 2.559–64 (88).

[107] Ibid., 1.50–72 (48–49), with the quoted words on 49; see also ibid., 1.177 (52), where Radbertus used the phrase "lex naturae uitiatae" to describe the postlapsarian normal mode of parturition; see also ibid., 1.265–68 (55–56): "quoniam haec lex nascendi quae nunc lex naturae uocatur ex uitio primae damnationis est." Radbertus was less precise when he wrote, *In Lamentationes* 1.1627 (61): "quos una conditio ligat naturae una fiat uastitatis eius conpassio." The general point about second or compromised nature Radbertus would have encountered in Augustine's *De libero arbitrio*, a work with which he was familiar. On this aspect of Augustine's thought see Robert O'Connell, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works* (New York, 1987), 30–31.

[108] *De partu* 1.30–44 (48).

maintained that God's kenotic self-humbling and assumption of the form of slave through her involved Mary in no corruption or degradation.[109] Thus, because the actual mode of childbirth is penal, Mary must have brought forth her son in some other, miraculous way, one in keeping with the child's sinless conception, and one devoid of the pain and suffering of ordinary birth.

As to whether comfort and joy of the sort Mary experienced would have characterized all births had Adam and Eve not sinned, Radbertus was uncertain. The logic of his position impelled him to affirm that if the two had not disobeyed in paradise, "nemo deinceps nasceretur sub culpa peccati," a statement that might seem to make it possible to infer that parturition would have lacked trauma, pain, and sorrow.[110] His assertion that current childbirth is punishing and degrading implies that at one time a mode of childbirth existed, or had the potential to exist, that was neither punishing nor degrading. Furthermore, he acknowledged that Eve and Mary formed a typological pair, with the blessedness of the latter canceling the curse transmitted by the former.[111] He realized that by extension one might equate the untainted, prelapsarian mode of birth, whatever its exact character, with Mary's parturition. But Radbertus had doubts. Just as there are various orders of being, there are various modes of giving birth: "Alia namque est natiuitas carnis de carne, alia Dei de Deo, et alia quarumlibet rerum innumerabilium." As a result, when a mortal woman brings forth a son who is both divine and human, one might reasonably expect that the mode of giving birth was "gloriosius" than even the putative, untainted childbirth of Eve had she not sinned.[112] An additional complicating factor was that, though she was free of sin, Mary was nevertheless subject to death, which was itself a part of the penalty for sin.[113] In the end he left the issue open, saying that God alone knows the truth of the matter, and that further inquiry is superfluous since, as Radbertus saw it, the facts of the virgin birth were not in doubt.[114]

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[109] Ibid., 1.516–19 (63) and 2.329–34 (81).

[110] Ibid., 1.55–56 (49). On Radbertus's treatment of Eve see Donal Flanagan, "Eve in the Writings of Paschasius Radbertus," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 34 (1967): 126–42, where the evidence of the Marian writings is considered at 135–36.

[111] *De assumptione* 5.33.260–62 (123); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 4 (258B), where Mary is called "reparatio Evae."

[112] For the quotations see *De partu* 1.640–41 and 648 (67); see also ibid., 1.71–77 (49) and 1.175–79 (52). Also, the "supereminens nouitas" of the "fecunditas . . . tota deifica est et uirginitas" that were in Mary, *De assumptione* 3.16–17.133–40 (116–17), might be taken to imply that her parturition was far different from anything Eve could have experienced, even had she and Adam not disobeyed God.

[113] *De assumptione* 7.41.322–25 (127).

[114] *De partu* 1.632 and 650 (67).

The figures and metaphors Radbertus employed to describe Mary's fecund virginity highlight her body's role in the conjoining of humanity and divinity. He identified Mary with the Ark of the Covenant. Its construction of precious material had a parallel in her virtue and majesty; its triumphal advent in Jerusalem foreshadowed her arrival and coronation in the heavenly Jerusalem. In view of its content, namely the tablets of the law, the heaven-sent manna of the Exodus, and Aaron's sprouting staff, the Ark prefigured Mary, whose miraculously fruitful womb contained the new lawgiver and the food of life. An important consequence of this figural relation was that the Ark of the Covenant that was seen within the temple of God in John's eschatological vision (Rev. 11:19) was not the Ark of Moses, but in fact Mary herself, who had ascended and entered the holy place of the eternal Church.[115] As the pseudo-Ambrosian hymn said, her body was the gate or doorway that both remained closed and furnished Christ a passage into the world.[116] Again, her womb was the wedding chamber in which God espoused the Church, and in which human flesh and the Word of God consummated their marriage.[117] The most interesting of these metaphors, because of their resonances in Radbertus's non-Marian writings, are botanical and horticultural images. Following Cassiodorus, Radbertus understood the fleece of Psalm 71:6 ("May he fall like rain on fleece, and like drops that water the earth") as a reference to Mary who was "detonsam ex ouibus Israel." Just as rain lands on fleece in utter silence and with no disturbance,

[115] *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (246B–48 and 250A) for the Ark; see also 1 (248C–49A), where Radbertus wrote that in the burning bush Moses foresaw Mary's total consumption by the flame of the Holy Spirit.

[116] *De partu* 1.657–74 (68), quoting Pseudo-Ambrose, *Hymn* 88, 1–4 (ed. A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* [Cambridge, 1922], 308–9); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (241C): "uterus Virginis ac si hospitium fuit, ex quo Christus Deus ad nos, quasi sponsus de thalamo suo, potentia fortis ut gigas, exiit."

[117] *Sermones de assumptione* 2 (252A): "Haec est Virgo, in cujus utero omnis Ecclesia subarratur, conjuncta Deo foedere sempiterno creditur." In this Radbertus may have followed Gregory the Great, *40 homiliarum in Evangelia libri duo* 38.3 (PL 76:1283). The idea also appears in Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 18.6.25–27 (CCL 38 [Turnhout, 1956] 109), and *Sermo* 190 (PL 38:1007–8). See also De *partu* 2.530–39 (87), where Radbertus sided with Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium* 8.4 (ed. R. Willems, CCL 36 [Turnhout, 1954], 84), against Cyril of Alexandria, *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti* 1.5.17 (ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* 1, 5 [Berlin, 1924/26], 198), who had maintained that the body of Christ should be understood as wedding chamber or temple. Radbertus either changed his view on this subject or was of two minds about it, because in *De benedictionibus* 1.715–20 (28), he referred to Christ's body as the wedding chamber of groom and Church. For Mary as the house of wisdom (Prov. 9:1) in which heavenly things marry earthly things, see *De assumptione* 15.97 (153–54); on this passage see Bonano, "The Divine Maternity" (n. 74 above), 386; see also *Sermones de assumptione* 2 (251C and 253B); see also *In Matheo* 10.235–41 (56B, 1072).

the divinity of the Word suffused and filled Mary's body and possessed her mind without in any way compromising the wholeness and purity of either.[118] Radbertus assimilated Christ to the drops that water the earth, or, in other words, to the rainwater that enables the seeds of the field to germinate. Neither the Word's entry into her, nor the egress from her of the Word made flesh, damaged her in any way, but instead caused new growth. Infused with the "rain" of divine majesty, Mary's intact body is the soil in which the seed of life sprouted, eventually yielding the fruit of life and incorruptibility. Unlike the fruit of the tree of disobedience that brings pain, anxiety, sadness, and death, this fruit brings joy and life.[119]

This last reference to the tree of life that was in Eden (Gen. 3:21; Rev. 22:14) raises the correspondence between Mary and the enclosed garden of Song of Solomon 4:12 ("a garden enclosed, sister my bride a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed") which appears several times in Radbertus's writings. In the treatise on the virgin birth, he wrote that, like the garden, Mary is enclosed in the sense that God's entry did not damage her body; she remained sealed and whole even when, like a fountain of flowing water, she brought forth the God-man.[120] In the letter on the assumption, Radbertus described her as the garden of delights where all types of flowers are found, a place redolent with the perfume of virtues, and so enclosed that she cannot be corrupted by any sinful deceit. As font, she is sealed with the seal of the entire Trinity, and from that source the font of life flows, "in whose light we all see the light" (Ps. 35:10), because according to John "he was the true light that enlightens everyone coming into the world" (John 1:9). Undoubtedly the product of her womb is the paradise of heavenly citizens. The fragrance of this maternal field was the aroma Isaac savored so long ago (Gen. 27:27).[121] Again, Mary is the lovely, fragrant product of the garden watered by the river in Eden (Gen. 2:10); the heavenly host spread flowers on the path of her ascent.[122]

Integral Assimilation to Mary

Turning now to the share that others might have in Mary's experience of bodily attunement to God, the theme of emulation presents itself immediately. In his Marian works, Radbertus made it clear that while her virginity

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[118] *De partu* 2.73–86 (73), elaborating a brief comment of Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* 71.6 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 98 [Turnhout, 1958], 651–52).

[119] *De partu* 2.88–137 (73–75).

[120] Ibid., 1.320–27 (57).

[121] *De assumptione* 9.59–60 (135–36); on this passage see Bonano, "The Divine Maternity," 391; for a similar passage see *In Matheo* 2.206–15 (56, 120); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (242).

[122] *De assumptione* 14.88–89 (149–50).

is an adornment, honor, and model of virtue for the whole Church, the chastity of nuns and virgins in particular is illuminated by her virtues, shaped by her example, and strengthened by her merit.[123] He urged the nuns of St. Mary at Soissons to exult in the Lord and join in praise, because through their betrothal to Christ as chaste, virgin brides, they had become *comparticipes* in Mary's surpassing grace.[124] That is, their intact bodies are both a means of participating in her grace and an expression of that participation. For nuns especially, Mary "esset exemplum castitatis, quae quasi in speculo refulget forma uirtutis." In her they have an explicit teaching of probity, an indication of what they should choose, what they should reject, and what they should follow.[125]

This participation not only placed the nuns in the company of Mary but brought them into a "grata societas," a society adorned with the flower of chastity. This is to say that other figures besides Mary mediate the grace of bodily purity that she possesses in a preeminent way. This association originated at the foot of the cross when Jesus entrusted his mother to the apostle John (John 19:26–27), who, like Mary, was a virgin. Of course the radical novelty of Mary's fecund virginity was miraculous and so out of proportion ("altera proportio") to John's. But since both shared one virtue of bodily integrity, and since like knows like, John was well chosen as Mary's

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[123] See *Sermones de assumptione* 3 (257A). Present emulation is distinct from fruitive vision in *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (245A and 246A), where "filiae" are enjoined to imitate Mary, but where the broader category of citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, who behold Mary in loving admiration, includes men, maidens, widows, and youths of both sexes. It is well to remember, as Catherine M. Mooney points out in the case of Clare of Assisi, that medieval nuns themselves may or may not have identified in particular with the Blessed Virgin Mary ("'Imitatio Christi' or 'Imitatio Mariae'? Clare of Assisi and Her Interpreters," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. eadem [Philadelphia, 1999], 52–77). In the present context, since we possess only Radbertus's works dedicated to the nuns of Soissons, we are not in a position to determine the relative weight of the descriptive and the normative in them. By extension, caution is also in order when we evaluate Radbertus's view that Mary's body is especially relevant for nuns. As Amy Hollywood ("Inside Out: Beatrice of Nazareth and Her Hagiographer" [n. 38 above], 78–98) shows in the case of Beatrice of Nazareth, it is hazardous to assume that medieval women invariably accepted the commonplace equation of woman and body. For a similar reservation see Elizabeth A. Clark, "Women, Gender, and the Study of Christian History," *Church History* 70 (2001): 395–426, at 407–11, whose discussion is based in part upon Amy Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (South Bend, 1995).

[124] *De partu* 1.1–5 (47) and 2.566–73 (88), where *comparticipes* appears at 2.568 (88); see also *De assumptione* 7.43 (127) and 9.56 (134).

[125] *De assumptione* 16.101 (155); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 3 (257B) and *In Psalmum 44* 3.778–84 (98–99); all three passages rely upon Ambrose, *De virginibus* 3.6–7 (ed. I. Cazzaniga [Turin, 1948], 36).

adoptive son and was closer to the Word than were the other apostles.[126] After the ascension of the Lord, the favored association included not only Mary and John, but the other apostles and women who gathered in the upper room in Jerusalem (Acts 1:12-14). In this "schola uirtutum," Mary meditated on the commandments of God so that she in particular became "forma disciplinae Christi et exemplum perfectionis uirginibus." She who had witnessed the resurrection dwelled with other witnesses. Yet, thanks to the discipline of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the divine majesty, she was also present to the heavenly senate in the court of paradise. Indeed, she was the first of that cohort whose life was not of earth but of heaven. Beyond Mary's unique status, however, the entire assembly seemed to Radbertus an "exemplum humanae uitae," the main features of which were unity of its members in love ("unanimiter aspirati in caritate") and persistence in prayer until they were clothed in virtue from on high and until they received the gifts of the Holy Spirit that they sought.[127]

Also exemplary for the nuns were Jerome's correspondents Paula, a widow who took up a life of celibate prayer and repentance, and her daughter Eustochium, who embraced the monastic life as a maiden. The former was said to be "exemplar continentiae et castitatis," the latter "forma perfectae integritatis."[128] Whether biblical or extra-biblical, these figures mediate Mary's surpassing merit of virginity to the faithful because they themselves share in part what she possesses in full. For just as compared to God's goodness no one is good, so too compared to the perfection of the Lord's mother no woman is found to be perfect, however exceptional her virtue might be.[129]

According to Radbertus, true love and adoration of Mary must express themselves in a deep desire to emulate her.[130] Even if the proximate focus of attention were one or another of the mediating figures, for instance Paula or Eustochium, the aim was to do what they had done to gain a share of Mary's plenitude of grace.[131] Her experience of bodily conformity to God was archetypal, theirs derivative. Just as there is one Father in heaven and one teacher (Matt. 23:8–9), so "also is there one pattern of virginity in Mary, in whom you all, so that you might reform the image of integrity, must press your countenance in the sculpting of the Holy Spirit, because she is 'a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed, a well of living waters' [Song of Sol.

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[126] *De assumptione* 3.16–18 (116–17).

[127] Ibid., 4.19–21 (118).

[128] Ibid., 16.106 (157–58).

[129] Ibid., 16.106.901–5 (157–58).

[130] Ibid., 16.99.848 (155); 16.105.897 (157); 19.116.981 (161); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (245B).

[131] *De assumptione* 7.40 (126).

4:12 and 15]. No malicious tricks can intrude on her, no deception of the enemy prevails; but she remains holy in mind and body, raised up by many gifts of special election. Thus emulate her way of life, follow her chastity, beg for her assistance."[132] Radbertus urged the nuns of Soissons, women who had themselves vowed to remain "in schola Christi," to emulate the association of Mary and the apostles in continuing prayer and living together in one spirit.[133] Those who were still virgins should rejoice because they merited to be what they praised; widows who had taken the veil should be thankful for their chastity, which Mary had in full; married penitents at the convent should praise Mary in hope of receiving mercy.[134] As it had Mary, grace enables them to become mothers, sisters, wives, and kin to Christ by doing God's will. Their obedience unifies the nuns with Mary and all other members of the body of Christ.[135] In Radbertus's presentation, the Holy Spirit impresses the image of Mary's total obedience and total openness to God upon the body as well as the soul of nuns. They become the brides whose nuptial lamps shine with a glory that is outward as well as inward.[136]

In the commentary on Psalm 44, Radbertus again applied to the nuns of Soissons the agrarian and botanical imagery traditionally associated with Mary. The religious are the flower of the field and the lily of the valley mentioned in the Song of Solomon (2:1). In a moral sense, the field of the heart blooms with virtue when the seed of life is sowed in it by Christ and watered by the Holy Spirit. Although the hearts of all the faithful are the garden of delights ploughed by the Gospel, nuns in particular produce a strikingly luxuriant array of flowers because they are "enclosed" and "sealed" (Song of Sol. 2:2). Even for the religious, however, application and hard work are needed to prevent the "lilies of chastity" from being choked

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[132] Ibid., 16.107 (158): "una est et forma uirginitatis in Maria, cui uos omnes, ut imaginem reformetis integritatis, faciem imprimere debetis in sculptura Spiritus Sancti, quoniam haec est 'hortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquarum uiuentium.' Ad quam nulli potuerunt doli irrumpere, neque praeualuit fraus inimici, sed permansit sancta mente ac corpore, multis donorum priuilegiis sublimata. Idcirco hanc imitamini moribus, sequimini castitate, huius implorate auxilium."

[133] Ibid., 4.22 (118–19). Whether or not his references to the school of virtues and the school of Christ were intended to evoke the *Regula sancti Benedicti*, Prologue 45 (n. 21 above), 424: "Constituenda est ergo nobis dominici schola servitii," it seems clear that Radbertus had in mind the widely accepted idea of the apostolic origin of the monastic life. But Radbertus's statement is insufficiently developed to qualify as either what de Vogüé has called the Alexandrian or the Jerusalem version of the origin of monasticism; see Adalbert de Vogüé, "Monasticism and the Church in the Writings of Cassian," *Monastic Studies* 3 (1965): 19–51.

[134] *De assumptione* 6.35 (124).

[135] Ibid., 19.114–15 (161); see also *Sermones de assumptione* 1 (245A).

[136] *De assumptione* 19.116 (161).

by the thorny weeds that may take root in the garden.[137] The same gracious infusion of the Holy Spirit causes the field of the Church to yield an abundance of variously colored flowers, the totality of which constitutes the radiant beauty of the bride of Christ. As the true vine (John 15:1), Christ propagates all the flowers and fruit of this field, and this is why the bride of Song of Solomon (7:11–12) urges the groom to come into the field with her. Full of flowers and the fragrance of life, this field is the hiding place of the treasure mentioned in the Gospel (Matt. 13:44). All the faithful who have been captivated by the love of that treasure sell their possessions and even give up themselves to obtain just one flower of the sort mentioned in Song of Solomon 2:1 ("I am a flower of the field and lily of the valley").[138]

Radbertus expected that the conformity of the nuns to the divine form of Christ as this was mediated by Mary would be total, encompassing the whole person, body, soul, and spirit. He found various ways of expressing this idea of total conformity or attunement. Although the beauty of the bride of Song of Solomon 4:1 is in the first instance inward, a matter of the indwelling of God through faith and the adornment of the soul with virtue, that beauty shines outwardly in good deeds and a radiance that suffuses her entire life.[139] Obeying both the psalmist (Ps. 44:11) and St. Benedict (*Regula* Prologue 1), the nuns listen to the divine word with devout mind and "cordis auribus." They implement what they hear by becoming deaf to the siren call of their former vice and imperfect way of life, but also by distancing themselves from their family and homeland.[140] Neither the love of a man nor the love of children, neither the harshness of life nor the weakness of the flesh in its encounter with enticements should be allowed to deflect the nun from Christ.[141] Nuns are blessed because they have received not only a first grace in baptism, but also a second when they turned from the world, becoming a sacrifice to God, offered up as Samuel had been by his mother. Neither having nor wishing to have, they are truly dead to the world and become instead possessions of the Holy Spirit by whose inpouring they are sanctified and nourished.[142]

Nuns are the heliotrope flowers in the field of the Gospel, leaning toward and striving to gaze only upon the sun whose radiance colors them inside

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[137] *In Psalmum 44* 1.167–204 (6–7).

[138] Ibid., 1.544–66 (19).

[139] Ibid., 3.525–55 (90–91). Like the Church as a whole, the nuns are "intus forisque gloriosa." See ibid., 3.155–56 (78).

[140] Ibid., 3.232–53 (80–81).

[141] Ibid., 2.768–71 (54).

[142] Ibid., 3.934–53 (104).

and out. The image of heliotropes, which comes not from the Song of Solomon but from Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, Radbertus linked with the conformity to God of nuns, who, as has been mentioned, are the enclosed garden and sealed fountain of Song of Solomon 4:12: "in gardens of this sort the image of God . . . is preserved inviolate, suffused with water of the purest font." This fountain of life originates in God the Father but wells up in the form of the sealed fountain in the heart of virgins. Nourished by its water, the heliotrope flowers open themselves and reach toward Christ the sun, following his course across the sky. During the cold hours of darkness the flowers fold in on themselves, their movement registering as much sadness at night as it did joy in the day.[143] The image of flowers watered by the Holy Spirit and striving to conform to Christ involves not only the minds and souls but the bodies of the nuns of Soissons. In Radbertus's view, their bodily purity, enclosed and sealed as it was, allowed them to be equated with Mary, the exemplar of virginity and the true enclosed garden and sealed fountain. The fragrance of her purity was theirs too.[144]

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[143] Ibid., 1.578–81 and 598–625 (20–21); 2.339–45 (44). Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.109 (Loeb Classical Library 330 [Cambridge, 1944], 250) and 22.57 (Loeb Classical Library 392 [Cambridge, 1961], 332). The heliotrope metaphor is one instance of Radbertus's idea that the divine object of love affects with itself the loving agent. Although he employed the heliotrope image instead of those of the chameleon or the fetus that Augustine had favored, Radbertus was aware of Augustine's reference to the lover's being assimilated to the object of his or her love. See *De fide* 2.7.855–93 (92), where Radbertus relied on Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus 83* 35.2 (ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 44A [Turnhout, 1975], 52–53). On the Augustinian background of the problem, and with reference to the images of chameleon and fetus, see David N. Bell, *The Augustinian Spirituality of William of Saint Thierry* (Kalamazoo, 1984), 61.

Closely related to the heliotrope metaphor as image of the progressive assimilation of human lover and divine object of love are Radbertus's references to spiritual intoxication and to the wound of love. For the former, see *In Lamentationes* 2.1216–21 (119); 2.1570–74 (131); 3.879–85 (170); 4.535–47 (258–59); *De corpore* 10.48, 59, and 60 (67); 10.137–47 (71); 16.12–18 (97); *De benedictionibus* 2.953–58 (96). Radbertus's understanding of spiritual intoxication seems to depend directly or indirectly upon Origen's. See Hans Lewky, *Sobria Ebrietas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik* (Giessen, 1929).

For the wound of love, see *VA* 24–26 (1520D–21C), where the Vetus Latina phrase "vulneratus charitate ego sum" appears at 1521A. For the Vulgate "amore langueo" see *VA* 78 (1547A); ibid., 26 (1522A), where the phrase "amore langueo" (Song of Sol. 5:8) is applied to Adalhard; *In Psalmum 44* 2.930–67 (60–61); *In Lamentationes* 3.747–62 (165); 4.1043–49 (275). Once again, the thought of Origen lies directly or indirectly behind this trope. See Henri Crouzel, "Origines patristiques d'un thème mystique: le trait et la blessure d'amour chez Origène," *Kyriakon: Festschrift J. Quasten*, 2 vols., ed. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (Münster, 1970), 1:309–19.

[144] *In Matheo* 3.1895 (56, 293).

Conclusion

The conjunction of humanity and divinity in the person of Christ disclosed the possibility of sanctifying human beings in an integral way, body as well as soul. Radbertus presented the idea of a gradual inward turning toward God using the Pauline terminology of spiritualization. In his treatise on the Eucharist, Radbertus described the *mens* or *spiritus* not only as the most excellent part of the human subject, but as the part from which the human subject is sometimes called spiritual. The spiritual man is one whose most excellent part "praeoccupauerit suis legibus totum hominem et uiuificatur a Deo." For this reason, Radbertus maintained, the eucharistic body and blood come not only from bread and wine but water as well, a triad that corresponds to the human triad of body, soul, spirit/mind. The transformation of the three elements into the spiritual body and blood of Christ mirrors the spiritualization of the whole human subject, because "animalis homo totus debeat transire in spiritum et spiritalis fieri . . . ut totus homo noster, qui duabus constat substantiis, integre reparetur. Hinc quoque Dauid: 'Sitiuit in te anima mea, quam multipliciter tibi caro mea.' [Ps. 62:2] Sitiuit ergo totus homo ut de carne et anima transiret ad spiritum, quatinus spiritalis totus in Deo esset."[145]

The tension in this centered image of the human person was not between body and soul, but rather flesh and spirit, understood as warring principles that dispute the territory of the whole human subject. In a loose sense, Radbertus equated heart with *anima* as different terms for the inner substance or part of the human person in contrast to the physical substance of the outward person.[146] But in a more particular way, heart is the unifying principle underlying body and soul. It is the central hub of the human person, and is ontologically prior to the soul and its faculties and operations, including the intellect. Neither a third substance nor a distinct faculty, the heart is the axial point of a manifold zone of activity, radiating outward in concentric spheres from center to periphery, from heart or spirit, to soul, to body.[147]

Radbertus emphasized that the fire of love that Christ sent to earth consumes the whole human subject, body and soul, and leaves him or her with

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[145] *De corpore* 11.76–100 (75), a discussion that follows references to ordinate *caritas* (Song of Sol. 2:4), ibid., 11.48 (74), the Pauline concept of reform or change for the better ("in melius transmutatum"), ibid., 11.55 (74), and 1 Thess. 5:23, ibid., 11.70–71 (74).

[146] *In Matheo* 1.2280–87 (56, 76–77), where Ps. 83:3 ("My heart and my flesh exult in the living Lord") appears; see also ibid., 4.2834–47 (56, 450), for the contrast between hearing in the heart and speaking; see also ibid., 10.1054 (56A, 1097): "cor pro parte carnis accipitur."

[147] De Lubac, "Tripartite Anthropology" (n. 46 above), 117.

a constant love of what comes from on high. "Quo nimirum fonte [i.e., of divine love] anima renata transit in Deum non per immutationem substantiae sed per renascentiam affectus ut toto diligat Deum." This new way of feeling is what Radbertus called "uera et integra caritas," and it included not only a limitless love of God, but a measured love of neighbor. The important point here is that Radbertus maintained that the body too has a share in this rebirth and upward striving towards heaven. "Vult [anima] enim ut et caro secum ad incorruptionem transeat sicut propheta canit: 'Sitiuit in te anima mea quam multipliciter tibi caro mea' [Ps. 62:2]."[148] Elsewhere Radbertus explained that the whole person, internal and external, must cry and repent and return to the wholeness of striving for God. Monks renounce the world and engage in fasting and prayer in order to expel the devil from the whole human subject, body and soul, and to give themselves over wholly to God.[149] The fatiguing ascetic practice of the religious shows that being "paupertate Christi vestitus" involves the whole person.[150]

To the extent that grace transforms and orders the human subject's love, his or her experience is transformed in light of the awareness of the measure that has been revealed between the finite, contingent creation and the infinite, absolute Creator.[151] A central feature of this ordered love is the injunction to love God without limit, and to love neighbor as one loves oneself. What makes this ordinate love possible is the Incarnation, for by becoming himself our neighbor, so to speak, Jesus Christ showed what it is in Man that deserves to be the object of love. By pointing to the proper relation between absolute and measured love, he established *caritas* instead of natural affection, whether vicious or virtuous, as the foundation of human social interaction.[152] In effect, Christ revealed not only divinity but humanity, for only in him can human beings know the full meaning of what it is to be human. The flame of love that engulfs the believer enables him or her to view things and people against the horizon of God's eternal dispensation rather than as they appear against the temporal background of nature and history.[153] Although the circumstances of this life make it easier to love some people more than others, "this fire of love encompasses everyone both

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[148] *De fide* 3.5.467–99 (114–15).

[149] For crying, repentance, and striving see *In Lamentationes* 4, Prologus 24–28 (240–41). For expelling the devil from the whole subject see *In Matheo* 8.1925–32 (56A, 856).

[150] *Epitaphium* 1.20 (50).

[151] Radbertus's main discussion of "ordinata caritas" is *De fide* 3.8 (120) and refers to Song of Sol. 2:4.

[152] *In Matheo* 10.1060–94 (56B, 1097–98).

[153] *De fide* 3.11.965–67 (129); *In Matheo* 1.2677–81 (56, 90).

present and absent in Christ and because of Christ."[154] In other words, ordinate love is the ground of the subject's experience of sorrow and joy, transforming those natural feelings into what they had not been before, namely aspects of the subject's share-taking in the divine. The same applies to fear and pain, for the love that casts out fear (1 John 4:18) inspired the martyrs to face torture and death.[155]

To enjoy this transformed experience is to begin to taste the heavenly feast even in the present life. As heir to Origen, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, Radbertus employed the concept of spiritual senses to describe the contemplative's savorous knowing and fruitive participation in the divine.[156] Radbertus explained that Wisdom of Solomon 1:1 ("Sense of the Lord in goodness and simplicity of heart") refers to the foretaste of the sweetness of God that is savored by the "palatum cordis" as it considers the precepts of Scripture. This taste rejects any concupiscence of the flesh that is in us, just as it rejects the miseries of the present age and provides strengthening refreshment. The person who experiences God in this way cannot feel the anguish and pleasures of the present because in him is the whole strength of the Lord. The taste of this same food and drink sustained Elias on his journey to the mountain of God for forty days and forty nights (1 Chron. 19:8).[157]

Radbertus stressed the power this sweet taste has to shift the subject's attention from this world to the next. As he wrote, the soul "cum praegustat quam suauis est Dominus mox mundi nescia uelut ignis amoribus inardescit et fit fortis ita ut ei non uideatur inpossibile ueniendi ad quod tendit." In short, because the palate of the heart already savors heavenly food, the believer comes to participate in transcendent goodness, thus rendering the will better able to stretch towards its future dwelling place and its eternal goodness.[158] While in this case the sweetness of God reaches the palate of the heart through the words of Scripture, it might also be experienced in the Eucharist. In the *Letter to Fredugard*, Radbertus wrote that, just as in the present life we have an incomplete knowledge of God (1 Cor. 13:9) and an incomplete prophetic knowledge of the future heavenly kingdom, "ita ex

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[154] *De fide* 3.8.681–91 (121).

[155] Ibid., 3.9.798–800 (124).

[156] Karl Rahner, "Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 13 (1931): 113–45; English trans. in idem, *Theological Investigations* 16 (London, 1979), 81–103. A good example of Radbertus's debt to this tradition occurs *In Matheo* 11.2622–30 (56B, 1230).

[157] *In Matheo* 1.2673–2709 (56, 90–91).

[158] Ibid., 1.2704–9 (56, 91); see also *De corpore* 10.131–54 (70–71), where the heavenly nourishment of the Eucharist is compared to Elijah's miraculous nourishment and to the intoxicating cup (Ps. 22:5) of the Holy Spirit. In all three cases, "nostra accipientium praeparanda sunt corda, ut tali epulo refecti ad altiora in fortitudine transeamus."

parte praegustamus non palato oris, sed palato cordis et per fidem Christi corpus et sanguinem esse credimus."[159]

Radbertus had other imagery besides the taste of the heart to describe the experience of one who lives the vision of God on earth. Some of these expressions are more overtly paradoxical than the idea of the spiritual senses — for example, the familiar notion of the monastic regimen as "negotiosissima otia," a life of busy repose and restful occupation.[160] In a general sense, this paradox indicates that the monk's withdrawal from secular society is not a sign of idleness or sloth but a way of concentrating on prayer and ascetic discipline. St. Benedict's *Rule* conveys a feeling of urgency about making the best possible use of the time the monk has in this life; a monk who wastes time or distracts others with gossip is liable to reprimand and, in persistent cases, punishment. Radbertus equated busy rest with Cicero's reference to a maxim attributed to Scipio Africanus, namely that he was "never less at leisure than when he was at leisure, nor less alone than when he was alone."[161] Again, Radbertus deemed it appropriate to apply Virgil's language of "alta silentia" and the leisure of bucolic life to the busy repose of the monastic existence.[162]

On the basis of these passages, it hardly seems an exaggeration to say that ordered love is the matrix for any complete and authentic human expe-

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[159] *Epistola* 105–9 (148). See also *De corpore* 2.38–39 (21), for "spiritalia sacramenta palato mentis et gustu fidei digne percipere." See also *VA* 63 (1540B), and *In Matheo* 6 Prefatio 13 (56A, 554), for other references to "palatum cordis." For background see Franz Posset, "Sensing God with the 'Palate of the Heart' according to Augustine and Other Spiritual Authors," *American Benedictine Review* 49 (1998): 356–86; see also Gregorio Penco, "La dottrina dei sensi spirituali in S. Gregorio," *Benedictina* 17 (1970): 161–201, at 168–69 and 173 n. 93; for some references in the works of Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Jean of Fécamp, see Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle: Jean de Fécamp*, Études de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité 9 (Paris, 1946), 99 n. 3.

[160] On this general topic, see Jean Leclercq, *Otia Monastica: Études sur le vocabulaire de la contemplation au moyen âge*, Studia Anselmiana 51 (Rome, 1963). Catry, "Amour du monde et amour de Dieu" (n. 87 above), 75, notes that Gregory the Great admitted that it was possible to "vacare soli Deo" in an interior way while at the same time being involved in an external way with earthly responsibilities. Indeed, Catry (ibid., 62) points out that for Gregory the Great, just as the carnal human being is never truly at rest even when at rest, the spiritual human being is at rest even when attending to earthly affairs.

[161] Cicero, *De officiis* 3.1 (Loeb Classical Library 30 [Cambridge, 1913], 271), which Radbertus quoted twice, *Expositio in Psalmum 44* 1.28–39, 1–2, and *In Matheo* 11 Prologue 5–14 (56B, 1149). See also *Epitaphium* 1.4 (26), where Radbertus explained that for Abbot Wala being at leisure to regard God attentively was compatible with activity undertaken for the sake of neighbor; he was intent upon God even while involved in administrative affairs. See Leclercq, *Otia Monastica*, 72 and 78.

[162] *In Matheo* 11 Prologue 1 (56B, 1149), for *Aeneid* 10.63; *VA* 42 (1531B), where Radbertus quoted *Georgics* 2.467–68, as noted by Leclerq, *Otia Monastica*, 75.

rience, not only as it will be in heaven, but as it is already on earth. This transformed experience is the subjective side of the believer's objective transformation into an adoptive child of God. It is also fundamental to Radbertus's monastic humanism. Any assessment of that humanism must take into account what has been shown here about his view of the weakness imposed by, and the possibility presented by Man's embodied condition. Prior to the question of the proper attitude toward ancient pagan literature, and at a deeper level than the issue of learned culture itself, was his understanding of the role of the body in the process of sanctification.

The story of Adalhard's seven-year exile to the monastery of St. Filibert on the island of Noirmoutier in the Loire estuary expresses Radbertus's Christian optimism. He presented the abbot as the victim of a false and malicious accusation, targeted precisely because he loved truth and justice above all. Disgraced at court, stripped of his office and possessions, Adalhard was banished. Although the imperial couple, Louis the Pious and Judith, and their advisers, intended to injure Adalhard, divine providence used their malevolence to augment his virtue. Adversity simply intensified the splendor of this vessel of God. As God had protected the three boys who were placed in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3), so he shielded Adalhard.[163] Having attained the first seven beatitudes thanks to divine grace, Adalhard now reached the eighth and highest, namely enduring persecution for righteousness' sake (Matt. 5:10).[164]

The Christian optimism of this story consists in the transformation of the experience of suffering into the experience of the presence of God. As Radbertus had explained in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, the humble, the poor, those who mourn, and so forth are blessed not because of what they endure, but because of the love of God that leads them to endure patiently. In Adalhard's case, what human agency had intended to be punishment, divine agency sublated into reward. Like John before him, when he was expelled "ab humano orbe," he became "coelestis patriae inquisitor" and feasted upon "coelestia . . . sacramenta." The seven-year duration of his exile corresponded to the sevenfold gift of grace that the Holy Spirit bestowed upon him.[165] At St. Filibert's monastery, Adalhard rejoiced in an existence that was at once protological and eschatological. On one side, for a person clothed again in the righteousness that Adam had lost, the place was like Eden, affording the "secura quies, et nescia fallere

[163] *VA* 40 (1530C).

[164] Ibid., 30 and 38 (1523D–24A and 1529C, respectively). On the hard commandment to suffer for righteousness' sake, see *In Mattheo* 3.2183–88 and 2231–82 (56, 302 and 304–5, respectively).

[165] *VA* 39 (1529D–30A).

vita . . . et latis otia fundis" that Virgil had described (*Georgics* 2.467–68). On the other side, he led the "vita angelica," enjoying the "coelestis sabbatum . . . perennis" and, in the Psalmist's words (Ps. 33:9), tasting "how sweet the Lord is."[166]

Radbertus's account of his hero's joy is notably Christocentric. The love poured out in the Incarnation is not only the path toward, or the material cause of, the human subject's proleptic experience of heaven; it is the very substance of that experience. To accept a share of that love is to begin to participate in what the angels enjoy. Adalhard realized his heavenly citizenship (Phil. 3:20) and tasted what is above (Col. 3:2) because he had "died with Christ," and his "life was hidden with Christ in God" (Col. 3:3); he showed that one endures the storms of this life by clinging to the rock that is Christ (1 Cor 10:4) and by anchoring oneself in heaven by hope.[167] Because of his sure grounding in the love of God that is in Christ Jesus, Adalhard was among those St. Paul had in mind when he said (Rom. 8:35): "Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Will hardship, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"[168] The divine love embodied and enacted in Christ makes it possible for human beings to be both in the world and beyond the world. That is, by participating in God's love even before the general resurrection, the elect enjoy a life that is transformed, lifted up, or sublated into an angelic existence.

Adalhard's participation in divine love bound him not only to Christ but to other human beings, enemies as well as friends, in Christ. Although the imperial couple and their associates served Babylon rather than Jerusalem, Adalhard continually prayed for their conversion and petitioned God with tears to spare them the future punishment that he foresaw would likely be theirs.[169] Because human participation in the divine begins on earth but is

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[166] *VA* 40–42 (1530B–31B). This was a deeper version of Adalhard's earlier inward withdrawal into the presence of God. See ibid., 27–28 (1522C–D), where the key phrases are "secum totus ingrediebatur, ut totus Deo ac sibi adesset" and "ille soli Deo vacaret."

[167] *VA* 44 (1532): "'Nostra autem conversatio in coelis esse creditur: idcirco quae sursum sunt sapimus, et non quae super terram. Mortui enim sumus cum Christo, et vita nostra cum eo in coelis est abscondita; ut cum Christus apparuerit vita nostra, tunc et nos simul cum eo appareamus in gloria.' His et hujuscemodi verbis ad petram quae Christus est fratrum animos solidabat, ut quia inter fluctus marinos extra mundum positi uidebantur, spe quam velut anchorum habemus, coelo profundius firmarentur."

[168] Ibid., 40 (1530C).

[169] Ibid., 43 (1531), where his immoderate concern for the salvation of his tormentors, "dolore suffusus nimio lamento," seems to echo the "nimietas" of Christ's sorrow over the death of Lazarus (ibid., 4 [1509D]), as well as the "prae amore nimio," with which Adalhard longed for heaven (ibid., 26 [1521D]). Earlier (ibid., 24 [1520D–21A]), Radbertus had remarked Adalhard's compassionate tendency to treat the misfortune of others as if it were his own. His immoderate concern for others reflects the fifth beatitude (*In Mattheo* 3.1829–47 [56, 291]).

perfected in the next life, ordered love inspires the faithful to regard their fellows not as the flawed and incomplete creatures that they are now, but instead to view them in light of the perfection they will enjoy in heaven and of which they have already begun to take a share.[170] As for the communion of friends, the monks of St. Filibert came to see that he lived the angelic life, for the "sancta devotionis flamma" and "charitatis virtus" in Adalhard moved them to greater piety and strengthened their love of God. Their initial reserve toward the newcomer soon gave way to an intense and sincere love for Adalhard, not on account of his noble birth but "pro venustate morum et sapientiae documentis, necnon et pro sublimitate virtutum."[171] Their "excessive love" nearly prevented them from allowing Adalhard to return to Aachen at the end of his sojourn on Noirmoutier. One of the brothers, Ragnard, was so overcome with sadness that he did not join the others as they escorted the "vir Dei" to the ship. When he realized that Ragnard was missing, Adalhard disembarked and sought him for a last goodbye. Then in terms reminiscent of Aeneas's departure from Carthage (*Aeneid* 4.588), Radbertus described the hoisted sail and pull of oars as the ship set out. Instead of the funeral pyre of a queen, however, the fire on shore was the "unus spiritus amoris" that "fervebat" in the entire community as their eyes followed the ship as long as they could.[172]

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[170] *De fide* 3.7.621–24 (119). This reflects Christ's treatment of the Apostle Peter (*In Matheo* 8.2237–50 [56A, 804]); Peter's oscillating faith appears again in *De fide* 1.13.1749–61 (57).

[171] *VA* 40–41 (1530).

[172] Ibid., 47 (1533): "contraque prae nimio amore ingenti animo lacrymabant, lacrymando quoque vix eum dimittere cogebantur."