Creating Symbolic Landscapes

MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT OF SACRED SPACE

John Howe

In 1997 I published an article titled "The Conversion of the Physical World: The Creation of a Christian Landscape."[1] In keeping with the goals of the conversion volume in which it appeared, I emphasized ways medieval Christians converted their inherited sacred landscapes. This was an important process. Of Martin of Tours (d. 397) it was said, "In every place where he destroyed a pagan shrine, he immediately built a church or monastery";[2] of Boniface (d. 754), that through his efforts "the pagan temples and gods were overthrown and churches were built in their stead";[3] of Sturm (d. 779), that he "seized every opportunity to impress upon the Saxons in his preaching that they should forsake idols and images, accept the Christian faith, destroy the temples of the gods, cut down the groves and build sacred churches."[4] The pagan temples themselves would have survived this transition if, as suggested by Gregory I in his famous letter of 601 to Mellitus, missionaries had exorcized the buildings and rededicated them "from the service of devils to the worship of the true God."[5] Many Christian sacred sites certainly relate to older pagan sacralities.[6]

Now, however, I find myself dissatisfied with that essay. Its perspective can be too easily misinterpreted. It might suggest that Christian sacred geography can be largely understood as an inheritance from earlier religions. Scholars have claimed that whereas paganism was originally rooted in geography, Christianity was not.[7] Some have assumed that Christian sacred geography must necessarily have pagan roots.[8] If this becomes a

preliminary assumption, then it is virtually impossible to recognize any distinctively Christian landscape. Therefore it might be a useful exercise to attempt to analyze Christian sacred geography by putting aside temporarily all notions of "pagan survivals" and looking instead at elements of Christian originality.

A way to envision medieval Christians as the creators of their sacred landscapes is suggested by the work of William A. Christian, Jr., a student of modern and contemporary Spanish popular religion. In his 1996 study *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ* he devotes a whole chapter to the "sacred landscapes" that developed in the 1930s out of a Basque efflorescence of Marian visions. He uses eyewitness accounts, press reports, and dated photographs to create an almost week-by-week record of how, over a three-year period, visionaries at Ezkioga "discovered aspects of the place to be sacred." At first the original seers saw the Blessed Virgin "up the mountain" or "in the sky." Then gradually the contours of the sacred site coalesced. A neighboring priest, a devotee of Lourdes, led the seers to various points on the hill. The visions became localized on trees— first on apple trees, then on a small oak grove. One of the oaks was converted into a cross. As more people became seers, and had more complex visions, "they reached a consensus on location that provided a center for [a sort of] . . . hillside arena." Photographs located "the site" with increasing precision. It became more churchlike, with its own decorum and protocol. An enclosure was built for the seers. Paths were cut in an attempt to turn the whole hill into a series of stations of the cross. After the four semiofficial trees had been damaged by souvenir gatherers, a chapel built next to them became the new center of attention. One of the seers found a spring, whose waters were then channeled so that they flowed into the chapel, issuing directly behind the pedestal of a statue of Mary. Although ultimately this cult was to be undermined by ecclesiastical and governmental disapproval, it offers an excellent example of how a site can be remodeled into a more perfect landscape. The devotees improved upon nature by blazing paths, channeling a spring, isolating and then cutting down trees, and so forth. They chose among various alternatives, evaluating their own unique experiences in the light of their knowledge of accepted sites such as Lourdes and Fatima.[9]

This sort of active engagement with the sacred landscape is not unique. Similar stories could be told about Apparition Hill near Medjugorje in

Bosnia.[10] Even my own hometown of Lubbock, Texas, boasts an analogue, a small outdoor shrine featuring classical Marian symbols, built in 1988 after visionary excitement at Saint John Neumann's Parish.[11]

Did medieval people shape sacred geography in similar ways? One way to answer this question is to look at examples of how they related to several general types of awesome landscape: (1) the paradisiacal *locus amoenus*, (2) the accursed *locus horribilis*, and (3) the "sacred center" where heaven and earth meet. Although medieval texts offer less detailed information than the sources William Christian studied, they do indicate that medieval sacred landscapes were actively developed.

THE *LOCUS AMOENUS*

The *locus amoenus*—the pleasant, lovely place—is a literary topos made famous by Ernst Curtius, who claimed in his monumental study *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* that "from the Empire to the sixteenth century, it forms the principal motif of all nature description." He believed that Roman pastoral poets had created the *locus amoenus* out of Greek descriptions of ideal landscapes featuring springs, birds, trees or woods, and a contrasting frame such as a rocky gorge or a mountain.[12] In Roman paganism these constituent elements could have had individual significance, with groves, springs, clusters of rock, and other potentially awe-inspiring features all boasting their own attendant spirits.[13] Yet these were most impressive in combination. Historians of religion have observed that, cross-culturally, a spatial image embodying completeness, solitude, and even paradisiacal resonance can be created by juxtaposing mountains, water, trees, and grottos.[14]

Medieval Christian writers described such paradisiacal sites as the natural abodes of hermits and monks.[15] It is said of Conuuoionus (d. 868), the first abbot of Redon in Brittany, that "wishing to devote his labour to true wisdom, he sought a place of solitude in the region of Vannes called Redon, situated near the curve of two noble rivers. This same place is, in fact, reckoned so outstanding in its natural position that it surpasses the other settlements of Gaulish Britain in beauty, surrounded by mountains with their steep slopes close to the sky—as if by some kind of wall—and the most pleasant land provides gifts of all good things . . . [a place] predestined by God from eternity that it should forever be a house of prayer."[16] Peter Damian tells how the young Romuald (d. circa 1027), whenever he went

hunting and entered a *locus amoenus* in the woods, would feel his soul burn with desire for the desert, and would be saying within himself, "Oh, how well hermits could live in these recesses of the forest, how perfectly they would be able to contemplate quietly here, away from all the disturbance of worldly noise."[17] Such sites were considered natural locations for contemplatives because, as Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) wrote to Henry Murdoch, "Believe me who have experience, you will find more [by] labouring amongst the woods than you ever will amongst books. Woods and stones will teach you what you can never hear from any master. Do you imagine you cannot suck honey from the rocks and oil from the hardest stone; that the mountains do not drop sweetness and the hills flow with milk and honey; that the valleys are not filled with corn?"[18]

Yet medieval people were firmly convinced that even a *locus amoenus* could be improved. Pre-Christian sacred sites had featured man-made wells as well as natural springs; the sacred groves had often benefited from careful tending.[19] So it was with Christian "paradises." Note, for example, how the idyllic description of the monastery of Jumièges, presented by the eighth-century *Vita Philiberti*, segues effortlessly from Paradise to pig farming: "Jumièges is properly named Gemmeticum because it shines with diverse ornament in the manner of gems. Here is the forest foliage of leafy branches, here the many fruits of trees; on that side the most fertile earth is pleasing, there is meadow grass with its blades. Here are the sweet-smelling flowers of the gardens; there abounds the clustered fruit of the grapevines, which in brimming goblets gives a reddish glow to Falernian wine. Girded everywhere with waters, the splendid field is pleasing, suitable for the pasturage of pigs, yielding milk-bearing flocks, apt for different kinds of hunting, harmonious with the song of birds."[20]

When Rudesindus (d. 977) of Dumio, in today's northern Portugal, decided to leave the world, "It was revealed to him . . . as he was praying that . . . he should take up the monastic life . . . [at a place] assigned to him by God." After he saw it he rejoiced, because this "Villaris was part of the estate of his grandparents, and was located in a pleasant valley, filled with fountains and little streams, and suitable for bringing forth flowers, produce, and herbs, as well as fruit-bearing trees."[21] Rudesindus's predestined site was pleasant actually and potentially, ready to be improved by the saint and his future followers.

Nature and culture work together especially well in the description of the monastery of Thorney, in the diocese of Ely, offered by William of

Malmesbury (d. 1143). William portrays Thorney as "an image of Paradise" in its groves, plants, and fields, a place where "not even the least portion of land is left vacant. Here the earth raises up fruit-bearing trees; there a field is adorned with vines, which either crawl on the earth or rise on high by means of trellises. In a mutual competition between nature and cultivation, the latter produces whatever the former forgets."[22] Additional ancient and medieval parallels could be cited.[23] It seems to have been generally accepted that human improvements could enhance natural paradises.

THE *LOCUS HORRIBILIS*

Another model, equally awesome, is the *locus horribilis*. This is the opposite of Paradise, a blighted landscape, a place of horror, vast solitude, and impassability, abounding in savage beasts and demons. It is biblical wilderness, as in, for example, Deuteronomy's depiction of Moses "in a desert land in a place of horror and vast wilderness" (32:10), or Isaiah's description of the doom in store for Babylon and Edom, where all will be reduced to ruins, wild beasts, nettles, thistles—a desolation so great that even Arabs will stay away (13:20–21, 34:13–15). In such a desert Christ himself spent time with the wild beasts (Mark 1:13). There lived the prophets, who were "wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens, and in caves of the earth" (Hebrews 11:38). Curtius did not discuss the *locus horribilis* presumably because it is not a classical image. Yet today's ecclesiastical historians recognize it as a hagiographical commonplace, one especially popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[24] Although some scholars have been tempted to draw conclusions about the significance of the relative prominence of the *locus horribilis* and *locus amoenus* in different medieval centuries, it may be safer to envision these contrasting Semitic and Hellenistic emphases as a double heritage, intertwined from biblical times onward.[25]

According to hagiography, monastic founders and hermits sought out *loci horribiles* filled with beasts, demons, and impassable forests.[26] For example, Bede (d. 735) describes how Chad (d. 672), bishop of the East Saxons, when asked to found the monastery that became Lastingham, "chose for himself a site for the monastery amid some steep and remote hills which seemed better fitted for the haunts of robbers and the dens of wild beasts than for human habitation; so that, as Isaiah says, 'In the habitations where once dragons lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes [Isaiah 35:7],' that is, the fruit of good works shall spring up where beasts once dwelt or where

men lived after the manner of beasts."[27] Likewise, Adso of Montier-en-Der (d. 992), in his vita of Frodobertus, the seventh-century founder of Montier-la-Celle, relates: "There was a place, part of the royal land holdings, which nevertheless, as it was said, was more suitable for beasts and serpents than men. Frodobertus . . . fortified by divine help, sought out the horrible foulnesses of the place, and, things having been begun from the beginning, he prepared a suitable space for a habitation after he had uprooted the brush and drained the pools. There, once he had constructed a little cell and oratory, he lived in relative solitude with just a few brothers, dedicated to divine contemplation and always busy with angelic actions."[28]

The first surviving vita of the seventh-century hermit Rodingus, the founder of Beaulieu-en-Argonne, written by Richard of Saint-Vannes (d. 1046), describes how "in his old age Rodingus wanted to withdraw into solitude, so that, remote from human companionship, he might more freely focus the eye of his mind on divine contemplation. . . . he went out of the monastery and withdrew into a place of horror and vast solitude . . . not far from the monastery, hiding in the thickets of the forest (it is uncertain exactly where he lived but it was about a mile and a half away)." At night Rodingus would sometimes visit his old monastery and correct whatever needed fixing. In the eleventh century the monks of Beaulieu-en-Argonne were themselves able to tie up some loose ends. In a closely related but slightly later second vita, the hermitage of Rodingus is located and available for tours. Presumably the monks were exhibiting a credible *locus horribilis* that corresponded to the hermitage data of the first vita.[29]

Although medieval authors saw spiritual value in blighted wilderness, they also believed that it could and should be transformed. At Reichenau, thanks to the efforts of Pirmin (d. before 754), "in a short time what was deformed became straight, what was uncultivated became pleasant [*amoena*], what was foul became beautiful."[30] Judocus (seventh century), in a section new to his unpublished early-eleventh-century Fleury life, looked for a solitary hermitage in some horrid, out-of-the-way spot, not fearing the wiles of the devil—but there he found a *locus amoenus*.[31] The way the white monks conquered their wildernesses is lovingly related in Cistercian narratives, especially in Bernard's descriptions of the transformations his monks wrought at Clairvaux[32] and in Cîteaux's foundation legends.[33]

Yet the Cistercians could also create wilderness. Constance Berman, in close studies of the acquisition records of the Cistercian foundations of southern France, has demonstrated that the forests were largely cleared and

settled by the time the Cistercians arrived on the scene. What they did was to reorganize the land. Cistercians evicted peasants or recruited them as lay brothers. Their "rural renewal" programs created parish-size granges with no tenants except for the monks and the brothers; they made landscapes into "paradises" by developing broad fields, irrigated meadows, fishponds, and great stone barns. Cistercian pastoralism consolidated grazing rights, helping to convert uplands into territories that more closely approximated "vast solitudes." All in all, Cistercians in southern France were more likely to be preserving forests than clearing them.[34] Cistercian practices elsewhere appear to have been similar.[35]

It was also possible to create artificial wilderness. Although real wildernesses of "horror and vast solitude" can effectively induce religious fear and trembling, such places are impractical for pious gatherings just because of their inherent isolation. Rural shrines generally had to be situated near population centers, both in the pre-Christian[36] and in the Christian world.[37] Nevertheless, they could still evoke the symbolic value of wilderness in their entrances: Mary Lee Nolan concluded, after attempting to catalogue all contemporary Western European pilgrimages, that even though "only about six percent of the shrines are difficult of access in the sense that they can be visited only by hiking for an hour or more at a brisk pace," nevertheless quite "common" are "winding access roads and short trails to the shrine sites."[38] Even in today's world of auto and bus transportation, parking facilities are usually kept far enough away from the pilgrimage goal so that a short walk through trees, rocks, and miscellaneous votive offerings can give some hint of a more awesome, less everyday world.

THE SACRED CENTER

A third category of sacred place is the "sacred center," a general concept that can subsume the two wilderness images already discussed and others besides. This model describes a sacred landscape in terms of relationships rather than of specific morphological features. A sacred center links earth and heaven, the human and the divine. Thus it combines a symbolic physical point with its associated social and religious constructs. Crowds of pilgrims and worshipers are part of this kind of sacred landscape, often the most significant part.

Pilgrimage centers have drawn the most attention. For Mircea Eliade, every pilgrimage shrine was the archetype of a sacred center, a point where

heaven and earth meet, where time stands still, where the transcendent can be touched.[39] Victor and Edith Turner, more concerned with the pilgrimage experience itself than with its actual goal, put the human relationships around such centers into sharper focus, emphasizing *communitas,* a social leveling associated with pilgrimage.[40] Later anthropologists have often found more hierarchical reinforcement than *communitas.*[41] Although such debates highlight the constructed nature of the pilgrimage experience, they tend to neglect the phenomenological character of the pilgrims' goal.

The obvious problem with the sacred-center concept is its breadth. If, as Eliade claimed, sacred centers are places where heaven and earth touch, then this model potentially describes a universe of religious symbols ranging from the relatively natural to the entirely constructed. Of course, religious significance is often attributed to certain natural features such as awesome vistas. Archaeological evidence suggests that in Iron Age Europe high places were increasingly utilized for religious purposes. The Roman world had many hilltop sanctuaries, some of which Christianity managed to absorb—it will suffice to recall the temple of Apollo that became Benedict's monastery on Monte Cassino or the shrines to the archangel Michael developed on Monte Gargano and on Mont-Saint-Michel. Or what of caves, special openings through which the miraculous might come forth? Sites such as Patrick's Purgatory are most famous, but dozens of local caves, associated with real or apocryphal hermits, also had Christian resonance.

On the other hand, buildings could also be sacred centers. Great stone churches with their battling bells can dominate landscape and make the sacred present. Because we are accustomed to seeing grand churches in the European landscape, we tend to forget what a creative adaptation they were. Prior to Christianity, northern Europeans needed relatively little ecclesiastical architecture to worship on hills or in groves; early Christians used house churches that looked like conventional residences; in many regions, throughout the early Middle Ages, rural churches were undistinguished private churches and chapels attached to lords' halls. Even in early medieval cities, all but the greatest ecclesiastical buildings would not have exceeded the height of the towers of Roman walls. It was in the tenth and eleventh centuries, according to recent archaeological studies, that many wooden churches were rebuilt in stone; the millennial "new white garment of churches," famously invoked by Rodulfus Glaber, seems to witness increased concern for the Christianization of the landscape.[42]

The wayside cross is a particularly good example of a sacred center.

Crosses set up on hills, at crossroads, or on other significant sites were far more than simple territorial markers—they linked heaven and earth. Particularly illuminating here is an anecdote in Huneberc's late-eighth-century *Vita Willibaldi,* where she describes how the future saint Willibald, then a three-year-old child "at the doors of death," was taken by his parents and offered up "before the holy cross of our Lord and Savior. And this they did, not in a church but at the foot of a cross, such as it is the custom for nobles and wealthier men of the Saxon people to have erected on some prominent spot in their estates, dedicated to our Lord and held in great reverence for the convenience of those who wish to pray before it. There before the cross they laid him." They vowed to offer him as an oblate to a monastery if he should recover, and so it was done.[43]

We may be tempted to imagine such crosses as great Celtic stone monuments like the Ruthwell Cross, but most were probably wood. It was around a wooden cross in 634 that the saintly King Oswald of Northumbria chose to fight his first decisive battle.[44] Such crosses would have dominated the English countryside until the Reformation. It was at a roadside cross on Midsummer Eve in 1413 that Marjery Kempe and her husband prayed after having finally negotiated their mutual vow of chastity.[45] On the continent, wayside crosses were also prominent. The early medieval monks of Saint-Wandrille in Normandy dotted the land with them to mark the sites of miracles.[46] The eighth-century "heretic" Aldebertus, whom Boniface opposed, planted chapels and crosses at fields and springs.[47] Indeed, throughout Christendom crosses could be found, albeit with abundant local variations.[48] They are a revealing type of "sacred center" because, although they were artificially constructed, they utilized special sites such as hills and crossroads—numinous, liminal places—and they gained visibility from the people who stopped and prayed.

CONCLUSION

Although Christian sacred sites may often have had pagan antecedents, this was not the whole story. Under Christianity sacred places continued to multiply in ways that had increasingly little to do with paganism. Even after the old gods were long dead, people still wanted to impose religious values on the physical world. If a place was not formally Christianized, its power remained religiously dubious. Ælfric (d. circa 1010), abbot of Eynsham near Oxford, warned in one of his homilies, "No Christian man is allowed

to fetch his health from any stone, nor from any tree unless it is the holy cross sign [rode-tacen], nor from any place unless it is the holy house of God. The one who does otherwise falls into heathen worship [hæthen-gild]."[49] This could be read narrowly as a command to reject pagan sites in favor of crosses and relics, and indeed in Aelfric's day there were still some unconverted Vikings loose in England. But Aelfric's warning has a broader corollary: If you want to use natural sacralities, be sure they have positive Christian dedications. The logical consequence of this mentality is an ongoing tendency toward the maximum possible Christianization of the landscape, toward that proliferation of shrines and dedications that Edward Muir labeled "the ubiquity of the sacred."[50]

In regard to the Ezkioga Marian apparitions, William Christian concluded that "journalists, photographers, priests, and pilgrim believers, as well as the visionaries themselves, all had a hand in the composition of a new landscape as part of a new shrine. . . . In this process the landscape itself was not an unchanging given. It was modified, bent to suit the needs of the humans and the divine. And as the iconography and the sacred ecology of the nascent shrine developed, there seemed to be a tendency to make it both similar enough to other shrines so as to be recognizable and useful, and different enough so as to be new and attractive."[51]

The same processes appear to have operated in medieval sacred places. Modern mass communications may potentially accelerate these developments, but in the Middle Ages, when divine events erupted into the world, pilgrims, taletellers, and preachers seem to have been able to spread the word efficiently enough. People had expectations about sacred places. Pilgrim guides and pilgrims knew what to look for. Paradises, wildernesses, and sacred centers were developed accordingly. Sacred landscapes are misunderstood if we see them as primordial inherited heirophanies, natural revelations of the sacred. They were also, and perhaps primarily, Christian artifact.

NOTES

1. John Howe, "The Conversion of the Physical World: The Creation of a Christian Landscape," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James K. Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 63–78.

2. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* xiii (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* [hereafter *BHL*] 5610); Jacques Fontaine, ed. and trans., *Vie de Saint Martin*, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 133–35 (Paris: Cerf, 1967–69), 1:282–83. The 1954 En-

glish translation by F. R. Hoare is most recently reprinted in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 1–29, esp. 16.

3. Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii* viii (*BHL* 1400); Wilhelm Levison, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 57 (1905), 47. The 1954 English translation by C. H. Talbot is reprinted in Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 107–40, esp. 134.

4. Eigel, *Vita Sturmi* xxii (*BHL* 7924); Georg H. Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores* 2 (1829), 376. The 1954 English translation by C. H. Talbot is reprinted in Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 165–87; see esp. 185.

5. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* I, xxx; Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 106–9. Yet, despite Gregory's advice, the destruction of pagan buildings probably remained more common. Even site continuity was not necessarily the norm. Ronald Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 271 (see also 129, 288), claims that "so far no excavations beneath existing or former Saxon churches have uncovered any traces of pre-Christian activity by the same culture."

6. Bibliography on Christian sacred landscape is extensive. Some orientation is provided in Howe, "Conversion of the Physical World," 63–78, and in R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 139–55, and "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places," *Journal of Early Christian History* 2 (1994): 258–71. Particularly useful for the late ancient world is Gerasimos Pagoulatos, "The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries," *Theologia* 65 (1994): 152–65, and Béatrice Caseau, "Sacred Landscapes" in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1999), 21–59. Possible links between pagan and Christian sacred geography and other types of ritual parallels are suggested in Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 28, 171. For a glimpse of some of the broader religious and anthropological literature concerning religion and nature, see Ann Grodzins Gold, "Magical Landscapes and Moral Orders: New Readings in Religion and Ecology," *Religious Studies Review* 21 (1995): 71–77.

7. For example, Markus, as in note 6.

8. For example, John Michell, *The Old Stones of Land's End* (London: Garnstone Press, 1974), 11, 14, 99; Michell includes in his inventory of pagan sacred sites all 150 medieval crosses recorded in West Penwith, assuming that these are likely to have been reworked prehistoric standing stones or to have been set up on preexisting holy sites.

9. William A. Christian, Jr., *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

10. Nicolas Bartulica, *Medjugorje: Are the Seers Telling the Truth? An Answer to Some Skeptics (M. Jones, Bishop Zanic, and Fr. Sivric, O.F.M.)* (Chicago: Croatian Franciscan Press, 1991), esp. 9–92, 98–99, 109, 118, although far from dispassionate, makes a coherent attempt, based upon local sources, to reconstruct the early chronology of the apparitions. His initial accounts show the seers shifting orientation from a hill to the hilltop, adding a thorn bush to the visionary theater, and finally using a stone to mark the exact site, a localization that, more than anything else, first helped to verify to a local priest the genuine character of the visions. The importance of this geography is suggested by the fact that the hostile local authorities were particularly leery of Apparition Hill, and only grudgingly came to tolerate the manifestations after they had been shifted back into an established church building.

11. A series of Marian apparitions in St. John Neumann's Parish in Lubbock, perhaps related to a prior pilgrimage to Medjugorje, culminated in a mass assembly on 15 August 1988. There today a low-key outdoor Marian shrine includes a fountain, rosebushes, and other appropriate features.

12. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask (1953; reprinted with an epilogue by Peter Godman, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 183–202.

13. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 204–7; Hutton, *Pagan Religions,* 202, 241–46. For further development of these ideas, see Sabine MacCormack, "*Loca Sancta:* The Organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage,* ed. Robert Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 7–40.

14. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion,* trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), 151–55.

15. Gregorio Penco, "Il senso della natura nell'agiografia monastica occidentale," *Studia Monastica* 11 (1969): 327–34, examines the *locus amoenus* in hagiography. For examples taken from hermit vitae written between 970 and 1070, see Howe, "Greek Influence on the Eleventh-Century Western Revival of Hermitism" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1979), 56, 388–89.

16. *Vita Sancti Conuuoionis* iii (BHL 1945); Caroline Brett, ed. and trans., *The Monks of Redon: Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conuuoionis* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989), 228–31. On the text, see Joseph-Claude Poulin, "*Sources hagiographiques de la Gaule (SHG)* III: Les dossiers des saints Melaine, Conwoion et Mervé (Province de Bretagne)," in *Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes,* ed. Martin Heinzelmann, Beihefte der Francia 24 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 149–57.

17. Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi* i (BHL 7324); Giovanni Tabacco, ed., *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi,* Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957), 14.

18. Bernard, *Epistola* cvi; *S. Bernardi Opera,* ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais,

8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), 7:266–67. An English translation (labeled letter 107) is in Bruno Scott James, *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (London: Burns Oates, 1953), 156.

19. Hutton, *Pagan Religions*, 230–31; Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 44.

20. *Vita Philiberti* vii (*BHL* 6805–6); Wilhelm Levison, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum* 5 (1910): 568–612, esp. 588. On this text see Howe, "*Sources Hagiographiques de la Gaule (SHG):* The Hagiography of Jumièges (Province of Haute-Normandie)," in *L'hagiographie du haut moyen âge en Gaule du Nord: Manuscrits, textes et centres de production,* ed. Martin Heinzelmann, Beihefte der Francia 52 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2001), 116–17.

21. Stephanus and Ordonius, *Vita S. Rudesindi* v (*BHL* 7352); *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a Saeculo Octavo post Christum usque ad Quintumdecimum Iussu Academiae Scientiarum Olisponensis Edita: Scriptores I* (Lisbon: Typis Academicis, 1856), 36 (bottom); or, for *VSR* ii (par. 5), *Vida e milagres de São Rosendo,* ed. Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira (Porto: Junto distrital da Porto, 1970), 48–49. On the problems posed by the text, which in its surviving form appears to be from the twelfth century, see José Matoso, "Études sur la *Vita et Miracula S. Rudesindi,*" *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961): 325–56.

22. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* IV, clxxxvi; N.E.S.A. Hamilton, ed., *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series) 52 (London: Longman, 1870), 326. For additional explication of this passage, see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 138–39.

23. Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), esp. 144–49, 200–201, 306–18.

24. Charles Dereine, "La spiritualité 'apostolique' des premiers fondateurs d'Affligem (1083–1100)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 54 (1959), 49–50; Penco, "Il senso della natura," 332–33.

25. Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea," in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism,* ed. Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 3–38, contrasts Hebrew and Greek ideas of wildness, contending that Hebrew hostility toward nature dominated Christianity until the twelfth century, when classical benevolence toward nature reemerged (see esp. 23, 31). This does not fit well with the examples of the *locus amoenus* model presented above or with Christine Delaplace, "Géographie de l'érémitisme en Gaule: Marches et marges de la christianisation," in *Frontières terrestres, frontières célestes dans l'Antiquité,* ed. Aline Rousselle (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995), 410–14. A more nuanced perspective is offered in Antoine Guillaumont, "La conception du désert chez les moines d'Egypte," *Revue d'histoire des religions* 188 (1975): 3–21.

26. Howe, "Greek Influence," 51–64, 383–96.

27. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III, xxiii; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History,* 287–88.

28. Adso, *Vita Frodoberti* xii (*BHL* 3178); Wilhelm Levison, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 5 (1910), 78. The latter is only a partial edition. Monique Goullet is preparing a new edition of *L'oeuvre hagiographique d'Adson de Montier-en-Der* to be published in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* in 2002.

29. Compare Richard of Saint-Vannes, *Vita Rodingi* ii (*BHL* 7281), and the edition in *Acta Sanctorum Sept.* V (1755), 516, with the later version (no *BHL* no.) quoted in the same *Acta,* 509. On these texts, see Howe, "Greek Influence," 330–32, 565.

30. *Vita Pirmini* vii (*BHL* 6855); Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores* 15 (1887), 27. This is a possible interpolation, but not out of character with other passages, especially with the demon expulsion and other landscape improvements described in chap. v.

31. Isembard of Fleury, *Vita Judoci* lectio iv (*BHL* 4505–10), in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. lat. 11926, fol. 105v. On this text see Howe, "Greek Influence," 290–98, 534–42, and "The Date of the *Vita Judoci* by Abbot Florentius (*BHL* 4511)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (1983): 25–26. See also Hubert le Bourdellès, "Vie de St Josse avec commentaire historique et spirituel," *Studi medievali* 34 (1993): 880.

32. Glacken, *Traces,* 213–14, 303. For the Clairvaux foundation as viewed by Bernard's hagiographers, see Jacques Paul, "Les débuts de Clairvaux: Histoire et théologie," in *Vies et légendes de saint Bernard de Clairvaux: Création, diffusion, réception (XIIe–XXe siècles): Actes des Rencontres de Dijon, 7–8 juin 1991,* ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jacques Berlioz, and Philippe Poirrier, Cîteaux, Commentarii Cistercienses, textes et documents 5 (Brecht, Belgium: Abdij Nazareth, 1993), 19–25.

33. Cistercian wilderness legends are surveyed in Constance H. Berman, *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty-three Monasteries,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 76(5), (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1986), 5–8. She more controversially attempts to redate the earliest forms to the 1160s and later in *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), esp. 5–23, 58–68. All would agree that the most developed version of Cîteaux's foundation is that incorporated around 1200 into Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de Initio Cisterciensis Ordinis* I, xiii; see Bruno Griesser, ed., *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 138 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 27–29. For references to similar foundation stories, see Jean-Baptiste Auberger, *L'Unanimité cistercienne primitive: Mythe ou realité?* Cîteaux: Studia et Documenta 3 (Achel, Belgium: Administration de Cîteaux, 1986), 85–133.

On the literary antecedents of these legends, see Benedicta Ward, "The Desert Myth: Reflections on the Desert Ideal in Early Cistercian Monasticism," in *One Yet Two: Monastic Tradition, East and West. Orthodox-Cistercian Symposium, Oxford University, 26 August–1 September 1973*, ed. M. Basil Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series 29 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 183–99, esp. 190–91; Denis Farkasfalvy, "Biblical Vocabulary as a Reflection of the Spirituality of the Founders of Cîteaux," in *The New Monastery: Texts and Studies on the Early Cistercians*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, Cistercian Fathers Series 60 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1998), 156–57; and, in the same volume, Louis J. Lekai, "Ideals and Reality in Early Cistercian Life and Legislation," 220–21.

34. Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, esp. ix, 11–12, 30, 53, 97–100; also her *Cistercian Evolution*, 110–23, 173–89, 212–20.

35. Constable, *Reformation*, 218–21. For what survives today of these territorial creations, see *L'Espace cistercien*, ed. Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994).

36. Aline Rousselle, *Croire et Guérir: La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 31–49, 181–86.

37. Mary Lee Nolan, "Shrine Locations: Ideals and Realities in Continental Europe," in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990), 77.

38. Ibid.

39. Mircea Eliade, "Sacred Places: Temple, Palace, 'Center of the World,'" in *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1996). This perspective is developed and cross-referenced in Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred: Geography and Narrative in American Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 16–33, 194.

40. Victor Turner, "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal," *History of Religions* 21 (1973): 191–230; Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), esp. 34–35, 254.

41. For critiques of the Turners, see John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, introduction to *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991), 4–5. Even the Turners, however, always recognized that the leveling experience they detected in pilgrimage ultimately served to reaffirm the social order it temporarily suspended.

42. Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 67; Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, III, iv and vi; John France, ed. and trans., *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque / Rodulfus Glaber: The Five Books of the Histories* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 114–17, 126–27.

43. Huneberc, *Vita Willibaldi* i (BHL 8931); Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 15(1) (1887), 88. The English translation used here is from Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 146.

44. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III i; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 214–17.

45. Marjery Kempe, *The Book of Marjery Kempe* xi; B. A. Windeatt, ed., *The Book of Marjery Kempe* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 58–60.

46. *Vita Ansberti* xxxiv (*BHL* 520); Wilhelm Levison, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 5 (1910), 639. Also *Miracula Posteriora Wandregisili* [i] (*BHL* 8808); *Acta Sanctorum Jul.* V (1727), 20. On these texts, see John Howe, "The Hagiography of Saint-Wandrille (Fontenelle) (Province of Haute-Normandie)," in Heinzelmann, *L'hagiographie du haut moyen âge*, 132–40, 183–86.

47. Boniface, *Epistula* lix; Michael Tangl, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistulae Selectae* 1 (1916), 108–20, esp. 111; see the translation by C. H. Talbot in *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954), 107–16, esp. 109–10.

48. For the cult of the cross throughout Christianity, see Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 231, 270, and John A. F. Thomson, *The Western Church in the Middle Ages* (London: Arnold, 1998), 76–77. For a specific example of ubiquitous urban crosses, see Paola Porta, "Croci medievali di Bologna/Medieval Urban Crosses," in *Medieval Metropolises: Proceedings of the Congress of the Atlas Working Group, International Commission for the History of Towns: Bologna, 8–10 maggio 1997*, ed. Francesca Bocchi (Bologna: Grafis, 1999), 167–74.

49. Ælfric, sermo xxxi, in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. Peter Clemoes [and M. R. Godden], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the Early English Text Society, 1997), 450. For a modern English translation of this passage, see Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 92–93.

50. Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner: The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Steven Ozment (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), 25–40, esp. 25.

51. William A. Christian, Jr., "The Delimitation of Sacred Space and the Visions of Ezkioga, 1931–1987," in Gajano and Scaraffia, *Luoghi Sacri*, 86, 95–96.