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PETER THE VENERABLE'S
CONCEPT OF FRIENDSHIP

by
James B. Bettendorf

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment
of the
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INTRODUCTION

"Oh friendship so precious to men but as rare as it is dear,
where have you gone?"¹

For Peter the Venerable, the astute abbot of Cluny, whose unhappy task it was to witness the decline of a great monastic community and its influence, a personally significant recourse was found in the letters which he wrote and which serve as the basis of this paper. We find on page after page a startling commitment to friendship and an anxious desire to express affection and solicitude for his friends that belies not only the traditional concept of the rigidly cloistered and effectively silenced medieval monks, but also negates any impression of a human being devoid of sensitivities or concern about involvement and relationships with his friends.

In these letters which we shall consider, a sensitive, spiritual leader and ecclesiastical diplomat emerges not only as a man of history, but as a man rich because of history. We must understand the full monastic tradition in which he shared, the vast implications of twelfth-century church reform triggered by the monasteries, and the history of the great abbey of Cluny. Cluny, in turn, cannot be understood--especially in its sad day of decline--without the reference to Citeaux and the very spirit of the rival Cistercian community in Bernard of Clairvaux. It is from this broad tapestry that we fo-

¹ Constable, Giles (Ed.), The Letters of Peter the Venerable; Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967, 9.

cus on one person who is representative of much that is significant. We cannot, however, understand Peter nor the insights that he would project and embody unless we see him within the culture from which he emerges. That no man can stand alone is a poetic assurance. It is the very concept of monastic community that none should stand apart. It would be doing Peter and his tradition an injustice to try to understand him apart from the world of happy interdependence which he preached and lived. Accordingly, we shall consider the history of Cluny, the famous monastery in Burgundy, with which Peter's fortunes are coextensive, the reforming spirit which pervaded the church and monasticism in general during his era, and the very significant voice of the spokesman for a parallel monastic expression, Bernard the Cistercian. These factors of culture, circumstance, and civilization shaped the external conditions which Peter knew. His own family and personal background prepare us to understand the intimate reflections of an urbane and spiritual man of letters. His sensitive and unflagging concern with relationships and friendships make him a very personal representative of the zenith of medieval culture and spirituality. It is this sensitive and spiritual friend, Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, whom we prepare to meet. A hand of friendship extends across the centuries.

CHAPTER I: ANTECEDENTS OF PETER

To understand the role of Cluny in the Middle Ages, we must reflect upon the way in which we speak of the Middle Ages as an age of faith. This was much more than simple intellectual assent to the teaching church and more than the simplistic naiveté of the superstitious. Faith to medieval man meant a dimension and frame of reference in which all of life was viewed. He relied upon an immediate God, present in any of the day's disasters or delights. His attitude meant faith in the integrity and foresight of temporal rulers and magistrates. The spiritual allegiance of medieval man included an unexplored and undefined faith in personal justification and underscored an awesome faith in superiors as embodying divine authority. Such reliance sponsored a great faith in the glories of antiquity, specifically in language and liturgy, and, for our purposes, it included an act of such faith in Benedictine monasticism.

I suggest that this is significant, for monasticism and the Benedictine rule were seen not only as pragmatic and desirable, but as significantly closer to the apostolic era than the spiritual accumulations of medieval man and thereby possessed of reverential status and authority. The Benedictine rule for monks had been encouraged by Charlemagne, who gloried in the restoration of empire, and so the monk, Benedict of Aniane, found a receptive ear at Charlemagne's court as Benedict embarked upon a personal program of monastic reform. Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, became a sponsor of reform at the synod of abbots which was held at Aachen in 816. This synod

prescribed the Benedictine rule and imposed in particular the emphasis on seclusion and manual labor that had characterized the original rule of St. Benedict of Nursia (480-543) at Monte Cassino in the Italian Alps.¹

History of Cluny

It was in this renewed spirit of monastic impetus that the great abbey of Cluny found its origin. At the beginning of the tenth century, Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine provided the land on which the abbey was to rise and entrusted it to an abbot, St. Berno of Baume. It was from the abbeys of Autun and/or Gigny that the first monks came. A charter for the foundation of Cluny was issued in 910.² Cluny prized an exempt status which made it subject to Rome alone and freed the monastery from diocesan rule. Status as an exempt monastery, therefore, provided a useful autonomy and independence from local episcopal authority and interference.

Monastic exemption did not begin with Cluny. The first known instance came in 629 at Bobbio in Upper Italy; the community at Gigny had also been under papal protection in 894. By the twelfth century, almost all the monasteries were exempt.³ This factor is often cited

¹Smith, L.M., The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920, 6-7.

²loc. cit., pp. 12-13.

³Bihlmeyer, Karl and Hermann Tüchle, Church History: Vol. II--The Middle Ages. Trans. by Victor E. Mills, O.F.M. and Francis J. Muller, O.F.M. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1960, 29.

among the particular advantages that accorded Cluny its spectacular growth and enabled it to become a center and impetus for reform of the monasteries. The great advantage of exemption was that by freeing the Cluniac community from the immediate control of the local bishop, it afforded the sincere agents of reform an opportunity to shape their own destiny. When Berno died in 927, he had appointed St. Odo to be his successor. Odo was able to make Cluny a center of reform within four years. The happy conjunction of the right time and the right man was shortly to bear prolific fruit. Odo was convinced that the cause of reform depended on two rules which had to be enforced: 1. No private property could belong to the monk; 2. The monk was to abstain entirely from flesh meat. This latter preoccupation made Odo the popular hero of a number of fish stories. When he turned his reforming zeal to the influential abbey of Fluery in 930, the resident monastic community had not been so thoroughly won to the cause of personal overhaul and, in particular, resented Odo's insistence on fish. Anticipating some difficulty, Odo had arrived with an awesome supply of fish to get the program under way, and the monks of Fluery set themselves to devouring his detested store voraciously, only to find that the replenished stock of the dauntless Odo outlasted them.¹

Monastic reforms, though obviously not embraced with enthusiasm in all corners, were frequently solicited by the monks. In the papal charter granted Cluny in 931, Pope John XI said:

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 41.

Because it is only too clear that almost all monasteries have erred from the regular life, we grant, that if any monk from any monastery should wish to pass over to your manner of living with the sole object of amending his life, that is, if his former Abbot has neglected to provide regular means of subsistence for preventing the holding of private property, you may receive him until such a time that the conduct of his monastery be corrected.¹

Great growth attended the monastery under the successors of Odo (927-942), Aymard and Maiolous (954-994). It was under the successor Odilo (994-1048), however, that the concept of daughter or subject houses to Cluny was begun and a great monastic network began to take shape. It was during his tenure that the right to choose bishops to ordain his monks was secured. The independence of Cluny and her affiliated monasteries became a mounting responsibility and a large factor in social reform and progressive innovation. Monasticism had achieved an identity and role within the society it was largely creating. The importance and prestige of the abbey is illustrated in Odilo's decisive influence which was exercised in establishing the Peace of God and the subsequent Truce of God.²

Much of the impetus of Cluny, which was to "set its stamp upon Western Christianity for centuries to come"³ was triggered by the

¹ loc. cit., p. 47 citing Migne, J.-P. (Ed.), Patrologia latina: Vol. CXXXII. Paris: 1844-1864, 1055. Patrologia latina (hereafter referred to as P.L.) is a 221 volume series edited by Migne and published through the years designated above.

² loc. cit., p. 170.

³ Pirenne, Henri, A History of Europe: Vol. I. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc. (Anchor Books Ed.), 1958, 151.

wide appeal of a reforming spirit. The reform of the secular clergy was not, of course, the chief interest of the abbots of Cluny. Reformers of the secular clergy buckled under family and feudal influence, with their corollary problems of lay influence and investiture. Reforming pontiffs endorsed and furthered the efforts of Cluny and it was with the cause of reform that Cluny was both identified and strengthened.

The Reform Movement

A common need of reform had arisen from many sources. The interests of church and state had frequently become so closely intertwined that they were often identified as one and not easily isolated or specified. Bishops easily became convenient magistrates or representatives of the princes, especially inasmuch as they possessed the respect and awe of the people, as well as the diocesan network of communication through local churches. A celibate clergy became desirable since such were unable to leave a benefice or political office to an heir. These considerations of church influence and authority, moreover, made the choices of bishops a mounting concern of the temporal authority. Men better suited to political rule than spiritual responsibilities often resulted. The lower clergy, denied example and appropriate education by this system, soon saw themselves as lesser political potentates or local moguls of sorts. Obviously, many represented well their honest desire to serve and honor God, but many failed to understand or appreciate their mission. The work of providing such appreciation was the work of reform, and by the middle

of the tenth century, the reform had spread through France to Italy, Flanders and Lotharingia.¹

Many men offered significant contributions to the spirit of reform: notably, Wase, the bishop of Liège, who saw the danger of reform initiated solely by the papacy with its attendant concentration of power; Humbert, cardinal of Silva Candida, the counsellor of many popes, who attacked the twin evils of simony and lay investiture, and who was perhaps the first to so specify these great problems of the church in his day; St. Peter Damian, cardinal bishop of Ostia, whose own frustrations as a monk made him a passionate zealot for reform, was convinced that reform must come from the Holy See, and urged reform of the secular clergy.²

Strong support, which emphasized the reforming spirit of Cluny, arose outside the monastery as church reformers became aware of a remarkable opportunity to spread these ideas throughout Europe. The work of monastic reform continued unabated, yet there was no reason to suppose that Cluny had devised or was implementing a grand plan of renovation of the church. The abbots and monks of Cluny attacked decadence and corruption with boundless energy and perseverance. Cluny was able to see reforms effected in the episcopacy and the papacy, and certainly offered an indirect influence on many reformers who were nurtured within the monastery. It is difficult to assess

¹loc. cit., p. 152.

²Smith, L.M., Cluny in the 11th and 12th Centuries. London: Allen and Co., Ltd., 1930, 2-9.

influence, however,¹ and certainly reform was not an unconscious attempt by the leaders of Cluny. Strayer² comments that Cluny's success arose from the remarkable administrative talents and personal sanctity of her long-lived abbots.

After the death of Odilo, St. Hugh became abbot of Cluny at the age of twenty-five; he was to rule the abbey for sixty years (1049-1109). He has been described as the first of the lordly abbots³ and was noted for organizational genius. Cluny was by now an impressive factor in European politics and her abbot an important figure. Hugh was, for instance, the godfather of Henry III, and was present at Canossa as friend of the emperor and counsellor of the pope.

A former prior of Cluny, Odo, cardinal bishop of Ostia, became Pope Urban II (1088-1099). He is remembered as the pope who initiated the crusades. It is interesting to note that he stopped at Cluny while enroute to Clermont and told the monks that his chief reason for visiting Gaul was to rejoice the monks with his presence!⁴ Even though the crusades may not have been anticipated before messengers

¹L.M. Smith ascribes implementation of reforms to an often neglected and unnoted factor, rather than essentially to the Cluniac contribution: "...It was not to the Cluniacs but to the bookworms in Cathedral and monastic libraries, who--patient and unknown--had ransacked the archives, that the inspiration and guidance of the reforms were traced." loc. cit., p. 28.

²Strayer, Joseph R. and Dana C. Munro, The Middle Ages, 4th ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959, 166.

³Smith, Cluny in the 11th and 12th Centuries, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴loc. cit., p. 90 citing Marrier, M. and A. Duchesne (Edd.), Bibliotheca Cluniacensis. Paris: 1614, 518.

met him at Clermont, his words still attest the importance and prestige which Cluny enjoyed at this time.

The size and complexity of the Cluniac operation can be seen in the charitable responsibility borne by the community. An extensive distribution of alms had become a notable factor in the abbey's financial situation and a relentless burden for the abbot by the twelfth century. At the time, it is estimated that there were some two thousand subordinate houses in the domain of Cluny.¹ Cluny annexed the monasteries which it reformed; their abbots became simple priors, appointed by the abbot of Cluny. Periodic assemblies were held; between meetings, the abbot traveled around Europe inspecting the houses of his "congregation." Nonetheless, Cluny was beginning to reap the unwelcome fruits of riches and prestige, as seeds of destruction had been sown through the years of affluence and influence. The future of Cluny was entrusted, upon Hugh's death, to Pontius of Cluny (1109-1122). Pontius was of noble birth, and although seemingly a worthy choice and good abbot--at least in his earlier years--he enjoyed overmuch the power and insignia of his office. He began to consider himself the "abbot of abbots"² which, in fact, had something of a ring of truth to it. He traveled with a retinue of a hundred mules, but such can hardly be called in honesty either fast company or entirely unexpected of a man in his position. In fact, it is

¹ Strayer, op. cit., p. 166.

² Smith, Cluny in the 11th and 12th Centuries, op. cit., p. 249 citing Marrier and Duchesne (Edd.), op. cit., p. 556.

Peter the Venerable who advises us that the "character of Pontius changed in 1122 and he was permitted to resign. Levity and changeableness of mind exasperated and aroused his monks."¹ Pontius' resignation did not spell the end of his strange saga. After a trip to Jerusalem and some involvement in an attempted monastic foundation there, he tried to return with a band of mercenaries to attack Cluny and claim it. Eventually he was to die in disgrace in Rome (1126).

The influential abbey of Cluny became the charge of Peter the Venerable in 1122, and it was his sad responsibility to oversee the diminution of its fame and prestige. Although Cluny was to survive Peter by some centuries, her grandeur and day of glory were passing quickly. Peter had not only to assume his responsibilities in the wake of the unfortunate Pontius and endure the assaults which the latter had mounted, but he also had inherited an ill-organized financial monster from his predecessors. Prodigious charities could only be supported by the grants and bequests of the laity, but Cluny's continuing need was not easily sustained. Her revenues fell as expenses continued.

At Peter's accession, there were over three hundred monks at Cluny. Peter estimated that the house, with its own resources, could not sustain one hundred, and the guest house was always overcrowded.² Indicative of the problems encountered by Peter was a dif-

¹loc. cit., p. 266 citing Marrier and Duchesne (Edd.), loc. cit., p. 551.

²Williams, Watkin, Monastic Studies. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938, 37.

ficulty with monks' furs. A number were wrapping themselves in daintily imported furs which Peter castigated not only as "a notable and damnable piece of affectation," but as detrimental to the home grown products.¹ The problem was negotiated on his terms, and bedspreads were changed to local goats' haircloth as a result.

The decline of Cluny was to reflect her many problems, organizational and financial. The size of the monastery and the responsibilities that her renown had invited eventually militated against her. She could not at once see true allegiance to the Benedictine ideals of pre-eminent liturgical prayer and familial interdependence, and still imaginatively cope with the new reality she had fashioned. She could see what she had done and where she had begun, but the genius to know what to do next was denied her, and the world was the loser. Perhaps her time was past; perhaps her past seemed timeless, and hence her approach became more backward than bold. The Cluny experience was eventually to be swallowed in time; whether it had to be, or let itself be, is the unanswered enigma.

^ Cîteaux

An understanding of Cluny and the problems that beset it at the time of Peter cannot be seen other than in the light of the other great monastic expression of this period, ^Cîteaux. This famous Cistercian motherhouse had been founded by a Benedictine abbot, Robert of Molesme, in 1098. He had retired to a wilderness near Dijon in an

¹P.L.: Vol. CLXXXIX, op. cit., col. 1031.

area named Cîteaux[^], probably named after the rushes or cistels that flourished there.

St. Alberic, abbot from 1099 to 1109, prescribed the white habits of the Cistercians which were simply coarse unbleached garments. The Benedictines' black habits demanded dyes and suggested an indulgence that the Cistercians found unnecessary.¹ The contemplative life was to be the fundamental purpose and law of the new institute. A new attempt had been made to restore the pristine rule of Benedict, and the prescriptions and insights of the founder of the rule were again implemented as exactly as possible. Authentic values of the old monasticism were examined in relation to prevailing practice, i.e., the Cluny domain. Cîteaux[^] was first called the "new monastery" because these monks were not identifying themselves with other monasteries already old. They were convinced that one could still lead a monastic life without compromise with the world.

A concern for real poverty was to result in the new emphasis on manual labor and a definite simplicity in clothing, food, dwelling places, forms of worship, and even church architecture. Liturgical customs were not based on the Cluniac regimen and were considerably de-emphasized. Solitude and austerity were to be the guiding principles in this adoption of the pristine Benedictine rule. St. Alberic also introduced lay brothers to the community. These "bearded brethren" (or "illiterates" or "converts," as they were variously known)

¹ Daly, Lowrie J., Benedictine Monasticism. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965, 176.

were to remain laymen, not obligated to Divine Office in choir nor permitted to vote in chapter. Inasmuch as they took the same vows, they were in all other respects treated like the monks. Their work for the community was that which the choir religious could not accomplish, that is, much of the burden of the field and farm work of the large estates and particularly at the "granges," tilled lands located at some distance from the abbey.

Wooden crosses, linen or cotton vestments were prescribed. Iron and copper censers and candle sticks became de rigeur. There were no sculptures or paintings to either distract or enrich the monks. The heroic poverty and spirit of this founding band demands our admiration, even if at times principle outran prudence. Duke Hugh of Burgundy, for instance, had been a principal benefactor of the new community until he was pointedly advised that his relatively infrequent visits were distracting the monks. Other stipulations of the rule maintained that the monks were to sleep in their clothes on hard couches, and were to rise at one or two A.M., to spend hours daily in public prayer, to work in the fields as farm laborers, to live on one meal daily, and to renounce flesh meat, fish, eggs, milk, and white bread. They were to observe perpetual silence, live in obscurity, and to be subject to absolute obedience.¹

¹ Knowles, Dom David, The Monastic Order in England. Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1950, 210.

Clairvaux

The great hopes were faltering when extreme poverty and declining numbers beset the small band of monks now led by Stephen Harding, the English successor to Alberic. The situation was to change in 1112, when Bernard, the future abbot of Clairvaux, entered with a band of relatives and friends. At the time of Bernard's death in 1153, however, some 343 Cistercian abbeys existed.¹ The contribution of this prolific writer, indefatigable traveler, and relentless saint cannot be easily overstated. He was to become the single most powerful personage of his day. Describing his life, a historian has noted, "would be tantamount to writing a history of the Church for that eventful period."² The Carta Caritatis (1119), the important constitutional document of St. Stephen Harding, had decreed that the Cistercian monasteries were to be linked in one great association and prescribed a pattern of annual visitation and general chapter. The Cistercians were also to be subject to the ordinary of the diocese.

Some comparisons between these great monastic organizations will be helpful to our considerations. Cluny provided rich abbeys and sumptuous churches to which the white, unadorned Cistercian abbeys stand in stark contrast. Liturgical effort constituted the monk's day at Cluny whereas manual labor was the important constituent of

¹Husslein, James, S.J., Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order. Gethsemani, Kentucky: Gethsemani Press, 1944, 10.

²Luddy, Ailbe J., O. Cist., The Order of Cîteaux. Dublin: Gill and Co., Ltd., 1932, 39.

the daily routine at Clairvaux. A monarchical structure was characteristic of Cluny whereas a more democratic format persisted with the Cistercians. The individual and arbitrary rule of the abbot at Cistercian abbeys was tempered by a governing council consisting of the abbeys of La-Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond; the one-man, one-rule concept of Cluny was not shared by the Cistercians. Each community enjoyed the rights to elect their abbot within the Cistercian system, while elections were not uniformly pertinent to the pattern of succession established at Cluny.

Armed with the prestige of a common faith commitment that characterized the leaders, political and religious, of the era, Cluny was a powerful force in all aspects of the society of the times. Counsel and reservations could be expressed to king and knave. Peter the Venerable seems to have seen his responsibilities as primarily to two institutions--the church and monastic world. Bernard of Clairvaux seems to have offered a broader perspective in service for the good of mankind. If Bernard, however, is to be considered a man for all times, Peter should be seen as very much a man of his times and of his background. He prized the world, associations, and contacts which he knew, and seems often preoccupied with the human dimension of his relationships and involvements. Bernard is remembered as a leader and a genius of prodigious energy, but Peter's continuing renown rests upon the human qualities in his role as a man.

The correspondence of Peter and Bernard reveals that there is not just a theoretical divergence. Each treated the other with visible reverence and respect befitting erudite spokesmen of sharply dif-

ferentiated points of view. Many of Peter's reflections, moreover, and much of his life style were to represent his reservations about the Cistercians. Peter felt that loyalty to Cluny was a matter of principle. Many of the actions and responses of his life as revealed in his correspondence, however, continue to reflect the implicit comparison between Cistercian and Cluniac monasticism that confronted him throughout his life. The Cistercian reform was no idle threat to Cluny, for history records that the Cistercians were to survive for centuries after the Cluniac horizon had faded. Peter, however, cannot be understood apart from the restless rivalry which even at the time suggested that the medieval world was not prepared for separate but equal monastic traditions. Peter's great respect for his traditions demanded that he work to assure its ascendancy and it was to this pursuit that he applied himself.

CHAPTER II: LIFE OF PETER THE VENERABLE

Two lives of Peter have come to us: in the Amplissima Collectio of Martene and Durand, the Vita of Peter the Venerable ductore Rodulpho Monacho ejus discipulo,¹ which was derived from a monastery manuscript at Souvigny. The other is a long entry, De Petro Venerabili I. Abbate Cluniacensi Nono, to be found in the Chronicon Cluniacense.²

Peter came of an awesome monastic family, yet his roots in the family of mankind also deserve our consideration. We turn now to the early history and subsequent professional life of commitment of our principal. Peter lived in an age of religious faith, and if modern man lives in a secular culture, medieval man lived in a sacred culture. Peter's family, as we shall see, found commitment to the religious state present as a lifetime option. An involvement in affairs of religious significance was inescapable. Religion for Peter and his contemporaries was not a way of life, but the way of life. His own family background illustrated this very well. A respect and affection for his mother, associations with his brothers and concern for his native region, particularly the monastery of Sauxillanges, provided major themes in his life and correspondence.

The importance feudal families lent to the development of the Middle Ages is the increasing concern of scholars and historians.

¹Williams, op. cit., p. 132.

²loc. cit., p. 137.

The nobility of the times found its origin in an amalgam of power, wealth and family relationships.

His Family

Of the credentials of the Montboissier family, which brought Peter the Venerable into the world, Pignot has written that "even if the Montboissier were not among the seven or eight great feudal families which ranked immediately below the Count of Auvergne, they none the less occupy a considerable position beside them and were later to rise in the same rank."¹

The family had long been identified with the faith and monasteries. Peter's great-grandfather was, for instance, the reputed founder of the Abbey of La Chiusa.²

Peter, whom we now call the Venerable, was born about 1090-1092 in the Auvergne, of Maurice II of Montboissier and his wife, Raingard. Maurice was described as a princeps.³ This suggests that he himself was not a great noble, but among the familiares, or advisors of great nobility. He participated in the First Crusade in 1096-

¹ Constable, The Letters of Peter the Venerable: Vol. II, op. cit., p. 233 citing Pignot, J.-Henri, Histoire de l'ordre de Cluny depuis la fondation de l'abbaye jusqu'à la mort de Pierre-le-Vénérable: Vol. III. Autun-Paris: 1868, 51.

² loc. cit., p. 234 citing Labbé, Philip, Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum: Vol. II. Paris: 1657, 301.

³ loc. cit., p. 237 citing Doniol, Henry (Ed.), Cartulaire de Sauxillanges in Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand. Clermont-Ferrand and Paris: 1864, no. 790.

1097. He took the monastic habit ad succurendum--that is, when in peril of death--and died in 1116 or 1117. After the death of her husband, Raingard entered the Cluniac nunnery at Marcigny.

Watkin Williams¹ writes that Peter was the seventh son Raingard bore to Maurice. Mabillion and Pignot assert that two daughters,² although they are not mentioned in any contemporary source, joined a family of eight brothers. In alphabetical order, we know the sons as follows:

Armanus (Artmanus or Hermanus) is believed to have been a prior of Cluny and, later, Abbot of Manglieu.

Eustace was a knight and, in 1150, Peter's only living brother not in religious life. Some altercations between Eustace and his most illustrious brother are noted in Peter's Letter 91. It also appears that he seemed to have attacked Sauxillanges, since Peter the Venerable secured from Pope Adrian a bull dated 19 April 1156, instructing the Archbishops of Vienne and Lyons to restrain Eustace from harming Sauxillanges.

Heraclius (Eraclius) was, after Peter, the most prominent of the brothers. He spent his youth at Lyons and became provost of the college of secular Canons of St. Julian at Brioude. He was elevated to the archiepiscopal throne of Lyons in 1153.

Hugh, another brother who did not enter religious life, had apparently died before 1150, and was the father of Margaret and Pontia,

¹Williams, op. cit., p. 133.

²Constable, op. cit., II, p. 240 asserted without citation.

Peter's two nieces, nuns at Marcigny, to whom Letter 185 is addressed. Hugh was very likely the eldest son and, accordingly, head of the family after his father's death.

Jordan was a Cistercian, and became the Abbot of La Chaise-Dieu from 1146-1157.

Pontius, another brother, spent some ten years with Peter, and scholars have assumed that this was at Vézelay.¹ Pontius went thence to La Chiusa and was eventually to become Abbot of Vézelay. Some difficulties with the townspeople led to his exile--he was more militant than monk--but he was later installed as Abbot of Souvigny by Peter. He was eventually reconciled at Vézelay and died there as abbot in 1161.

Our further knowledge of the immediate family is limited. Watkin Williams² concludes that Peter was the seventh son; Giles Constable³ notes that he is believed to be the second eldest, inasmuch as he witnessed his father's will with Hugh.

Influential Abbot; Impeccable Friend

Peter spent his youth and boyhood in Sauxillanges. Apparently by his seventeenth year, and before 1109, he had entered the monastery of Sauxillanges, where his profession was received by Abbot Hugh

¹ loc. cit., p. 243.

² Williams, op. cit., p. 133 citing Gallia Christiana: Vol. IV. Paris: 1656, 1137.

³ Constable, op. cit., II, p. 244.

of Cluny, attesting both the influence of his family and the likelihood that he was the second son--the one destined for religious life. His twentieth year found him a professor and successively prior at Vézelay and Domène (in 1120).

Pons de Melgueil, or Pontius, had ruled Cluny from 1109 to 1122. On his abdication, Hugh II, former prior of the nuns of Marcigny, had governed for three months from the end of March to early July, 1122. Hugh died on July 9, and the conventual prior of Domène, Peter, was elected by acclamation to the abbatial throne on August 11, 1122. He was immediately consecrated as the ninth Abbot of Cluny.

It is estimated that at the time of Peter's consecration, some three to four hundred monks resided at Cluny and some 2,000 dependent houses ranged throughout Western Europe.¹ Peter immediately busied himself with the many attendant responsibilities of the influential post at which he was to spend his life. He attended the Council of Vienne in 1124 and was in Rome in 1125, where he remained through September of 1126 and the attempted coup of Pontius at Cluny. He spent some six months recovering from a fever contracted in Rome in 1127. Following the consecration of the Magna Basilica at Cluny by Pope Innocent in 1130, Peter was to spend many of his years traveling in the great concerns of the church and his monastic responsibilities.

Peter supported Innocent II during the schism of 1130-1138, ig-

¹New Catholic Encyclopedia: Vol. II. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967, 230.

noring a relationship with the pseudo-pope, Peter Pierleoni as Anacletus II, who had been a Cluniac monk and who was in possession at Rome while Innocent was in exile. Peter's loyalty was unfaltering, evidenced when he met the exiled Innocent upon his landing at Ste. Gilles-les-Boucheries, and brought him to Cluny. Peter, moreover, apparently accompanied Innocent to Rome in October 1137. He attended the Lateran Council in April 1139. Other assignments and monastic duties involved visits to England and to Spain (1142).¹

It is believed² that Peter suffered from malaria after his visit to Italy, coupled with a type of bronchitis. Other symptoms seem to resemble those of emphysema. Despite his precarious health,³ which continued to plague him throughout his life, he remained very active. Representative of his prestige and responsibilities, he is believed to have been present at the Diet of Worms in 1153.⁴

Peter's visits to Cluniac communities in Spain occasioned a frequently cited and intriguing interest in Islam. The translation of the Koran, long identified with Peter, was a task entrusted to Master Peter of Toledo, but it was soon discovered that the latter knew more Arabic than Latin. Accordingly, Peter of Poitiers, who was Peter the Venerable's secretary, and Robertus Ratenensis were asked to assist

¹ Constable, op. cit., II, pp. 260-3.

² loc. cit., p. 251.

³ Peter's Letter 133 addressed to his monks as found in Constable, op. cit., I, p. 335.

⁴ Constable, op. cit., II, p. 267.

in this monumental achievement.¹

Peter's occasional renown as a controversialist is sustained in his work Contra Saracenos, which is found only in one manuscript, 381 (XII, Anchin), Douai, Bibliothèque municipale. His other notable works, Contra Petrabrusianos (ff. 66r-108r) and the Contra Judaeos (131r-177r), are in that manuscript cited above and also in the Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, 8(XIII, Le Parc-en-Charnie) ff. 65r-108r and 108r-151v.²

Although apparently possessed of a keen mind and imbued with intellectual interests, Peter was not distinguished by any great contribution to the sciences of philosophy or theology. He stood not as an innovator nor originator, but as the world judges men, he is noted as an able administrator and a tactful arbiter and conciliator. His diligent efforts to restore Cluny to a secure financial base proved noteworthy. A very practical financier, he was equal to the precarious financial situation that regularly threatened Cluny. Despite the continuing incursions of the Count of Chalon-sur-Saone, for instance, he was able to protect the rights of Cluny in law and negotiate difficult property settlements. The growth of the congregation during Peter's rule was immense.³ The number of monastic establishments ag-

¹ loc. cit., p. 342.

² Constable, Giles, "Manuscripts of Works by Peter the Venerable." From Constable, Giles and James Kritzeck (Edd.), Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956 Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death. Studia Anselmiana, Rome: Pontificum Instituti St. Anselmi, 1956, 237.

³ P.L.: Vol. CLXXXIX, op. cit., col. 41.

gregated during his tenure was at least 314. He is remembered as a loyal friend and protector of Peter Abelard, and welcomed him to Cluny after the latter's condemnation at Soissons. In 1147, he accompanied Pope Eugene III to the Council of Reims.

For some thirty years, we are told, Peter's desire to die on the feast of the Nativity perdured, and he would visit the great Charter House of the Carthusians, La Grand Chartreuse, annually to pray for that intention. It was not to be denied him, and it was on December 25, 1156, that he died at Cluny. The bishop of Winchester officiated at his funeral, and he was buried near the altar of St. James in Cluny with the inscription: "He was the pride of his country, the glory of the world, the ark of wisdom; jealousy was unknown to him; his sincerity was sincere."¹

Peter was known and called Venerable in his lifetime by both St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Frederick Barbarossa. He has never been canonized a saint, but his cult at Clermont was approved by Pius IX in 1862.²

Friendships dotted and distinguished the life of this great abbot. From Henry I of England through France's Louis VII in his unstinting loyalty to the papacy and his occasional exchanges with Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter stands as a man remarkably loyal to his friends, highly compassionate and conciliatory. He could disown ide-

¹"Ille Salus Patriae, Mundi decus, Arca Sophia, nescius invidiae vena fuit venae." loc. cit., col. 41 sqq.

²New Catholic Encyclopedia: Vol. XI, op. cit., p. 230.

ologies with a slashing vigor, and some individuals found him capable of sharp denunciation. Yet even in the occasional tirades, it was principle rather than his person which he rose to defend. Few things are more righteous about churchmen than their indignation. In Peter's time, men saw the battle between good and evil as rather clearly proposed, and church leaders like Peter and Bernard would have deemed it pernicious to espouse a cause clearly evil. Malice in such a view deserves little protection, and it was no age of delicate linguistic diplomacy.

Peter's kindness, respect, and affection are, however, the mainstays of his correspondence. He proves himself a man of careful discernment and expansive interests as found in the recent critical edition of his correspondence which has been prepared with great care over many years by Professor Giles Constable.¹ To this collection I am indebted, and it is this resource that has been of invaluable assistance.

We turn now to a consideration of the literary form in which Peter's thought was couched. His letters reveal a warm, gracious, and urbane churchman. A man is best known to his friends and to those with whom he communicates, particularly in the intimacy of personal correspondence. The polished presentation of Peter's insights is offered in the careful letters which he addressed to his world and which history has preserved for us.

¹ Constable, Giles (Ed.), The Letters of Peter the Venerable (2 volumes). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

CHAPTER III: MEDIEVAL LETTERS--HISTORY IN THE MAKING

Medieval letters are, it may be noted, in the nature of public documents. Certainly the collections which have survived have largely been revised and selectively retained by friendly agents, if not by the author himself. Sometimes, indeed, the writer specified that the letter be returned as it was sent; frequently copies were preserved. Hence, precise statements of policy and impressive convolutions of literary style abound.

Letter writing itself was one of the developing arts of the Middle Ages. Communication, in fact, seemed to deal more with attitudes and reflections than with the equivalent of our news of the day. Perhaps the weaving of stories and accounts was left to oral and vocal transmission, and communication, more than contact, was achieved through the medieval letters. This seems unquestionably true of the collection under consideration.

I have elected to consider in this paper the reflection of friendship and the unique loyalty that seems to have been the strongest element of Peter the Venerable's personality and fame.

Criteria for Selection

For the purposes of analysis, I considered the salutations and conclusions of each of the 193 Letters presented in Constable's collection.¹ An evident hierarchy in these addresses was thereby re-

¹Not included are the Contra Petrobrusianos, the Contra Judaeos.

vealed. The popes and Bernard merit reserved salutations, while simple letters receive a common, simple introduction, which in relative frequency outnumbers the others. Forty-seven variant introductions were thus identified.

Criteria employed were: first, substantial textual identity in phraseology; second, parallel thoughts expressed in variant terms; and third, identity of recipient. Such criteria developed a framework of identification.

The first criterion, substantial textual identity in phraseology, enables us to discern patterns in the salutations: filial obedience, for instance, is pledged in Letters 11, 17, 23, 27, 33, 39, 63 and 118, all addressed to pontiffs. The peace which God promised is offered to Bishop Matthew of Albano, but perhaps more precisely, the peace which God has prepared is offered insistently to Bernard of Clairvaux (Letters 150, 175, 181) and also to Heloise (115). Perhaps Peter was even suggesting--at least unconsciously--that the promise was less explicit for some than for others. A warm greeting in the plentitude of love was shared by Hato (5, 22) and Eustace, Peter's brother (160). A discernible pattern suggests that Peter's friendship with Hato was comparable in his mind with the deep affection he offered his brothers.

The second criterion, parallel thoughts in variant terms, is

and the Contra eos qui dicunt. Although these letters are presumed by Constable to have been part of the early letter collection, their polemic character and general length has long traditionally separated them from the other letters. Cf. discussion, Constable, op. cit., II, p. 81.

demonstrated as Peter offers the same eternal benediction to his Cluniac brothers (45) and to Peter of Poitiers (129). The peace given to kings is offered the Emperor of Constantinople (75) and the King of Jerusalem (82).

Identity of recipient, the third criterion, provided another basis of consideration. Pope Innocent II received a total of eighteen letters, Hato eleven, Bernard twelve and Eugene III fourteen. The perduring friendship with Hato was beyond question as we realize that the others enjoying such comparable and frequent efforts in Peter's correspondence were the church leaders of the time, in whose number Peter was certainly included. Peter's letters to Bernard have been extensively analyzed and are ones in which Peter often assumed a polemic and defensive tone, which does not fit the present purpose in this paper. Peter's relationship with Peter Abelard, however, was both typical of his monastic allegiance--many of his letters were inducements to bishops and friends to join the monastic community of Cluny--and characteristic of his compassion and interest in others, especially those stricken with misfortune or calamity.

Further criteria for selection in this paper involved degree of friendship expressed by number of letters, unusual emphasis suggested by the salutation, and above all, appropriate textual consideration to my topic, the theme of friendship as expressed by Peter the Venerable.

Selection

Employment of such criteria isolated the letters which were more

carefully considered; they follow here in numerical order. Paeans to friendship are offered in Letters 5, 6 and 7, which are addressed to Hato; Letters 9 and 10, which were apparently addressed to Peter Abelard, also merit attention. Peter's brother, Pontius, is the recipient of Letter 16. Peter's annual visit and Letter 24 testify to his abiding relationship with the monks of La Grand Chartreuse. His friend and secretary, Peter of Poitiers, received Letter 26, and Cardinal Hameric, papal chancellor from 1123-1141, received Letter 34. Letters 35 and 36 were directed to the Cistercian abbots at their general chapter meetings in successive years. These illustrate Peter's abiding respect for the monastic community that goes beyond familial rivalry. Peter's sharp rebuff to a heretic in Letter 37 offers another side of his personality. Innocent II was the recipient of Letter 39, which represents Peter's long role as counsellor and friend to successive pontiffs. Heloise received the condolences of Peter in Letter 115, written shortly after the death of Abelard. Letter 121 to Hato provides a maturing look at a durable friendship.

Exigencies of selection, space, and time suggested that these letters be considered representative and contributory; it is upon these, therefore, that this effort is based.¹

¹ Appendix A of this paper lists the letters, dates, and recipients of the collection; Appendix B lists and identifies the range of salutations.

CHAPTER IV: THEORETICAL ROOTS OF MEDIEVAL FRIENDSHIP

In a recent article Joseph Szövérfy,¹ Professor and Director of Germanic Studies at Boston College, describing the "Christian spirit of medieval poetry" sees the Middle Ages as a "period of silent growth." He gives particular emphasis in the article to the realm of secular poetry in which he traces the spirit of the times. Such medieval secular latin poetry began to develop in the Carolingian era.

After identifying the center of political power and intellectual effort in Charlemagne's Court and Academy, Professor Szövérfy describes the growing consensus of Carolingian leaders:

They needed some kind of idea to amalgamate and to unite all those who were willing to participate in that great double venture. Politically it was the idea of the new empire which animated the best spirits of the time. In their personal contact and cultural venture the members of the court found another idea which linked them up with one another. It was the idea of Christian friendship often expressed in Carolingian courtly poetry, especially in the poems of Alcuin,² Paulus Dianus, Petrus Apisa, Theodulf and others.

He also recalls to mind that "the cult of friendship which Fortunatus and his circle had endeavored to set up was in the court of Charles a reality based on common good humor, a common piety, and a common love of learning and of poetry."³

¹ Szövérfy, Joseph, "The Christian Spirit of Medieval Poetry." Thought, XLIV, 175 (Winter, 1969), 581-96.

² loc. cit., p. 585.

³ ibid. citing Raby, F.J.E., History of Secular Latin Poetry: Vol. I. Oxford: 1957, 187.

A felt need of cooperation on the part of the intellectual and political leaders amidst the diversity of those who had embraced Christianity prompted interest in the theory and base of Christian friendship. The theory stemmed from dual roots. The famous treatise of Cicero on friendship, which we will further consider, had strongly influenced the medieval world. By the time of St. Augustine, St. Paulinus of Nola had expressed a basis for theory and practice in Christian friendship, which overcame national and ethnic origins in the basic dignity of man. Venantius Fortunatus, the sixth century Latin poet, participated in the same tradition and offered a starting point for new attitudes and the development of new social and intellectual modes. The members of the Carolingian circle wanted to develop a friendship with a Christian emphasis on the basis of their identical attitude toward life, religion, and culture. They saw in Christian friendship a temporal reflection of divine love as emanating from God, from which stemmed a mutual recognition of identity.

Professor Szövérfy suggests that this idea of Christian friendship may have served also as a starting point for medieval courtly love and love poetry in the twelfth century. Of this he writes that he is "certain that the influence of the Ciceronian friendship idea as mirrored in Western Christian interpretation must have been one of the powerful factors bringing about its development."¹

An essential feature of the love theory, as discerned in medieval court poetry, became the assumption that love's function was not

¹loc. cit., p. 586.

only to provide personal happiness, but also to ennoble the personality of the courtly lover.¹

The Secular: Cicero

We examine, then, the basic Ciceronian analysis of friendship which was to have such pervasive results in the time of Peter. The basic principle that Cicero postulates is that friendship can only exist between good men, and by good he refers to "those whose actions and life leave no question as to their honor, purity, and equity and liberality; who are free from greed, lust, and violence, and have the courage of their convictions."² He would define friendship "as a complete accord on all subjects--human and divine--joined with a mutual good will and affection. And, with the exception of wisdom, I am inclined to think that nothing better than this has been given to men."³ Because of this, Cicero's standards for friendship involve a basic rule that one neither asks nor consents to do what is wrong within the allegiance of true friendship. From this flows what Cicero would describe as a law: that we should ask from friends, and do for friends only what is good. He speaks of only one prerequisite for friendship: that the characters of two friends must be stain-

¹loc. cit., p. 587 citing Dronke, P., Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric: Vol. II. Oxford: 1965-1966, 600.

²Cicero, "On Friendship." Eliot, Charles W. (Ed.) and E.S. Shuckburgh (Trans.), The Harvard Classics: Vol. IX--Letters and Treatises of Cicero and Pliny. New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1909, 13.

³loc. cit., p. 15.

less.¹ Their friendship must be a complete harmony of interests, purposes, and aims without exception. A high standard of integrity and of mutual self-improvement is always expressed. Cicero argues that you must complete your judgment before engaging your affections, not love first and judge afterwards. He insists that it is "virtue which both creates and preserves friendship." He goes on to say that "virtue is first, without which friendship is impossible and next to it, and next to it alone, the greatest of all things is friendship."²

It was not merely a classical appreciation of friendship that guided medieval man, however. Peter and his contemporaries enjoyed a consistent world view that did not just see man perfecting himself. Man in all his relationships was being perfected in Christ. No relationship was even basically secular; it had to be ultimately sacred.

The Sacred: St. Aelred

St. Aelred of Rievaulx (1109-1167) was also noted for his contributions to the medieval concept of Christian friendship. In one analysis, he offered the startling example of imagining the heart to be a kind of spiritual Noah's ark.³ Various compartments on different levels accommodated different kinds of people. Just as Noah had his wild beasts, so we have our enemies--those who hate us. Aelred

¹loc. cit., p. 29.

²loc. cit., p. 44.

³St. Aelred of Rievaulx, The Mirror of Charity. Translated by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd., 1962, 136.

counsels offering prayers in their behalf and any possible temporal help. And so we figuratively leave the lower floor and the outbuildings for our enemies and reserve the next level for those who are not carnal or bloodthirsty men, who have nothing against us and who are deserving of our prayers, encouragement, and correction. On the top floor where Noah lodged his family, we put those who have nothing in common with the beasts--beings given not to anger nor to lust nor to uncleanness--typical men whose desires do not yet carry them higher than the human ideal of perfection. Among these we note especially those who would be near by family ties or friendship or deeds of kindness. The topmost floor of all was reserved by Noah for the birds. Accordingly, in Aelred's perspective, we find a place there for those who are to be known as especially near to God, flying up to heaven--again in Aelred's expression--on the wings of virtue above the normal speed of men. Here too we find that there are some special few of this number who are more closely allied to us than others, that is, for whom we have a more special place in our hearts, whose companionship is particularly dear, and who are cherished more sweetly and ardently in our hearts.

It is interesting to note that the place reserved by Aelred for one above the highest of our acquaintances is that for Jesus, the Lord, who is described as having made the "Noah's ark of our hearts in the first place, and repaired it after it had fallen ruin."¹

Aelred goes on to point out that we are incapable of enjoying

¹loc. cit., p. 137.

all men, even some of our brethren, to the same degree. True enjoyment in people is restricted to a small number. Only friends, Aelred comments, can give us spiritual delight in the joys that make life sweeter. Enemies may provide a trial of virtue; teachers and masters serve to instruct; elders can provide comfort in sorrow, but we are unable to enjoy goodness in every man we meet. He then goes on to develop a description of the Christian friend:

The sweetness of God that we taste in this life is given us not so much for enjoyment as for consolation and encouragement for our weakness. That is why it is such a great joy to have the consolation of someone's affection--someone to whom one is deeply united by the bonds of love; someone in whom our weary spirit may find rest, and to whom we may pour out our souls,...someone whose conversation is as sweet as a song in the tedium of our daily life. He must be someone whose soul will be to us a refuge to creep into when the world is altogether too much for us; someone to whom we can confide all our thoughts. His spirit will give us the comforting kiss that heals all the sickness of our preoccupied hearts. He will weep with us when we are troubled, and rejoice with us when we are happy, and he will always be there to consult when we are in doubt. And we will be so deeply bound to him in our hearts that even when he is far away we shall find him together with us in spirit, together and alone. The world will fall asleep all around you, you will find, and your soul will rest, embraced in absolute peace. Your two hearts will lie together, united as if they were one, as the grace of the Holy Spirit flows over you both. In this life on earth we can love a few people in this way, with heart and mind together, for they are more bound to us by the ties of love than any others. Our Lord, Jesus Christ, is our example in this too, for we know that there was one whom He loved above all the rest. If anyone should look askance at such love, let him remember how Jesus came to take pity on us, transforming our love by showing us His. He showed us that love by giving His heart as a resting place for one head in particular;...therefore whoever finds

enjoyment in the love of a friend, let him enjoy
him in the Lord, and not after the fashion in
this world.¹

¹loc. cit., pp. 139-40.

CHAPTER V: MEDIEVAL FRIENDSHIP AS REFLECTED
IN SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE
OF PETER THE VENERABLE

We have seen the fundamental resources upon which the medieval concept of friendship rested. Peter the Venerable was both affected and attracted by the manifold contributions to such a philosophy of love and friendship. The nature of the Church as a call to community was made explicit in the monasteries, which were a call to community and closer ties with brothers in Christ. Such friendships were full of pre-eminent qualities from a rich theological and classical tradition; it is these qualities that we shall try to isolate and appreciate. From this background, I intend to comment upon the essential understanding and doctrine of medieval friendships. An interesting analysis is offered by John Conley¹ in a basic pattern which can be extended. He identifies qualities in medieval friendship which are also discernible in the letters of Peter.

Peter neither specifically formulated a doctrine of friendship, nor did he develop systematically the theological implications. His was a very sensitive and intensely personal portrayal of friendship, and what he failed to delineate, he has drawn very forcefully and emphatically. Peter was the recipient of a rich legacy, considerable theory, and a compatible theology, and it is this which he embodied

¹Conley, John, "The Doctrine of Friendship in Everyman." Speculum, XLIV, 3 (July, 1969), 374-82. The bibliography on medieval friendship which he offers is a very useful one and is contained in Appendix C of this paper.

and expressed in his correspondence.

I will attempt to point out that the qualities which Professor Conley has recognized and which are--according to the theoretical roots--basic attributes of medieval friendship, also extended through Peter's concepts as we can learn from his letters; I shall also disclose that there was a personal understanding of monastic community and friendship that was treated explicitly and resourcefully by Peter.

Tried Before True

Before analyzing these qualities in more explicit detail, I must remark upon the degree to which many medieval men were preoccupied with the proof of friendship.¹ A pervasive religious sensitivity honored scriptural inspiration and based a necessity of proof in friendship on Ecclesiasticus 6:7, "If you want a friend, take him on trial, and be in no hurry to trust him."² The proving of friendship is the beginning of the qualities of lasting and significant personal rapport and relationship. This was evident to Cicero: "We make a preliminary trial of horses. So we should of friendship."³ It was also clear to St. Aelred of Rievaulx who offered this same consideration as one of his four basic characteristics of friendship: "It is

¹ loc. cit., p. 374.

² Jerusalem Bible. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1966, 1042 (Old Testament).

³ Cicero, op. cit., p. 30.

in necessity that my friend is proven."¹ Peter cited Gregory the Great to the same conclusion: "Demonstration is the proof of love."²

Accordingly, Peter wrote to Bishop Hato of Troyes, a lifetime intimate, in extended concern lest their friendship be strained. He insisted that if there were any suspicion that he had failed the other, he would be prepared either to tolerate, or to refute, or to bear whatever interpretation Hato would offer rather than lose the friendship.³ Peter laments the fact that Hato had neither written nor replied through Peter's messengers. It was with felt alarm that he wrote, "If I have sensed a weakening, let us immediately work to restore it."⁴

In another letter to Hato, Peter notes his great pleasure,⁵ for he had awaited a letter that he might know the degree of Hato's affection. Such searching need for reassurance of affection and concern might strike us today as symptomatic of psychological insecurity, but must also reflect the continuing and fundamental probatio that this concept of friendship demanded.

¹"Probatio in necessitate probatur me amicus." St. Aelred, De Amicitia Spirituali as found in Migne, op. cit., CXCV, column 680.

²"Probatio dilectionis, exhibitio est operis." Peter's Letter 5 in Constable, op. cit., I, p. 10 citing Gregory the Great, "In Evangelio, II, xxx, i." Sancti Gregorii...opera omnia: Vol. I. Paris: 1705, 1575 D.

³Letter 5 in Constable, loc. cit., p. 11.

⁴"...si imminutum sensere, ad reintegrandum eundem simul etiam laberemus." ibid.

⁵Letter 7, loc. cit., p. 13.

Qualities of Friendship

It was not enough that friendship be claimed, or even demonstrated, whether in word or in action. In what did it really consist? What qualities were to be recognized; what elements provided true friendship? We look now to the qualities of Christian friendship and community to which Peter testified in his correspondence. The qualities of such friendship which we identify are the following: friendship was seen as 1) lasting, 2) virtuous, 3) supernatural, and 4) precious. For Peter, the acme of such friendship found its expression in monastic community.

Lasting

The first quality of medieval friendship is that it be lasting. Cicero had insisted that there "should be no satiety in friendship";¹ just so, Aelred described his friend: "...He will always be there to consult when we are in doubt."² Peter comments with great feeling that "when shipwreck threatens, it is safer to be in port; when dangers are feared, there is no better recourse than to the friend."³ In his letter to Cardinal Haimeric, Peter confidently compares such recourse to his friend as a vessel seeking more than a safe harbor,

¹ Cicero, op. cit., p. 32.

² St. Aelred, The Mirror of Charity, op. cit., p. 139.

³ "Cum naufragium imminet, nusquam tutius quam ad portum; cum pericula formidantur, nusquam salubrius quam ad amicum recurritur." Letter 34 in Constable, op. cit., I, p. 109.

but rather finding the best, the most consistent haven in a friend, "to whom the perils are well known, and through whom every affliction can be averted."¹ In this consideration, too, we remember the loyal personal allegiance accorded Peter Abelard by Peter the Venerable after the former's doctrinal condemnation at Sens. In Peter the Venerable's Letter 9, believed directed to Peter Abelard by several scholars although controverted,² Peter repeats the scriptural injunction, "Come to me, all you who labor and are over-burdened, and I will give you rest."³ A warm invitation is extended as Peter reiterates, "It will bring me pleasure beyond any other when I receive you as a special son."⁴ Subsequent letters to Heloise (115 and 168) were to offer the same practical commitment to abiding friendship, as he wrote: "I have seen your affection for me both from your letters and, even before in the presents which you sent, so I wanted to at least hasten to you verbally that I might profess the place that you have in my heart in the love of the Lord."⁵ The exact persuasive note that Peter was able to offer his colleague and the noted teacher is unknown, but the whole episode cannot be construed as other than a very warm and personal affirmation on Peter the Venerable's part of

¹"...cui et pericula notafacere et per quæ contraria uniuersa ualeat euitare." *ibid.*

²*cf.* discussion in Constable, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102.

³Jerusalem Bible, *op. cit.*, Mt. 11: 28-29, p. 33.

⁴"Erit et michi super omnia iocunditas, qui te quasi unicum filium suscipiam,..." Letter 9 in Constable, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16.

⁵Letter 115, *loc. cit.*, p. 303.

the ideals of friendship which medieval man had evolved.

Another aspect of this continuing concern is seen in the extended discussion between Peter and Hato about the "silver bond" being "severed."¹ Hato apparently thought that the broken silver bond between himself and Peter thus alluded to was a tangible one and wondered in his next letter whether Peter were chiding him for a lack of financial support. Peter had written in the earlier exchange, "I seek the sworn bond which you have committed to me. I wonder whether that bond which I thought indissoluble has been broken."² Letter 6, in fact, is spent in assuring his friend that he had written earlier not of "any union of metals or anything else, but the pre-eminent bond of love by which the soul of Jonathan was united to that of David."³

Virtuous

Cicero had written that "virtue...is the parent and preserver of friendship,"⁴ and it was Aelred's premise that we must "enjoy one another...in sanctification."⁵ That there is to be the indispensable

¹"...funis argenteus ruptus est;" Letter 5, loc. cit., p. 9.

²"...queror quod indissolubile putabam caritatis te vinculum dirupisse; queror pactum foederis in quod mecum iuraveras temerasse." Letter 5, loc. cit., p. 10.

³"...non scilicet ligamen aliquod uel metallum, sed praeclarum caritatis vinculum, quo anima Ienathae alligata est animae David,..." Letter 6, loc. cit., p. 13.

⁴Cicero, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵St. Aelred, The Mirror of Charity, op. cit., p. 141.

quality of the virtuous in a friendship--as the theory would have it--is also amply justified in Peter's correspondence. As he commented, friendship is based on the bond of charity, for, "as the apostle said, 'Above all, continue to have a mutual love for one another, because that is the bond of perfection.'¹ In that same letter, vigorously protesting any disparity or unworthiness in his motivation, he quoted Horace: "Compared to gold and the virtuous, silver and gold are repugnant."² Peter summarizes as he writes that he loves in the eternal charity of Christ, seeking with Paul the Apostle, "not that which is yours, but you."³

A virtuous bond cannot be compared to any other, as Peter remarked, praising Heloise's unique relationship in later life to the controversial abbot, Peter Abelard, "to whom after carnal intercourse in a much more valid and a much better bond you were bound in divine love."⁴ Their passion had been sublimated in a continuing lifetime chaste devotion to one another that has inspired romantics of every succeeding century. Virtue outlasted and, as Peter noted, outranked passion.

¹"...de quo apostolus, ante omnia inquit mutuan in uobismetipsis caritatem continuam habentes, quod est uinculum perfectionis." Letter 6 in Constable, op. cit., I, p. 13.

²"Vilius est argentum auro, uirtutibus aurum." Letter 6, loc. cit., p. 12 citing Horace, Epistolae; Vol. I, i, 53-54.

³"...non quaero quae uestra sunt, sed nos." *ibid.*

⁴"...cui post carnalem cepulam tanto ualidiore, quanto meliore diuinae caritatis uinculo adhesisti,..." Letter 115, loc. cit., p. 308.

For Peter, the link between virtuous and supernatural qualities in any relationship was inescapable. He did not allude readily to bonds of natural goodness. It was not just toward perfecting personal human qualities that men worked, but toward perfecting them in Christ. Friendship existed on a plane of supernatural rapport, and all virtue centered ultimately in Christ. Peter's call was to love one another in and for Christ, not just in and for one another. This sense of the supernatural permeated and, indeed, almost constituted Peter's writing.

Supernatural

Such friendship as Peter extols and which pervades so much of his correspondence is seen in many ways to be also supernaturally ordered to a life beyond this one. In this, of course, he considerably expands the Ciceronian concepts of insistence upon the qualities of goodness in friends and of virtue; this expansion is Peter's outstanding contribution to the philosophical development of friendship.

Peter invariably relates friendship to the service of God and to a bond that is above the natural. His salutations typically convey this; in the salutation to his Cistercian brothers, for instance, he offers the greeting of eternal peace.¹ The appended salutations testify readily to the consistency of his offering eternal good wishes and fellowship. He urges Hato to make a reply, "not speaking in your

¹"...salutem ob quam conuenerunt aeternam." Letter 36, loc. cit., p. 116.

heart or by your heart, but in the simplicity of heart; saying exactly what you mean, for that if this love be truly that brought from above, be truly supernatural, then we may begin to aspire to a blessed life and know that we can rejoice in mutual aspiration."¹ Later, again to Hato, Peter reiterates his love in Christ: "Freely have I always loved you as a revered father and in eternity, made possible in the love of Christ, I shall love you, for with the apostle [Paul], I seek not that which is yours, but you."²

We are further reminded that it was the kingdom of God to which he invited Abelard.³ Among the advantages offered Abelard was the promise of rest for leisure and reflection in Christ. Peter counseled him in a tone of concern that his philosophy and relationships should prove to be lights leading not to eternal misery, but to eternal beatitude.⁴

In the last letter addressed to Hato, Peter delivers a dramatic plea requesting that Hato retire to Cluny, for, as the apostle Peter in the gospel was told to kill and eat, so Peter the Venerable's ravishing appetite to be a perfect friend led him to declare that

¹"Rescribe non in corde et corde loquens, sed simplici corde quod est non quod non est confitens, si amor ille a superno amore dirinatus, quo pariter ad beatam vitam aspirare olim coepimus adhuc permanet, ut si eum in suo statu manere cognouero, simul gaudeamus,..." Letter 5, loc. cit., p. 11.

²"Gratis uenerandam paternitatem uestram et semper dilexi, et in aeternum Christi caritate donante diligam, quia secundum apostolum non quaero quae uestra sunt, sed nos." Letter 6, loc. cit., p. 12.

³Letter 9, loc. cit., p. 16.

⁴Letter 9, loc. cit., p. 15.

"according to the divine word, I want not only to drink you, but I have long desired to kill and eat you."¹ He quickly dispelled any suspicion of irreverence or unseemly violence in his tone and assured Hato that he spoke of a spiritual world. Such claims upon friendship, however, rarely exist, and rarer still is such emphatic expression of them.

Precious

That Peter's friendships were precious is not only attested in the foregoing comments, but stands without question. They provided the very mainstay of Peter's life as he commented in Letter 5 to Hato deploring the diminution of friendship. He told Hato, in an effusive context, that Hato was, in truth, half of Peter's soul.² Peter went on to exclaim, "I ask whether that if that which has unhappily diminished between us may not yet remain whole."³ He addressed Peter of Poitiers in affectionate tones that few secretaries have known as "my very specially beloved son and brother, Peter."⁴

Precious also was Peter's relationship with his brother, Pontius. Peter recalls in his tender letter to Pontius the way in which

¹"Vnde iuxta hoc uerbum, non solum te bibere, sed etiam occidere et manducare concupisci." Letter 121, loc. cit., p. 315.

²"...animae dimidium meae." Letter 5, loc. cit., p. 10.

³"Queror itaque me a te impie dimidiatum, non integrum remansisse;..." *ibid.*

⁴"Speciali michi amore karissimo fratri et filio Petro,..." Letter 26, loc. cit., p. 48.

he prized their friendship through an intimate period of ten years. Throughout that whole time, Peter recalls, there was a common fervent discourse on the spiritual things that lead to an appetite for the eternal from which stemmed such a delight and love that he would not have known to exist save for the love of God. "Such a fever of love burned between us that I, who had begun to love you only by the impulse of nature, would not indeed know you now except by our love of God and in God."¹

Peter's intimacy was not reserved, however, to those whose personal service or bloodties particularly suggested it. It would bring Peter the Venerable pleasure above any other to receive Peter Abelard as a unique son so that he might be brought up among the little ones of Christ and armed with the arms of heaven for spiritual combat.² He hopes that together they might overcome the enemy and, always together, be crowned victorious. Such effort would bring them together to the philosopher's honorable goal of blessed eternity.

Peter never tired of reiterating how precious each relationship was regarded--whether with philosopher, prince, or prelate. It was with great affection and obvious high esteem that Peter prized his friends; they were, indeed, precious to him.

¹"Efferbuerat inter nos eo ardore feruor caritatis, ut qui te solo impulsu naturae coeperam diligere, iam non te nossem nisi ex deo et in deo amare." Letter 16, loc. cit., p. 23.

²Letter 9, loc. cit., p. 16.

Human Love Reflects Eternal Love

In the writings of Peter, the ideas that human love was the reflection of eternal love and that God, who created love, would make it the means of human progress are evident. The degree of perfection attained in love, friendship, or personal qualities was seen as the result of God's special grace.

Confident of friendship that rested in God, Peter extolled a love that surpassed the human dimension and interrelationships. He addressed Hato neither in terms of presuming on their long relationship nor as abbot to bishop, but as a "true friend in God."¹ It was the latter dimension that sealed the pact of friendship. Friendship in God superseded any other. It was with Hato, too, that Peter sought the "bond of illustrious charity"² which Peter had described as that everlasting union "which, according to the assurance of the Lord, no one can take from us."³ It was an eternal dependence, an eternal joy that Peter sought in his friends.

A sublime spirituality permeated Peter's words to his brother, Pontius: "Your stay with me was almost ten years, and through the whole time how much we learned of divine things, how fervent were our words of spiritual things, how frequently we disavowed the things of the world, how much our exhortation led us to an appetite for the

¹"...ut uerus in deo amicus,..." Letter 5, loc. cit., p. 11.

²"...praeclarum caritatis uinculum,..." Letter 6, loc. cit., p. 13.

³"...quod iuxta domini sententiam nemo tollat a nobis." *ibid.*

things of eternity."¹ Thus friendship was to provide counsel and comfort which pertained not only to this life, but also to the next, as we also note, for instance, in Peter's letters to Abelard and Heloise.²

Yet that eternal dimension to life's relationships led to an intense concern for the salvation of others, and much was done both to safeguard and correct the individual and to protect the community. Peter's own willingness to counsel and correct is undoubtedly demonstrated vividly in the fraternal correction of Letter 37 in which he rails in refutation of an unknown Appolinarist. Fraternal correction, indeed, seems a pained understatement as Peter launches into a rather vivid corrective, "Granting your beastly idiocy, your profound stupidity, and your total ignorance...."³ The considerable length of this letter, however, testifies at the same time to the concern that the doctrine be refuted and the diligence with which he addressed himself to the cause suggests either an uncharacteristic violence of temper not otherwise recorded, or an abiding, intense concern for the love of God and the protection of dogma. This was also substantiated in his tone--which would seem sharp to us--in defending his viewpoint

¹"Fuerat cohabitatio tua mecum fere decennalis, quo tote tempore quanta inter nos de diuinis collata, quam feruens de spiritualibus sermo, quam frequens de praesentium contemptu collatio, qualis de aeternorum appetitu cohortatio fuerit,..." Letter 16, loc. cit., p. 23.

²Letters 9, 10, and 115, loc. cit., pp. 14-17 and 303-308.

³"Licet bestialis insipientia profunda stultitia et omnimoda in-eruditio tua,..." Letter 37, loc. cit., p. 117.

in contrast to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard, of course, was not beyond responding with a certain vivid prose of his own that today some might find ungracious. The feeling for theological issues was evidently very keen in the twelfth century, and both Peter and Bernard wrote rather in a sense of duty, ultimate charity, and vindication in Christ than they can be suspected of writing in a personal defensiveness or stung pride.

The Unique Aspect of Love in Monastic Community

Monks were men, and they could and did know the misunderstanding, mischief, and malice that is the occasional lot of the human condition. It is also to be noted that the rivalry between Cluniac and Cistercian was no idle contest of wits nor merely nominal mental exercise. Peter, from his overview of financial and administrative problems, saw clearly the implications of competing monastic traditions. The survival of his Cluniac family was at stake, and his occasionally meteoric and always emphatic reactions in its defense suggest that he knew this well. The keen competition between traditions effected even the individual monk; none could easily move from one monastery to another within the same tradition; few would dare to petition a change of monastic family. Each monk knew that the community had come to prize him, if not as an individual, at least as a member.

Yet Peter saw the common monastic tradition--the sense of community--transcending the persistent rivalry. He saw the entire monastic community as a basic Christian ideal; this he cited in a

letter to the Cistercian abbots by referring to St. John's gospel: "By this love that you have for one another, everyone will know that you are my disciples."¹ Peter counted Guigo of Le Chatel, the fifth prior of La Grande Chartreuse, among his close friends, and his annual visits to the Carthusians² professed his admiration and love for these brother monks.

This sense of unity with the Carthusian community was amply testified in an affectionate letter addressed to the Carthusians: "How am I able to explain the manner in which I remain completely united to you in mind, even if separated from you in body, or how, moving among others, I am one of your sacred community in a spiritual fellowship?"³ It was to the Cistercian abbots, meeting in annual assembly, that he described his reliance upon them: "The cause, in truth, of my love for you is neither the fulfillment of precept nor the hope of material advantage, but the source of this whole involvement is this: that that which I am not able to do of myself, I can accomplish through you."⁴

¹"In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei estis discipuli, si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem." Letter 35, loc. cit., p. 114.

²"semel in anno" Constable, op. cit., II, p. 111 citing Martène, E. and U. Durand. Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum... amplissima collectio: Vol. VI. Paris: 1724-1733, 1200 E.

³"Quando enim explicare potero, quomodo a vobis corpore seiunctus tota vobis mente coniungar, quomodo alibi manens vobiscum semper maneam, quomodo cum aliis conuersans, inter sacri collegii uestri numerum spirituali cohabitatione conuerser?" Letter 24 in Constable, op. cit., I, p. 45.

⁴"Causa uero huius meae erga uos dilectionis, non retributio percaepti uel spes percipiendi alicuius temporalis commodi fuit, sed

A pervasive sense of community in the world of the monasteries explains the ease, familiarity, and rapport with which Peter addressed Bernard, the Cistercian abbots, and the Carthusians. They were not only united in a shared faith; they enjoyed the deeper intimacy of a shared, specific commitment to Christ. For Peter, the community of brothers was an abiding concern, as he commented to Hato, "Where the concerns of home are troubled, what care is there for the externals?"¹ He returned frequently to a common theme that all things were to be open² between monastic brothers. This is a phrase which Peter voiced regularly and appreciatively.

Among other comparisons, the Venerable abbot of Cluny equated the monastic community with the practical realization of the evangelical counsels: for example, he exhorted Peter Abelard to enter the "way of poverty,"³ because thus he would go to the reign of eternal beatitude. He extolled the values of life within the community and wrote the Carthusian abbot and his brother monks, "May there be in you the sign of friendship which stands according to the prophet in the sign of the people and, as the memory of your Lord was never separated from your sacred heart, thus, may your service never be dis-

ille totius negotii origo et materies extitit, quem quia in se non poteram, in vobis talibus officiis excolebam." Letter 35, loc. cit., p. 114.

¹"Vbi domestica turbantur, quid externa curantur?" Letter 5, loc. cit., p. 10.

²"nuda" Letter 36, loc. cit., p. 117.

³"Aggredere uiam paupertatis,..." Letter 9, loc. cit., p. 16.

joined from mercy."¹

The whole community, through Peter's vision, is the sign of friendship. "No secret should be veiled," he writes Pope Innocent, "between such a father and such a son."² While obviously the relationship between pope and abbot is not that of a community, Peter reminds the pope that "no one can be loved too much."³ Within the monastic world, indeed, none can be loved too much. In these bonds of love lies its strength and the monks' hope.

¹ Sit vobis in signum amicorum, qui stat iuxta prophetam in signum populorum, ut sicut domini uestri memoria a pectoris uestri sacrario nunquam separatur, ita serui uestri miseria si fieri potest a uestris affectibus nullo tempore diuellatur." Letter 24, loc. cit., p. 46.

² "...inter talem patrem et talem filium nulla secreta debuerunt esse uelata." Letter 39, loc. cit., p. 133.

³ "Recolite nullum unquam nimium amari potuisse;..." *ibid.*

CHAPTER VI: EDEN II

No flower can bloom eternally; no fruit remains forever sweet. As either reaches its zenith, full flowering, and ripeness, it is on the margin of decay and decline. Great figures of reform had labored for centuries to cultivate and trim the Cluniac ideal. Reformers had had the vision to make of this a new stock and a vast monastic empire and had come to share the fruits of their careful cultivation. The church and civilization had benefited magnificently, and the kingdom of God--for all their efforts--seemed a little more tangible in this world.

A new pride in the human experience and a new hope had dawned for the world. An amiable garden of human and spiritual delights had been planted within the monastic walls where love, fellowship, and friendship blossomed in the humble lives and dedication of the monks. Thus the monastic life had come to flower and with it, the expectation of glorious hope. There were flashes of great beauty in the monastic world--beauty of a delicate form and an elusive loveliness which Peter reflects and focuses in his letters. It was a time when ideals of friendship and human love were found in a reverence for men that was overshadowed by a reverence for God--a time, captured by Peter, in which Christians did love one another, however imperfectly.

Yet, it is ever the history of man that he does not appreciate his gardens, nor know how to prolong the vision of beauty and delight that is occasionally allotted him. Beauty is, moreover, a frail thing and, when found in life, must be quickly seized. If the gar-

den, then, is covered and long since faded, let us not forget what it looked like. More have been inspired by Camelot than ever lived there. Perhaps this is to be the final contribution of Cluny to mankind--to ever represent her vision of life as a community of friends, of unselfishness, and of mutual ideals. It is for this vision that the Venerable abbot, Peter, who not only grasped it, but lived it, must logically be the spokesman.

Peter's contribution to Cluny's vision and, hence, to mankind is not that of a philosophy of friendship except in implicit affirmation. Peter offers an abiding lifetime conviction and rich testimonial to the precious quality which he ascribes to friendship, to the super-eminent qualities of love and allegiance, and to the supernatural which he discerns. Peter is not representing a philosophy, but is living a conviction. Thus, he warmly substantiates the medieval doctrine of friendship.

That the whole world is a community was no arresting new thought to Peter. Yet, that his monastic community enjoyed a particular richness and value in his mind was beyond question. He was, indeed, the one upon whom the wisdom and experience of ages had descended. In the interrelationships with man, a felt need of human love sublimated in the pursuit of God is very evident throughout his correspondence. Peter stands as formally and emphatically committed to a concept of friendship that can sound like an unattainable ideal in the theories of Cicero and Aelred, but in the correspondence of a busy and worldly-wise abbot, preoccupied with many disparate tasks, it stands as an irrefutable testimonial to friendship. What others

could conjecture or speculate upon, Peter lives and writes as a friend.

The community of the church is, in the mind of Peter, ideally the same relationship, the same abundance of friendship that comes in the monastic and Christian communities to which he handily identified. He can sum up the efforts of his lifetime in a prayer addressed across the generations: "That the all-powerful Lord, Jesus Christ, who has united us in the bonds of spiritual affection in his kingdom may unite us in his eternal home."¹ Thus resounds the prayer that he offers. This was a lifetime course which Peter pursued; he could wish his friends no better. His frequent references to friendship only underscored the great reliance he placed upon friends--his concern to be extended to us today. May the sign of friendship remain with you!²

¹"Omnipotens dominus noster Ihesus Christus qui hic nos uniuuit spirituali cordium affectione, in regno suo nos uniat sempiterna cohabitatione,..." Letter 24, loc. cit., p. 47.

²"Sit uobis in signum amicorum,..." Letter 24, loc. cit., p. 46.

APPENDIX A

The following are the letters included in Constable's collection with the dates and recipients of each.

1	Pope Innocent II	Early 1137
2	Matthew of Albano	Late 1134
3	Cardinal Haimeric	1123 or 1141
4	Hugh of Amiens	1130 or 1138
5	Hato	1122 or 1146
6	Hato	1122 or 1146
7	Hato	1134
8	Stephen (priest)	1125 or 1126
9	Peter Abelard (possibly)	
10	Peter Abelard (possibly)	
11	Pope Innocent II	1136 or 1137
12	Archbishop William I of Embrum (possibly)	1120 or 1134 or 1135
13	Abbot Odo	
14	Theodard	1122 or 1139
15	Adela	Early 1136
16	Pontius, his brother	1138
17	Pope Innocent II	Late 1133 or 1134
18	Hato	1138
19	Dulcianus	1137
20	Gilbert	
21	Pope Innocent II	Early 1138
22	Hato	1128 or 1146
23	Pope Innocent II	1131
24	Guigo of Le Chatel - Carthusians . .	1136 or 1137
25	to Peter from the Carthusians	
26	Peter of Poitiers	1134 or 1156
27	Pope Innocent II	1135
28	Bernard of Clairvaux	1127?
29	Bernard of Clairvaux	1138
30	Theodard	1122 or 1139
31	Bishop Ascentinus, Anselmus, or Gerald, Bishop of Bethlehem	After 1130
32	Pope Innocent II	1132
33	Pope Innocent II	1132 or 1140
34	Cardinal Haimeric	1132 or 1140
35	Cistercian Abbots	Aug or Sept 1132 or 1140
36	Cistercian Abbots	Aug or Sept 1133 or 1140
37	Cluniac monk - Appolinarist	1130 or 1132
38	Archbishop Peter of Lyons	1131 or 1139
39	Pope Innocent II	Summer 1133
40	Aegidius (Gilo)	Late 1134
41	Peter of Poitiers or Peter of La Charité	1132 or 1134 or 1136

42	Theodard	1132 or 1134 or 1136
43	Theodard of La Charité	1130 or 1139
44	King Sigurd of Norway	1122 or 1130
45	Brothers at St. Andrew at North Hampton	
46	Pope Innocent II	1133
47	Matthew of Albano	1131 or 1135
48	Carthusian monks	1122 or 1137
49	Henry of Blois	1131
50	Stephen	1132 or 1136?
51	Hugh Catula (one time soldier) . . .	1146 or 1147
52	Cluniac monks re Peter's mother, Raingard	1135
53	Family re his mother	1135
54	Peter of Lyons	1138
55	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1131
56	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1135
57	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1129 or 1156
58	Peter of Poitiers	1134
59	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1133 or 1134
60	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1136
61	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1136
62	to Peter from Pope Innocent II . . .	1137
63	Pope Innocent II	1137
64	Pope Innocent II	Early 1138
65	Bernard of Clairvaux	Late 1137
66	Gilo	1133
67	William II of Orange	1137 or 1141
68	Count Amadeus	1137 or 1141
69	Hato	1138
70	Hato	1138
71	to Peter from Hato	1138
72	Pope Innocent II	1138
73	Bernard of Clairvaux	1137
74	to Peter from Bernard	Feb or May 1138
75	Emperor John Comnenus	1138 or 1139
76	John IX Patriarch of Constantinople .	1134 or 1143
77	Robert de Sigillo	1133 or 1135
78	to Peter from Bishop Geoffrey . . .	1131 or 1143
79	Bishop Geoffrey (reply to 78) . . .	1131 or 1143
80	Brothers at Mt. Thabor	1130?
81	Hato	1122 or 1146
82	King of Jerusalem	
83	Patriarch of Jerusalem	
84	Cardinal Alberic of Ostia	1140
85	to Peter from Hato	1141
86	Hato	1141
87	Nicholaus	1141
88	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1129 or 1156
89	Bishop Alberio II of Leige	1122
90	Roger II of Sicily	1139

91	Pontius, his brother	1138 or 1156
92	Pope Innocent II	1141 or 1142
93	Pontius, a religious	
94	Gregory, a Cluniac monk	
95	Hato	1141
96	to Peter from Hato	Early 1141
97	Pope Innocent II	1131
98	Pope Innocent II	1140
99	Pope Innocent II	1139 or 1144
100	Clerics of Lyons	1141
101	Pope Innocent II	1141
102	Bishop Milo I	1140
103	Pope Innocent II	1143 (soon after Peter's return from Spain)
104	Pope Innocent II	1133 or 1143
105	Arnold of Levenon, Archbishop of Narbonne	1143
106	Archbishop Geoffrey of Le Loreux . .	1143
107	Bishop Henry of Winchester	1137 or 1156
108	Bishop Guarinus of Amiens	1127 or 1144
109	Suger of St. Denis	1130 or 1151
110	to Peter from Bernard of Clairvaux .	1143 or 1144
111	Bernard of Clairvaux	Spring or Summer 1144
112	Pope Celestine II	1143
113	Pope Lucius	1144
114	to Peter from Pope Lucius	1144
115	Heloise	1142
116	Pope Lucius	
117	Raymond of Toulouse	1144 or 1145
118	Pope Lucius	1144
119	Pope Eugene III	1145 or 1153
120	Raunard of Bar, Abbot of Cîteaux . .	1134 or 1150
121	Hato	1145 or 1146
122	Pope Eugene III	1145
123	to Peter from Peter of Poitiers . . .	1139 or 1141
124	Peter of Poitiers	1139 or 1141
125	to Peter from Arnulf (a scribe) . . .	1139 or 1141
126	to Peter from Robert (a scholasticus)	1139 or 1141
127	to Peter from Gilbert (monk)	1139 or 1141
128	to Peter from Peter of Poitiers . . .	1139 or 1141
129	Peter of Poitiers	1139 or 1141
130	King Louis VII	1146
131	Roger of Sicily	1146
132	Carthusians	1137 or 1143
133	Cluniac brothers	1141
134	Theobald	1144 or 1145
135	Prior Odo	1147 or 1150
136	Abbot Geoffrey of Les Roches	1144
137	Geoffrey of Chartres	1135 or 1148
138	Abbot Peter of Barri	1137 or 1140

139	Stephen of Charolais, Archbishop of Vienne	1148
140	Stephen, at a castle in Auvergne . .	1146 or 1147
141	Pope Eugene III	1149
142	Pope Eugene III	1149
143	Humbert of Bauge, Bishop of Autun . .	1140
144	Abbot Theobald of St. Columba	1140
145	Bernard of Clairvaux	1149
146	to Peter from King Henry	1149
147	Abbot Ademar II of Figeac	1147
148	to Peter from Bernard of Clairvaux .	1149
149	Bernard of Clairvaux	1149
150	Bernard of Clairvaux	1149
151	Nicholas of Montierameg	1149
152	to Peter from Bernard of Clairvaux .	1149
153	to Peter from Nicholas	1149 or 1150
154	Hugh of Vienne from Pope Eugene III .	1148 or 1151
155	to Peter from Hugh of Vienne	1148 or 1151
156	Pope Eugene III from Hugh of Vienne .	1148 or 1151
157	Pope Eugene III	1150 or 1153
158	Pope Eugene III	1149 or 1151
158a	Dr. Bartholomao	1151
158b	Dr. Bartholomao	1151
159	Brothers at Abbey St. Martial at Limoges	1142
160	Eustace, his brother	
161	Cluniac priors and sub-priors	1144
162	King of Sicily	1148 or 1152
163	to Peter from Bernard of Clairvaux .	1150
164	Bernard of Clairvaux	1150
165	to Peter from Suger	1150
166	Suger	1150
167	to Peter from Heloise	1144 or 1154
168	Heloise (reply to 167)	1144 or 1154
169	to Peter from Prior Humbertus of Meyriat	1150 or 1151
170	Humbert of Meyriat	1150 or 1151
171	Pope Eugene III	1146 or 1151
172	Everard of Barre, Preceptor of Templag	1143 or 1147
173	Pope Eugene III	1148 or 1153
174	Pope Eugene III	1145 or 1153
175	Bernard of Clairvaux	1150
176	Nicholas of Montieramey	1150
177	to Peter from Bernard of Clairvaux .	1150
178	Hugh	1130 or 1156
179	to Peter from Nicholas (monk)	1151
180	Nicholas	1151
181	Bernard of Clairvaux	1151
182	Nicholas	1151
183	Prior Phillip of Clairvaux	1151

184	Galcher, cellarer of Clairvaux . . .	1151
185	Margaret and Pontia, daughters of his brother, Hugh	1135 or 1156
186	Prior Basil of La Grande Chartreuse .	1151
187	to Peter from Basil	1151
188	Pope Eugene III	1152
189	Pope Eugene III	1152 or 1153
190	Pope Eugene III	1152
191	Pope Eugene III	1152
192	Bernard of Clairvaux	1152
193	Nicholas of Montieramey	1152

APPENDIX B

This is a listing and an identification of the range of salutations found in the collection of the Letters of Peter the Venerable. The abbreviation f.P.h.C.a.--frater Petrus humilis Cluniacensium abbas--will be used throughout.¹

1. Deuotissimae humilitatis obsequium 1,4 (to Pope Innocent II)
 --salutem et obaedientiam 11,17; 23,43; 27,50; 33,107; 63,192
 --fidelem obaedientiam 17,24; 39,131; 118,311
 --sinceram dilectionem, et fidelem obaedientiam 21,42
2. Singulariter uenerando, et specialiter amplectendo, domino et patri suo Matheo Albanensi episcopo, f.P.h.C.a. 2,5 (to Matthew of Albano)
 --salutem quam promisit deus diligentibus se 2,5; 115,303 (to Heloise)
 --salutem quam repromisit deus diligentibus se 150,367; 175,416; 181,423 (all three to Bernard)
 --salutem quam praeparauit deus diligentibus se 88,228
 --salutem et multum amorem 51,151
 --salutem et intimum amorem 158a,379
 --salutem et sincerum in domino dilectionis affectum 134,338; 139,346
 --salutem, et ab auctore bonorum omnium totius gratiae et benedictionis plenitudinem 135,340
3. Venerabili et karissimo nostro domino Haimérico sedis apostolicae cardinali, et cancellario, f.P.h.C.a., salutem. 3,6
 --salutem, et licet lesum, tamen sincerum amorem 147,362
 --perpetuam salutem in domino 37,227
 --salutem et sincerum amorem 151,371
 --salutem quae est in Christo Ihesu 136,341
 --salutem ab eo qui mandat salutes Iacob 143,352
 --salutem cui se deuouit aeternam 186,434
4. Totius reuerentiae et dignitatis uiro, uere sacerdoti dei, Hugoni Rothomagensium archiepiscopo, f.P.h.C.a., sanctorum sacerdotum honorem et gloriam. 4,7 (to Hugo)

¹ A shortened notation for the Letter number and its corresponding page in Vol. I of Constable's collection will also be used. The Letter number will be underlined, followed immediately by the page number: for example, 1,4 refers to Letter 1 on page 4.

5. Venerabili et in Christi caritate totis animi uisceribus susci-
piendo, domino Atoni Trecensi episcopo, f.P.h.C.a.,
--salutis et dilectionis plenitudinem 5,9; 22,42
--salutis et praesentis et aeternae plenitudinem 166,399
--salutem praesentem et aeternam, quam michi 160,385
--totius salutis, gratiae et benedictionis plenitudinem 42,137
--salutem et sinceri amoris plenitudinem 138,345
--salutem et dilectionem 140,347
--salutem et sincerum amorem 151,371
6. Venerabili domino, et karissimo patri, Atoni Trecensium ponti-
fici, f.P.h.C.a., sanctorum pontificum gloria et honore coro-
nari. 6,11
7. Venerabili domino, et unanimi nostro, Atoni Trecensi episcopo,
f.P.h.C.a., quod sibi. 7,13
--salutem quam sibi 86,222; 108,271; 182,425
--salutem et se 70,202; 176,417
--salutem et orationes 83,220
--plenam a salutore salutem 184,427
--salutem et totius in domino amoris affectum 137,343
--salutem et sinceram affectum 106,269
--salutem et sincerum dilectionis affectum 144,353
--salutem et totum cordis sui affectum 107,270
--eandem quam sibi salutem 132,333
8. P.h.C.a., Stephano presbitero iurisperito, salutem. 8,14;
12,18; 13,18; 14,21; 19,27; 31,105; 34,109; 59,189; 61,191;
67,197; 77,211; 79,213; 91,232; 93,234; 100,260; 102,262;
105,268; 109,271; 124,317; 180,422
9. Dilectissimo filio suo magistro Petro, f.P.h.C.a., oculum uidem-
tem et aurem obaedientem. 9,14
10. Praecordiali filio magistro Petro, f.P.h.C.a., amorem uerae sa-
pientiae. 10,16
11. Venerabili et karissimae sorori nostrae dominae Adelae, f.P.h.C.
a., salutem, et omnem a domino benedictionem. 15,22
--salutem et ab auctore gratiarum gratiam et benedictionem
161,388
--salutem et ueram in domino dilectionem 35,113
--salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem 45,141; 129,326
--salutem, et aeternam a domino benedictionem 52,152
12. Karissimo in Christo fratri et germano Pontio, f.P.h.C.a.,
--salutem quam sibi 16,22; 50,150; 69,199
--(amantissimo domino) salutem et se ipsum 57,179
--salutem et se totum 60,190

13. Cum dulcedine recolendo, cum honore nominando, domino et patri Atoni Trecensium episcopo, f.P.h.C.a., se ipsum totum. 18,25
14. Dilectissimo atque in Christi uisceribus specialiter amplectendo fratri Gisleberto, f.P.h.C.a., pro angustia cellae, latitudinem caeli. 20,27
15. Venerabili et non fictae caritatis brachiis singulariter amplectendo domino et patri Guigoni Cartusiensi priori et ceteris fratribus, f.P.h.C.a., salutem ad quam suspirant aeternam. 24,44
 --salutem praesentem et regnum sempiternum 162,394
 --salutem ob quam conuenerunt aeternam 36,116
 --salutem ab eo qui dat salutem regibus 75,208; 90,230
 --saluari ab eo qui dat salutem regibus 82,219
16. Speciali michi amore karissimo fratri et filio Petro, f.P.h.C.a.,
 --salutem aeternam 26,48; 192,443 (to Bernard)
 --salutem et amorem 183,427
17. Pro meritis uenerabili, pro affectu erga nos dilectissimo, domino Bernardo Claraeuallis abbati, f.P.h.C.a., salutem praesentem, et salutem aeternam. 28,52
 --praesentem et aeternam salutem 56,177
 --salutem ad quam suspirat aeternam 111,274
 --ualere semper in domino 65,194 (to Bernard)
 --salutem et sinceræ caritatis affectum 145,360 (to Bernard)
 --salutem et se ipsum 73,206 (to Bernard)
 --salutem aeternam 80,214
 --salutem et uitam immortalem 84,221
18. Venerabili et intimo michi domino Bernardo abbati Claraeuallensi, f.P.h.C.a., sinceræ caritatis affectum. 29,101
 --paternum ut filiis dilectionis affectum 53,153
19. Honorando et sepe nominando Theodardo meo, f.P.h.C.a., totum quod est. 30,104
20. P.h.C.a., nec nominandae feci heresum. 37,117
 --Giloni olim Tusculano episcopo 40,134
 --Giloni utinam fratri, spiritum consilii et timoris domini. 66,195
21. Venerabili et in Christi corporis membris plurimum prae excellenti, domino Petro sanctae Lugdunensis aecclesiae archipresuli, f.P.h.C.a., spiritum consilii et fortitudinis. 38,125
22. Sinceræ caritatis uisceribus confouendo, fratri Theodardo priori de Caritate, f.P.h.C.a., in spiritu sancto discretionem adipisci spirituum. 43,138

23. Nobilissimo regum et nostrae societatis amico Siguiardo Noruegiae regi, f.P.h.C.a., in praesenti feliciter, in futuro felicissime cum Christo regnare. 44,140
24. Summo aecclesiae dei pastori nostro specialiter patri, domino papae Innocentio, f.P.h.C.a., humilem obaedientiam, et deuotum obsequium. 46,142
 --obaedientiam cum amore 92,233
 --obaedientiam et se totum ad omnia 104,266
25. Beatissimis et singulariter honorandis ac nominandis dominis ac patribus Cartusiensibus, domino Guigoni priori et ceteris fratribus, f.P.h.C.a., aeternam a piissimo saluatore Ihesu Christo salutem, et a consolatore spiritu plenissimam recipere consolationem. 48,146
26. In cathedra seniorum collaudando uenerabili et dilectissimo domino, domino Henrico Vuintoniensium episcopo, f.P.h.C.a., post honorem pontificii, stola gloriae indui. 49,148
27. Domino uenerabili et deo digno pontifici, Petro Lugdunensis aecclesiae patriarchae, f.P.h.C.a., merito pontifici, caelesti cathedra sublimari. 54,174
28. Vnanimi dilectione diligendo, singulari honorificentia honorando domino Henrico Vuintoniorum episcopo, f.P.h. fratrum C.a., praesentis prosperitatem, et aeternae salutis beatitudinem. 55,175
29. Carissimo filio Petro, f.P.h. fratrum C.a., per boni filii seruitutem benigni patris hereditatem. 58,179
30. Nobilissimo principi et karissimo amico nostro domino Amedeo comiti et marchioni, f.P.h.C.a., salutem, et aeterni participium principatus. 68,199
31. Cum honore nominando, cum amore recolendo, dei sacerdoti domino Atoni Trecensium episcopo, f.P.h.C.a., salutem et utiam beatam. 81,217
 --salutem et plenum caritatis affectum 120,313
32. Egregio et sublimiter uenerando Alberoni magnae Leodiensis aecclesiae magno pontifici, ac nobili eiusdem aecclesiae conuentui, f.P.h.C.a., humilisque grex Cluniacensis ouilis, salutem. 89,228
33. Venerabili et carissimo fratri Gregorio, f.P.h.C.a., considerare mirabilia de lege dei. 94,234
34. Suo Trecensi episcopo, frater humilis, quod solet. 95,256

35. Intimo ac iam uetusto cordis mei inhabitatori, domino ac uenerabili Atoni dei gratia Trecensium episcopo, f.P.h.C.a., salutem quam sibi. 121,314
36. Illustri ac magnifico principi, domino Ludouico glorioso regi Francorum, f.P.h.C.a., feliciter hic regnare, regemque regum in regno ac decore suo uidere. 130,327
37. Glorioso ac magnifico principi Rotergio Sicilae regi, f.P.h.C.a., bonorum regum dignitatem et gloriam. 131,330
38. Venerandis et dilectissimis dominis et fratribus apud Cluniacum omnipotenti domino seruiantibus, f.P.h. eorum non tam a., quam seruus, totius salutis et benedictionis a domino plenitudinem. 133,334
--salutis, gratiae, et benedictionis a deo plenitudinem 159,383
39. Venerabili et praeclaro in membris Christi uiro, domino Bernardo Clarenallensi abbati, f.P.h.C.a., post deum et in deo quod est. 149,363
40. Venerabili domino suo, Petro diuina dispositione Cluniacensium abbati, Bartholomeus suus, id quod est. 158b,382
41. Venerabili et praeclarae aecclesiae dei lucernae, totisque caritatis brachiis amplectendo, domino Bernardo abbati Claraeuallis, f.P.h.C.a., salutem ac se totum. 164,396
42. Venerabili et carissimae sorori nostrae, deque ancillae, Heloisae ancillarum dei ductrici ac magistrae, f.P.h.C.a., salutis a deo, amoris a nobis in Christo plenitudinem. 168,401
43. Carissimis et magnifice honorandis seruis dei, apud Maioreui in heremum Christo seruiantibus, f.P.h.C.a., salutem cui se totos deuouerunt aeternam. 170,402
44. Venerando uiro michique ualde carissimo domino Ebrardo magistro templi dei, quod in Iherosolimis est, f.P.h.C.a., salutis et dilectionis quicquid potest. 172,407
45. Magno sacerdoti dei egregio archipresuli Rothomagensis aecclesiae Hugoni, f.P.h.C.a., stola iocunditatis indui, et corona pulchritudinis adornari. 178,419
46. Neptibus carissimis et filiabus dulcissimis, Margaritae et Pontiae, f.P.h.C.a., quicquid est salutis et gratiae. 185,427
47. Fratri Nicholao, frater humilis quod solet. 193,448

APPENDIX C

The following is a bibliography on medieval friendship as offered by Professor John Conley in "The Doctrine of Friendship in Everyman." Speculum, XLIV, 3 (July, 1969), 374.

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length of time in business, no significant trends are evident except in frequency of contact. Here, the businessmen at the extreme ends, those with least and most time in business, have the less frequent contacts.

Location of business and perceived
marginality

Sub-hypothesis 7a proposes that the closer the Black business is located to a major business center, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community. The chi-square, using Yates' correction, was .60. This is not significant, and the sub-hypothesis cannot be accepted. The location of the Black businessman to a major business center is not related to perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white businessman.

An analysis of the data indicates that the location of the business has little effect on perceptions of the frequency of contact of Black businessmen with white businessmen. The businessmen all tend to have a rather low estimate of the amount of contact that Black businessmen have with white businessmen.

Location of business and manifest
marginality

Sub-hypothesis 7b states that the closer the Black business is located to a major business center, the greater is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community. The chi-square, again using Yates' correction, was .31. This is not significant at the .05 level, and the sub-hypothesis cannot be accepted.

Therefore, this indicates that the location of the Black business to a major business center is not related to the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

The owners of those businesses located at the extremes, those closest to the main business centers and those furthest away, responded to the questions on contact with Black businessmen and amount of influence in the Black business community with more marginal responses than those businessmen with businesses located in other locations. The Black businesses located close to the major business centers had the most genuine contacts with Black businessmen while those furthest away from the major business centers had the most acceptance.

Business organizational membership
and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 8a states that the more a Black businessman actually participates in business organizations, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. To test the hypothesis, the business organization index was correlated with the index of perceived marginality in the white business community. The coefficient of correlation was .30 (r). This correlation does not support the hypothesis but indicates a tendency for a direct relationship rather than an inverse relationship. However, the correlation was not large enough to support the assumption of a direct relationship.

The data show that perceived frequency of contact increases with the amount of participation in business organizations until the highest

category where the perceived frequency of contact decreases. One explanation may be that those businessmen with greater participation in business organizations may associate more in these organizations with white businessmen. Because of their frequent contact, they may expect other Black businessmen to have a large amount of contact with white businessmen. Those Black businessmen who have the greatest degree of participation in business organizations are in the minority. Because they are such a small group, they might tend to see others as participating less in business organizations. They might also feel that if others participate in business organizations less, then they are missing an opportunity to meet white businessmen. Thus, these Black businessmen may believe that other Black businessmen, if they do not meet white businessmen in the business organizations, may not be meeting them in other situations.

In analyzing the perceived nature of the contact, as Black businessmen have more participation in business organizations, they tend to see other Black businessmen as having very genuine or fairly genuine contacts with white businessmen. This tends to support the hypothesis at least in degree of genuineness.

Business organizational membership and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 8b proposes that the more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation for the index of business participation and the index of manifest marginality was $-.01$ (r). This suggests that there is no relationship.

between the degree of participation in business organizations and the Black businessman's marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported.

Examining the data, some factors seem to be evident. Those businessmen that have the most frequent contacts with Black businessmen are the ones that have the lowest index scores for participation in business organizations. This may indicate that Black businessmen are meeting elsewhere than in business organizations. However, those businessmen that have the most frequent contacts with Black businessmen at business organizations have the least genuine contacts as compared with other Black businessmen with fewer contacts. Thus, although Black businessmen may have less contact with each other at business organizations, the contact they do have may be more genuine. Those businessmen with the largest participation index have the most influence in the Black business community but are not accepted more than those with low participation.

Business experience and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 9a proposes that there is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his perceived marginality to the white business community. The business experience of the businessman was correlated with the index of perceived marginality to the white business community. The correlation was $-.15 (r)$. Although this was in the hypothesized direction, it was not high enough to indicate a relationship. The hypothesis was not supported by the data. In analyzing the data, no significant

trends were evident.

Business experience and
manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 9b states that there is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The business experience index of the businessmen and the index of manifest marginality were correlated. The Pearson coefficient of correlation came to .37. This correlation is not in the hypothesized direction and is not large enough to have statistical significance. Therefore, the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

In examining the data for this hypothesis, no significant trends were evident. The responses were varied and no category seemed to have a concentration.

Upkeep of facilities and perceived
and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 10a proposes that if the facilities of the Black businessman are in poor upkeep, the Black businessman has more perceived marginality to the white business community. Sub-hypothesis 10b states that if the facilities of the Black business are in poor upkeep, the Black businessman has more manifest marginality to the Black business community. These hypotheses could not be accurately tested. In conducting the research, it was found that 1) the items designed to evaluate the facilities of the Black businessman did not effectively differentiate, 2) there was little difference between

businesses in respect to upkeep, 3) with the many different types of businesses, it was impossible to effectively compare them with regard to upkeep of facilities. Comparing an automotive body shop to a restaurant was impossible or required a much more rigorous evaluation than that of this research. This study was not designed to inspect each business as carefully as would have been necessary to make a comparison. It can be said that the businesses were generally in good upkeep, and there was not much difference between them of an obvious nature to allow for any differentiation.

Residence in community and
perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 11a proposes that the longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. Correlating length of residence and the index of perceived marginality to the white business community, the resulting Pearson r was $-.03$. This indicates that there is no relationship between length of residence and perceived marginality to the white business community. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported.

The data do not indicate any trends as responses are fairly irregular. However, the businessmen with the greatest number of years of residence in the community tend to demonstrate more perceived marginality in their answers. This is contrary to what was hypothesized and indicates that other factors may be influential here. For example, these may be the older businessmen who do not care to become involved with other businessmen but are only interested in keeping

their status quo. These businessmen may tend to see others in the same way.

Residence in community and
manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 11b states that the longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation between years in the community and the index of manifest marginality to the Black business community was $-.06 (r)$. This indicates the absence of any relationship, and the hypothesis was not supported.

The data produce no significant trends with any of the variables making up the marginality index. There was a slight tendency for influence in the Black business community to increase with years of residence, but it was not a distinctive trend. Those businessmen with the fewest years of residence (4-10) also have less frequent contact. However, their contact seems to be more genuine than that of the businessmen in the category of longest residence (26-47). Those with the most years in the community also have slightly less acceptance. The Black businessmen with more years of residence may know the sources of power and influence but may have ideas that are not accepted by the younger businessmen or those newer to the community.

Participation in public life and
perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 12a proposes that the more the Black businessman

participates in the public life of the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. A correlation between the public life index and the index of perceived marginality to the white business community was computed and the result was $-.43 (r)$. This correlation is in the hypothesized direction, but it is not large enough to be significant. Thus, the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

Participation in public life and
manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 12b states that the more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation for the public life index and the index of manifest marginality was $-.44 (r)$. This correlation was in the hypothesized direction, but it was not high enough to be significant. Therefore, this hypothesis was not supported.

In examining the data, the Black businessmen who participates in public activities tend to have more frequent contact with other Black businessmen; and this contact seems to be more genuine than those with less participation. They also have a tendency to be more accepted and to have more influence in the Black business community. However, the small number of businessmen prevents making any generalizations. Although they seem to be less marginal, this is not always evident in all categories.

Exclusivity of white clientele
and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 13a states that the greater the exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. The chi-square, using Yates' correction for 1 degree of freedom, is 4.09. At the .05 level this is significant so the sub-hypothesis can be accepted. Exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman has a high association with perceived marginality to the white business community.

Exclusivity of Black clientele
and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 13b states that the greater the exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The chi-square, again using Yates' correction, was 3.23. At the .05 level, this is significant. The sub-hypothesis can be accepted. Exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman has a high association with manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Business size and perceived
marginality

Sub-hypothesis 14a states that the larger the size of the business, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community. The business size was measured by the gross annual income of the business. This gross annual income was correlated with the index of perceived marginality to the white

business community. The Pearson r was .12. This does not support the hypothesis. The data show no really significant trends. However, with nature of contact, those at the extremes--those with lowest income and those with highest income--have the least marginal responses.

Business size and manifest
marginality

Sub-hypothesis 14b proposes that the larger the size of the business, the less is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community. The correlation between business size--represented by gross annual income--and the manifest marginality index was $-.09$ (r). This does not indicate a relationship. Thus, business size and manifest marginality are not related and the hypothesis was not supported.

In examining the data, those businessmen with the highest income have the most frequent contact with other Black businessmen. However, the nature of their contacts is less genuine than those with lower income. The businessmen with the least income have the most genuine contacts. The businessmen at the extreme ends--those with the lowest and highest income--have the most acceptance by the Black business community. With amount of influence, those businessmen in the two highest categories of income (\$40,000-\$99,000 and \$100,000+) have much more influence in the Black business community. Thus, it is the businessmen with either the highest or the lowest gross annual income that have the most extreme marginality responses.

Profile of Least and Most Marginal Black Businessmen

A comparison was made of the three Black businessmen with the least manifest marginality and the three Black businessmen with the most manifest marginality to determine if there was any difference between them in relation to the variables in several of the sub-hypotheses. This was done in order to see if the responses of those businessmen at the extreme ends of the manifest marginality scale would support the sub-hypotheses. If they did, this would point out that those businessmen in the middle range of scores were clouding the relationships of the variables to manifest marginality and were preventing significant correlations.

The three most marginal Black businessmen had manifest marginality scores of 16, 16, and 14. The three least marginal Black businessmen had manifest marginality scores of 4, 5, and 6. It was interesting that none of the least marginal businessmen had been often named by other Black businessmen as having frequent and genuine contacts with Black businessmen and/or white businessmen (see Appendix, questions 38, 39, 40, 41). This indicates that those businessmen who are seen by other businessmen as being less marginal do not perceive themselves in this way.

Comparing the means of the responses of the least marginal businessmen and the most marginal businessmen for the variables in some of the sub-hypotheses produces the results in Table 13.

Comparing the means of responses of the three least marginal and the three most marginal businessmen produced only three relationships

TABLE 13

A Comparison of the Means of the Most and Least
Marginal Black Businessmen in Relation to
Variables of the Sub-hypotheses

Factors	Means	
	Most	Least
Age (years)	41.3	35.7
Militancy	16.0	11.0
Education (years)	11.0	11.9
Business organizational membership	3.0	1.0
Time in business (years)	7.7	2.5
Business experience	35.1	6.7
Residence in community (years)	18.0	20.0
Public life participation	.8	3.2
Business size	\$8,750	\$50,000

that supported the hypotheses. Militancy scores were less for those businessmen with the least marginality. This supports the hypothesized direct relationship of the sub-hypothesis. The mean for the index of public life participation was greater for the least marginal businessmen. This supports the hypothesized inverse relationship between manifest marginality and public life participation. The least marginal businessmen also had larger businesses than the most marginal businessmen which supports the sub-hypotheses.

The least marginal businessmen had a slightly higher mean for education than did the most marginal businessmen, but the difference

was not large enough to definitely support the hypothesized inverse relationship. The same is true of length of residence in the community where the mean for the least marginal businessmen was higher than that for the most marginal, which was as hypothesized; but it was not large enough to conclusively support the hypothesis.

The other variables compared (age, business organization participation, time in business, and business experience) indicated a relationship to manifest marginality opposite to that hypothesized. The mean age for the least marginal businessmen was slightly lower than the age of the most marginal businessmen. This was not as predicted. The least marginal businessmen had a lower mean for participation in business organizations than the most marginal businessmen which is opposite to the hypothesized relationship. The mean for length of time in business for the least marginal businessmen was much lower than for the most marginal businessmen. This does not support the hypothesized inverse relation of time in business and manifest marginality. The least marginal businessmen also had a much smaller mean for years in business than the most marginal businessmen. This does not support the predicted inverse relationship.

Therefore, this brief profile tends to show that except for three variables (militancy, public life participation, and business size) those businessmen with the least and most manifest marginality do not support the sub-hypotheses any more than does the sample as a whole. Thus, it is not just those Black businessmen with the marginality scores in the middle ranges that keep the sub-hypotheses from being supported; but it is also those Black businessmen that have scores at

the two extremes.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The concept of marginality has been of interest to sociologists working in many different areas. The term has been used to apply to cultural and racial groups as well as more limited groups such as chiropractors and industrial foremen. In some of this research, marginality was seen as a matter of degree of acceptance which could be influenced by a wide range of factors. This present research attempted to look at the degree of marginality of a rather limited group, Black business leaders, in relation to the Black business community and the white business community. It also proposed to see if certain factors, unquestionably accepted by many sociologists, influenced the position of the Black business leader in his relationship to either the Black business community or the white business community. These were variables such as age, sex, business experience, education and the other independent variables making up the sub-hypotheses.

Summary of Results of General Hypotheses

To determine whether the Black businessmen evidenced various degrees of marginality to the Black business community and to the white business community, three general hypotheses were stated. These three general hypotheses are as follows:

1. Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality among Black business leaders within the Black business community.

2. Black business leaders manifest varying degrees of marginality among Black business leaders within the Black business community.
3. Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality of Black business leaders to the white business community.

The data supported each of these hypotheses. Black businessmen were found to vary in the amount of perceived marginality to the Black business community, the amount of manifest marginality to the Black business community, and the amount of perceived marginality to the white business community. Some businessmen had low degrees of marginality while others had fairly high degrees of marginality. Thus, the hypotheses were supported and Black businessmen were found to occupy varying degrees of marginality to the Black business community and the white business community.

There was also found to be a degree of relationship between the general hypotheses. There was a slight trend for the two hypotheses pertaining to the Black business community to be related ($r=.49$). Thus, Black businessmen who see others as being marginal will have a tendency to see themselves as marginal to the Black business community. There is some relationship between what a Black businessman perceives and what he manifests in relation to the Black business community. A tendency for the hypotheses pertaining to the Black business community and the white business community to be related was also indicated. The hypotheses on perceived marginality had a tendency toward a direct relationship ($r=.47$). A businessman that perceived Black businessmen as marginal to the Black business community may also see them as marginal to the white business community. Also, manifest marginality to

the Black business community and perceived marginality to the white business community have a tendency to be related ($r=.61$). Thus, not only do perceptions of the marginality of Black businessmen to the Black business community and to the white business community tend to be related, but manifest marginality to the Black business community also tends to be related to perceived marginality to the white business community. The trend toward a relationship between the hypothesis referring to the Black business community and that referring to the white business community may indicate that the Black businessman sees a close relationship between the two communities and feels himself to be in the same position in each. Thus, if he feels highly marginal to one he will feel highly marginal to the other. If he perceives Black businessmen as being highly marginal to the Black business community, he will also perceive them as being highly marginal to the white business community.

Summary of Findings of Sub-Hypotheses

In examining the sub-hypotheses, many different results were found. The next section will restate the sub-hypotheses and will briefly summarize the findings.

- 1a. There is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=-.20$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not significant.

- 1b. There is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=.12$) was not significant and, if anything, indicated a slight tendency for a direct relationship.

- 2a. The perceived marginality to the white business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2=.91$) was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 2b. The manifest marginality to the Black business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2=.58$) was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 3a. There is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=.33$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

- 3b. There is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=.26$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not significant.

- 4a. If a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his perceived marginality to the white business community is greater than if he attends a white-oriented church.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2=2.93$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 4b. If a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his manifest marginality to the Black business community is less than if he attends a white-oriented church.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2=3.96$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 5a. The higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=.23$) indicates a possible direct relationship rather than an inverse one.

- 5b. The higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=-.27$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not significant.

- 6a. There is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=.002$) indicated no relationship.

- 6b. There is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r=.42$) indicated a tendency for a direct relationship.

- 7a. The closer the Black businessman is located to a major business center, the smaller is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2=.60$) was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 7b. The closer the Black businessman is located to a major business center, the greater is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2=.31$) was

not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 8a. The more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .30$) was not significant. There was a trend toward a direct rather than an inverse relationship.

- 8b. The more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.01$) indicated no relationship.

- 9a. There is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

The hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.15$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

- 9b. There is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

The hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .37$) indicated a possible direct relationship rather than an inverse one. However, it was not large enough to be significant.

10a, 10b. These hypotheses could not be tested for reasons stated in Chapter III.

- 11a. The longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.03$) indicated no relationship.

- 11b. The longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.06$) indicated no relationship.

- 12a. The more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.43$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

- 12b. The more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.44$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

- 13a. The greater the exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2 = 4.09$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 13b. The greater the exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($\chi^2 = 3.23$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

- 14a. The larger the size of the business, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .12$) was not as predicted.

- 14b. The larger the size of the business, the less is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.09$) was not large enough to be significant.

Therefore, in looking at the results of the data, only two sets of hypotheses were supported. Sub-hypothesis 4a states that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his perceived marginality to the white business community is greater than if he attends a white-oriented church. Sub-hypothesis 4b states that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his manifest marginality to the Black business community is less than if he attends a white-oriented church. These hypotheses were supported and indicate that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church he not only is less marginal to the Black business community but he perceives other businessmen as being more marginal to the white business community. Thus, if a Black businessman attends a church that has an all-Black or a predominately-Black membership, he is much more likely to meet other Black businessmen than white businessmen. This is especially true since 56.7% of the Black businessmen attended the same three churches. He will have contact with Black businessmen in a situation where contacts are more likely to be more genuine than in some business situations. Because of this type of contact, it may influence the acceptance of the businessman by the other Black businessmen. Therefore, he will have less marginality to the Black business community. In contrast, at a Negro-oriented church, the Black businessman's chances of meeting white businessmen are quite small. Hence, he will

tend to perceive other Black businessmen as having little contact. . Thus, if they have little contact, they do not have the opportunity for acceptance by white businessmen, at least in this situation. Therefore, Black businessmen tend to perceive other Black businessmen as marginal to the white business community.

Sub-hypothesis 13a states that the greater the exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. Sub-hypothesis 13b states that the greater the exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. These were supported and indicate that the race of clientele served will influence marginality of the Black businessman. If the Black businessman serves mainly white clientele, he may be more familiar with the white business community. He may have more contact with white businessmen. Since he serves white clientele, he may be accepted and have influence in the white business community. If the Black businessman serves only Black clientele, he may not be as interested in the white business community but may only be interested in Black businessmen who, like himself, serve Black clientele. Thus, he will have more contact with Black businessmen. Because he does not serve mainly white clientele, he may not be as active with white businessmen and may not be well known to them. Instead, he may have more contact with the Black business community and may be accepted by it.

In trying to explain why these hypotheses were not supported by the data, several factors may have to be considered. Black businessmen

may not have accurate perceptions either of their position in the Black business community or of the position of others in the white business community. In conducting the interviews, it was found that some Black businessmen, especially those new to the business world, felt they had much more influence and acceptance in the business community than was perceived as being true by other Black businessmen. Some new Black businessmen who stated in the interview that they were influential in the Black business community were not even known by many other Black businessmen. This may result from an inflated sense of importance due to their new position as businessmen. They feel they have more importance as businessmen in relation to the non-businessmen but may not realize that simply being in business may not give them the elevated sense of importance in the business community that they imagine.

Another factor that may influence the results is the lack of communication among Black businessmen and/or the lack of knowledge about other Black businessmen. Some businessmen interviewed knew only one or two other Black businessmen and had no idea that there were more than just a few Black businessmen in the city. With some of the businessmen they knew, they were not sure where the businesses were located. This lack of knowledge could tend to distort their perceptions about their position and the positions of others in the Black business or the white business community. If a Black businessman has few contacts with others who are not representative of the Black business community, then he will have a distorted perception of the Black business community as a whole. Some of the Black businessmen had no

knowledge of the business organizations in the community or of the projects being undertaken by some of the Black businessmen. Some of these businessmen were so far removed from the mainstream of the business community that they did not realize what was really happening. Some of these businessmen participated so little that in many respects they could barely be called members of the Black business community. This relates to a point made by Liu. Liu¹ stated that "a man can be marginal only if he has attained a degree of integration in two or more groups simultaneously--a degree which in all the groups must be high enough to produce inconsistencies of behavior." It might be questionable whether some of the Black businessmen have a high enough degree of integration in the Black business community to even be marginal.

Other Black businessmen do have contacts with both Black businessmen and white businessmen and have a high degree of influence and acceptance. They may be recognized by other businessmen as leaders in the community. However, these businessmen may not perceive themselves as having the importance that others seem to bestow upon them. These businessmen may feel that, although they have more influence and contact than other Black businessmen, they are still not achieving as much in these areas as they should. The most active persons are the ones who often see the need for more activity in the area while those who are less active have a false sense of importance because they are not aware of such needs.

The number of Black businessmen was too small to sufficiently test

¹op. cit., p. 390.

the hypotheses regarding their involvement in business organizations and public life. However, it does indicate areas in which Black businessmen are not active. In talking to Black businessmen, many of them stated that they had belonged to some organizations at one time but that their businesses increasingly consumed their time until they were not able to participate.

The lack of verification of the hypotheses may indicate two factors. One, the variables really do not have the influence on the marginality of the Black businessmen as commonly assumed. Two, these variables taken singly do not have an influence but interrelated may be influential. Thus, business experience alone may not influence marginality; but combined with age and education, it may have a great influence. Therefore, it may be that, instead of examining single variables, researchers should be looking for the combination of variables that have the most influence.

In examining the results of the study, it may be that the wrong persons were being designated as marginal in the sense that it may not be the businessmen who are the least active, the least educated, or the least experienced who are the most marginal. On the contrary, it may be those businessmen who, for example, are the most educated, have the most experience, and participate most in organizations, that are the most marginal. As Liu¹ stated in his conclusion in his study of marginal Catholics, "the 'true' marginal Catholic is 'high' in Catholicity and located in the inner sphere of the circle." He goes

¹ibid.

on to say¹ in reference to marginality, "he endeavors to participate more both in parochial activities and in the secular community."

This may be applicable to Black businessmen. The true marginal Black businessman may possess large amounts of business experience, participate in business organizations, have a high level of education, and a high degree of the other variables studied. He may be the one who participates most in the Black business community and in the white business community. If this is true, then the concept of marginality as applied to Black businessmen would need to be studied from a completely different standpoint.

The factors, such as economic status, that Smith found to be important in influencing the marginality of Hawaiian hybrids did not seem to apply to the marginality of Black businessmen. For example, the hypothesis relating economic status--measured by business size--was not supported. The same is true of the variables that Liu found to be important in his study of Southern Catholics. Age, income, and length of residence were not related to the Black businessman's marginality in the manner as hypothesized. However, some of Liu's conclusions seem to apply. As mentioned in the previous section, just as the true marginal Catholic is high in Catholicity so may the true marginal Black businessman possess a high degree of business skills and experience. The factors stressed by Wardwell as influencing the marginality of a social role were not related to the marginality of Black businessmen. The marginality of the Black businessmen, unlike the

¹ibid.

chiropractors, was not influenced by participation in community affairs as few Black businessmen participated in either business or community organizations. Of those who did, this participation had no relationship to degree of marginality. Wray saw the foreman as marginal because he had no influence either in the union or in management. However, this does not seem to apply to Black businessmen as only 10% responded that they had no influence in the Black business community and only 16.7% responded that they had no influence in the white business community. Kerckhoff and McCormick mentioned the influence of others' perceptions in their discussion of marginality. The Black businessmen's perceptions do not seem to be a reliable source from which to determine marginality. Those Black businessmen who were named by others as having frequent and genuine contacts with other Black businessmen--thus being less marginal to the Black business community--were not the ones who had the lowest scores on the index of manifest marginality to the Black business community. Antonovsky noted that the traditional assumptions for the concept of marginality did not seem to be true. In this study, none of the variables commonly assumed to influence marginality did so. Thus, the factors these authors stated as being related to marginality were not found to apply to this study.

Liu's conclusions seem to be relevant in looking at the businessman who is most involved in the business community as being most marginal. However, other aspects may also need to be considered. It is possible that the Black businessman identifies with another group rather than the Black business community or the white business community.

If so, it is his relationship to this group that should be studied.

— Instead of looking at the Black businessman in his role as a businessman, his relationship to his racial group possibly should be the source of study. Maybe Green, Golovensky, and others are unjustly criticizing Park and Stonequist as using the concept of marginality too broadly. With Black businessmen, possibly it is their identification and acceptance to the Negro race that should be considered. Also, this study did not examine the personality characteristics of the marginal man as did Stonequist. Maybe these characteristics, stressed by Stonequist, are not so easily separated from the status characteristics.

Limitations of Research

The fact that the research was conducted with many businessmen who had been interviewed by various organizations for other research may have influenced the study. Some of the businessmen may have tried to answer the questions with answers they thought were desired based on their experiences with other interviewers. Also, although the interviewer stressed that no organization was conducting the research, it is possible that all the businessmen did not fully believe this. At the same time the interviewing for the present study was being conducted, there were some persons interviewing Black businessmen who claimed to be college students but who were discovered not to be students. The Black businessmen may have learned of this misrepresentation and may have tended to distrust all interviewers.

Other researchers have strongly stressed the use of Black interviewers to interview Black individuals. Although the interviewer did

not feel this influenced responses to any great extent, it is still a factor that needs to be considered. It is possible that some Black businessmen were more suspicious than the interviewer realized.

The small size of the sample, especially with some variables such as business participation and community participation, may have limited the findings in some areas. It is difficult to compare responses with such a small number or a small number of responses in the categories.

Suggestions for Further Research

Replication of this study in a different type of community may indicate whether the results are unique to this community or whether they hold true with other communities. It is possible that the replication of the study in another section of the country may produce different results.

A study of marginality interrelating the variables named in the sub-hypotheses may be valuable and may yield different results. Instead of predicting that a single variable may influence marginality, it would be valuable to predict the influence on marginality of an interrelated set of variables. Thus, instead of looking singly at age, years in business, and education, it may be more realistic to examine the interrelationships of these variables on marginality.

Further study might examine marginality from the standpoint that those businessmen with the most participation in the business community are most marginal. This would be the reverse of this study. A study such as this would indicate whether some of the trends in relationships indicated by some of the data are significant or just

chance occurrences. A study from this standpoint may put the concept of marginality in a different frame of reference than the one used here.

Since most of the variables that were hypothesized in this study to influence marginality did not do so, it would be valuable to investigate other variables to see if some could be found that would influence marginality. To obtain some of these variables, it might be necessary to study in depth Black businessmen and their relationships with other Black businessmen and with white businessmen.

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APPENDIX

1. Name _____ 2. Date _____
3. Name of Business _____
4. Location _____
5. Sex of Owner _____ 6. Age last Birthday _____
7. Present Marital Status S ___ M ___ D ___ Sp ___ W ___ Rm ___
8. Number of Children _____
9. Religious preference C ___ J ___ P ___ Other (denomination) _____
10. Name of church presently attending _____
- Member _____ How long attended _____
11. Average church attendance per month _____
12. Please specify the racial composition of your church
- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ___ all Black membership | ___ well integrated membership |
| ___ predominately Black membership | ___ predominately White membership |
| ___ all White membership | |
13. Last year of school attended _____
- If college-major _____
- degree _____
- Age when last attended _____
14. Special training or courses _____
- _____
- Length of time attended _____
- Age when attended _____
- Certificate _____
15. How long lived in Kalamazoo Present _____ Past _____
- If past, when _____
16. Trace briefly your occupational history: (Please specify dates to best of knowledge)
- _____
17. What is the nature of present business:
- Type of service or product _____
- Number of employees _____
- Positions previously held in present business _____
- _____
- If manage: Is business owned by: Black owner(s) _____
- White owner(s) _____ Corporation _____ Other _____
- How long have you been managing _____
- If own: How long have you owned the business _____

How did you get started in the business _____

...

18. Do you belong to any business organizations or clubs either national, state or local? _____

State or National:

Name	Attendance at Meetings All, Most Few, None	Offices Present	Offices Past- 3 Yrs.	Year	Committees	Special Activities	Participation Always, Most Few, None
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Local:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

19. Do you belong to any community organizations? _____

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

20. Do you belong to any service or private organizations or clubs? _____

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

21. Specify the answer that most accurately reflects the composition of your clientele:

<input type="checkbox"/> 100% Black	<input type="checkbox"/> at least 20% Black
<input type="checkbox"/> at least 80% Black	<input type="checkbox"/> less than 20% Black
<input type="checkbox"/> at least 60% Black	<input type="checkbox"/> 100% non-Black
<input type="checkbox"/> at least 40% Black	

22. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the frequency of contacts which you have had with white businessmen in the last 12 months?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Very frequent (everyday) | Comments: |
| 2. Frequent (several a week) | |
| 3. Occasionally (once a week) | |
| 4. Rarely (once a month) | |
| 5. Never | |

23. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the frequency of contacts which you have had with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Very frequent (everyday) | Comments: |
| 2. Frequent (several a week) | |
| 3. Occasionally (once a week) | |
| 4. Rarely (once a month) | |
| 5. Never | |

24. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the nature of your contacts with white businessmen in the last 12 months?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Very genuine | Comments: |
| 2. Fairly genuine | |
| 3. Somewhat genuine | |
| 4. Generally superficial | |
| 5. Very superficial | |

25. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the nature of your contacts with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Very genuine | Comments: |
| 2. Fairly genuine | |
| 3. Somewhat genuine | |
| 4. Generally superficial | |
| 5. Very superficial | |

26. Which of the following statements best describes the frequency of contact which most other Black businessmen have had with white businessmen in the last 12 months--as you see it?

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Very frequent contacts | Comments: |
| 2. Frequent contacts | |
| 3. Occasional contacts | |
| 4. Rarely have contact | |
| 5. Never have contact | |

27. Which of the following statements best describes the frequency of contact which most Black businessmen have had with other Black businessmen in the last 12 months--as you see it?
1. Very frequent contacts
 2. Frequent contacts
 3. Occasional contacts
 4. Rarely have contact
 5. Never have contact
- Comments:
28. Which of the following statements best describes the nature of the contacts which most Black businessmen have had with white businessmen in the last 12 months--as you see it?
1. Very genuine
 2. Fairly genuine
 3. Somewhat genuine
 4. Generally superficial
 5. Very superficial
- Comments:
29. Which of the following statements best describes the nature of the contacts which most Black businessmen have had with other Black businessmen in the last 12 months--as you see it?
1. Very genuine
 2. Fairly genuine
 3. Somewhat genuine
 4. Generally superficial
 5. Very superficial
- Comments:
30. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the frequency of your contacts with white businessmen in the last 12 months?
1. Would like much more contact
 2. Would like a little more contact
 3. Satisfied with amount of contact
 4. Would like less contact
 5. Would like no contact
- Comments:
31. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the frequency of your contacts with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?
1. Would like much more contact
 2. Would like a little more contact
 3. Satisfied with amount of contact
 4. Would like less contact
 5. Would like no contact
- Comments:
32. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the nature of your contacts with white businessmen in the last 12 months?
1. Would like contacts to be much more genuine
 2. Would like contacts to be a little more genuine
 3. Satisfied with nature of contacts
 4. Would like contacts to be more superficial
 5. Would like contacts to be completely superficial
- Comments:

33. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the nature of your contacts with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?
1. Would like contacts to be much more genuine Comments:
 2. Would like contacts to be a little more genuine
 3. Satisfied with nature of contacts
 4. Would like contacts to be more superficial
 5. Would like contacts to be completely superficial
34. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of influence that you feel you have had in the Black business community in the last 12 months?
1. Very much influence Comments:
 2. Much influence
 3. Some influence
 4. Little influence
 5. No influence
35. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of influence that you feel you have had in the white business community in the last 12 months?
1. Very much influence Comments:
 2. Much influence
 3. Some influence
 4. Little influence
 5. No influence
36. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of acceptance which you feel that you have had by the Black business community in the last 12 months?
1. Complete acceptance Comments:
 2. Much acceptance
 3. Some acceptance
 4. Little acceptance
 5. Not accepted at all
37. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of acceptance which you feel that you have had by the white business community in the last 12 months?
1. Complete acceptance Comments:
 2. Much acceptance
 3. Some acceptance
 4. Little acceptance
 5. Not accepted at all
38. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most frequent contacts with other Black businessmen--in Kalamazoo
39. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most frequent contacts with white businessmen--in Kalamazoo
40. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most genuine contacts with other Black businessmen--in Kalamazoo

41. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most genuine contacts with white businessmen--in Kalamazoo
42. Rank the following situations according to frequency of contact with white businessmen.
- ☐ luncheons
 - ☐ business and trade association meetings
 - ☐ social affairs in homes
 - ☐ business transactions
 - ☐ church
 - ☐ clubs, service organizations
43. Rank the following situations according to frequency of contact with Black businessmen.
- ☐ luncheons
 - ☐ business and trade association meetings
 - ☐ social affairs in homes
 - ☐ business transactions
 - ☐ church
 - ☐ clubs, service organizations
44. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which Black businessmen in general have been involved in the Civil Rights struggle in Kalamazoo--other than as employers of Blacks?
1. Very involved
 2. Often involved
 3. Occasionally involved
 4. Seldom involved
 5. Never involved
- Comments:
45. To what extent do you think that Black businessmen are aware of the aims of the Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?
1. Very aware
 2. Aware
 3. Somewhat aware
 4. Little aware
 5. Not aware
- Comments:
46. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which Black businessmen support the aims of Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?
1. Strongly support
 2. Support
 3. Somewhat support
 4. Little support
 5. Do not support
- Comments:
47. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which you have been involved in the Civil Rights struggle in Kalamazoo--other than as an employer of Blacks?
1. Very involved
 2. Often involved
 3. Occasionally involved
 4. Seldom involved
 5. Never involved
- Comments:

48. To what extent are you aware of the aims of Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?

1. Very aware
2. Aware
3. Somewhat aware
4. Little aware
5. Not aware

Comments:

49. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which you support the aims of Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Somewhat support
4. Little support
5. Do not support

Comments:

50. Do you think that most Black businessmen in the community feel that Civil Rights demonstrations have been beneficial in helping to achieve the goals of Black Americans? Yes ____ No ____

Comments:

51. Do you feel that Civil Rights demonstrations have been beneficial in helping to achieve the goals of Black Americans? Yes ____ No ____

Comments:

52. How do you think most Black businessmen in the community feel about the use of civil disorder to achieve the goals of Black Americans?

1. Feel is the only way
2. Feel is necessary only sometimes
3. Feel that are better ways to achieve these goals

Comments:

53. How do you feel about the use of civil disorder to achieve the goals of Black Americans?

1. Feel is the only way
2. Feel is necessary only sometimes
3. Feel that are better ways to achieve these goals

Comments:

54. In general, how do you think Kalamazoo Black businessmen feel about Blacks forming an all Black nation in the United States (Black separatism)?

1. Approve
2. Undecided
3. Disapprove

Comments:

55. In general, how do you feel about Blacks forming an all Black nation in the United States (Black separatism)?

1. Approve
2. Undecided
3. Disapprove

Comments:

56. What is the gross annual income of your business? _____

Physical conditions of business

57. Building/office-external

painted, in good repair--boards or bricks not missing

Good ____ Fair ____ Poor ____

58. Windows-clean, unbroken

Good ____ Fair ____ Poor ____

59. Inside building/office

clean, painted, well-lighted, neat, uncluttered

Good ____ Fair ____ Poor ____

60. Sign

Present ____ Not present ____

Not broken, neatly done, readable

Good ____ Fair ____ Poor ____

61. Equipment and supplies

in good working order, clean, neat, arranged with some order

Good ____ Fair ____ Poor ____

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