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DIVINITY, DISEASE, AND DEATH:
AN ANALYSIS OF THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF SUFFERING IN THE BIBLE AND THEIR REFLECTION IN SELECTED MEDIEVAL LATIN AND MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN TEXTS IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

JUDITH J. BYRNE

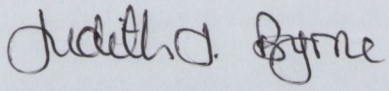
Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy at the University of Dublin

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Judith J. Byrne

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To
my husband Joachim and my daughter Clara

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SUMMARY

This thesis focuses on religious ideas associated with suffering, caused by disease or injury, in the High Middle Ages. The condition of death, although frequently excluded from other studies, is included here as its significance is too important to overlook. According to the Bible, God imposes suffering for various reasons, including as a punishment (retributive in nature, penalising specific behaviour), a chastisement (disciplinary in nature, aimed at repentance), a test of faith, or a means of manifesting His power. This study employs a comparative and interdisciplinary approach, exploring religious concepts of suffering through the Old Testament, the New Testament, the writings of certain early Christian figures, Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church, and medieval commentators, including Tertullian, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Ambrose of Milan, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Johannes Andreae and Nicholas de Tudeschis. This reveals a diversity of opinion as to the number or nature of theological reasons for the onset of suffering. In my study I have chosen a variety of popular secular and sacred Latin and Middle High German texts, which date from ca. 1135-1275 and comprehend Caesarius von Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares*, the *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, ed. by Joseph Klapper, Hartmann von Aue's *Der arme Heinrich*, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, *Die Kaiserchronik*, and Konrad von Würzburg's *Silvester* and *Engelhard*. A comprehensive analysis of depictions of suffering in these sources is undertaken in order to assess their reflection of or deviation from models of explanation proposed in the Bible, and in early Christian or medieval theological sources.

A lack of uniformity is evident among modern day scholars, whose opinions on religious interpretations of suffering in the Bible, early Christian or medieval sources diverge greatly. This largely results from a narrow focus on an individual writer, a restricted corpus, or misinterpretation of key theological texts. Rather than constituting a diachronic study of theological concepts of suffering, my thesis aims to challenge certain modern scholarly views on the functions of transcendentally imposed disease in the Middle Ages, in particular the claim that 'Sickness, physical deformity, are traditionally a sign of God's displeasure',[1] that leprosy is the paradigmatic punishment for sin (with the superstitious treatment involving human blood its cure), and that the medieval church viewed secular medicine and physicians in a hostile manner. As the Bible is frequently cited as the basis for the perceived prevalence of these beliefs in the Middle Ages, this study includes a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the portrayal of suffering and physicians in both the Old Testament and the New Testament in order to ascertain the accuracy of such claims; this aspect is frequently lacking in other studies concerned with religiously-determined concepts of suffering in the Middle Ages. By focusing

[1] J. A. Hunter, ''Sam Jôben den richen': Hartmann's 'Der arme Heinrich' and the Book of Job', *MLR*, 68 (1973), 358-66 (p. 360).

on a broad corpus, I hope to give a clearer picture of the complexity of theological ideas associated with suffering during this period.

I identify two Biblical models of suffering, a suffering-centred paradigm and a healing-centred paradigm, and establish a system of functions based on the narratives contained within these paradigms. Those embodying the suffering-centred paradigm generally feature a reason for sickness. They are mostly present in the OT, where the emergence of disease or the onset of death is depicted as a deliberate and significant event sent directly by God or mediated through a divine, diabolic or human agency. The execution of a sinful act is generally the impetus for this event; pain constitutes deserved retribution or chastisement and an appropriate religious response can occasionally result in a restoration to health. Alternative interpretations also exist within this paradigm, including the idea of suffering as a divine test of faith, or a means of propitiation for the iniquity of others. In contrast narratives incorporating the healing-centred paradigm generally omit a reason for ill-health. These are mostly present in the NT, where ailing individuals provide an opportunity to demonstrate divine glory through a miraculous cure. In contrast with the sick in the suffering-centred paradigm, little response is required of the ill, apart from possessing faith in the healing abilities of the healer or intermediary.

Both paradigms are traced in the medieval corpus, where, contrary to the expectation that the infliction of suffering as a consequence of sin would predominate, the analysis reveals a diverse taxonomy of religiously-determined beliefs in association with sickness or death. In addition to incorporating the functions found in the Bible, new categories are evident to explain suffering and death; the frequency with which individual interpretations emerge in particular texts can reveal its narrative intent. The healing-centred paradigm is present in most of the selected medieval texts, thereby contradicting the belief that sin is continuously associated with sickness in such sources. However, this correlation is evident in particular works such as the *Legenda aurea*, which differ from the Biblical paradigm in that such narratives no longer seek to instruct believers on the nature of God, and transgression, but prove propagandistic in their repeated portrayals of excessive retribution for minor misdemeanours. The image of a wrathful, unapproachable God, and violent, merciless saints, who wreak vengeance through severe beatings, constitutes a debasement of the Biblical paradigm. Rather than disseminating religious doctrine, the writers or compilers abuse their influence in their efforts to invoke fear in order to control society and repress dissident opinion. The medieval sources depict the punishment of secular and religious foibles and failings of concern to the church. The concept of suffering as retribution or chastisement – albeit with significant paradigmatic differences – is also present in more secular texts such as *Der arme Heinrich*, *Engelhard*, and *Parzival*; rather than encouraging fear, such narratives aim to highlight the possibility of successfully integrating religion and secular living. This moral interpretation of suffering is, however, virtually absent from other works in the corpus, e.g., the *Speculum ecclesiae*, which underlines instead such means of attaining eternal life as atonement and penance.

The comprehensive analysis of the suffering motif in the Bible and the medieval corpus also demonstrates that death rather than leprosy is the most frequently imposed punishment. Furthermore, leprosy does not automatically symbolise guilt as, in additional to death, a wide range of both physical and mental disorders are inflicted in response to sin, and this disease also emerges quite frequently in healing-centred narratives, which are devoid of any indication of culpable behaviour on the part of the sufferer. Additionally, in most narratives featuring leprosy the healing process excludes any aspect of a blood-cure. The association of leprosy with guilt and the blood cure is, however, prominent in several well-known and popular medieval texts, such as *Der arme Heinrich*, and *Silvester*; their importance in such narratives explains to some degree modern misconceptions as to the extent of a sinful association with this disease and its correlation with the superstitious blood cure in the Middle Ages.

My investigation into attitudes towards secular medicine and physicians held by early Christians, Fathers of the Church and the medieval church largely reveals a concern for the spiritual well-being of humanity rather than a condemnation of secular medicine or its practitioners. Furthermore, an exhaustive search of references relating to this topic, including the use of medical references, in the Bible and the medieval corpus shows the claim that an anti-medical tradition was perpetuated through such sources to be unfounded. Where featured, the failure of medicine or the efforts of physicians generally serves to emphasise the greatness of the ensuing miracle rather than criticise this profession. In conclusion, this study adds to research in the area of the theological interpretation of suffering in the Bible and the Middle Ages through revealing its complexity, by clarifying issues and by challenging perpetuated misconceptions.

INTRODUCTION

> Der mittelalterliche Mensch habe Krankheit in einem Kausalnexus als eine unmittelbare Folge eines konkreten gottwidrigen Verhaltens gesehen, einer iudicio oder ira Dei bestraften Fehlhandlung gesehen.[1]

The topic of sickness in the Middle Ages is much researched and consequently I have included here those studies most relevant to my investigation; other associated works will be referred to as appropriate throughout the main body of the thesis. Most of those discussed here are medical-historical in nature, focusing on medical details in both literary and non-literary texts. These include studies by Haage, Haferlach, Haberling, Dube, Göhrig, Graf, von Siebenthal, and Erlacher. Others, such as Brody, Doob, and Matejovski view suffering from a social-historical perspective, while the investigations of Kaiser and Koller interpret the literary function of this motif. Central questions in some works focus on the educational background of the poet, especially his knowledge of contemporary medical or surgical procedures, and the realistic nature of literary depictions of medical procedures. Of particular interest to my work are those studies which seek to identify a moral cause of disease in literary or non-literary texts, particularly in association with leprosy or madness, and others, which attempt to employ depictions of suffering to aid the generic classification of a text. The studies on the whole tend to be comparative and interdisciplinary in approach; some are diachronic in scope although most are synchronic. Medieval medical treatises are usually referred to in order to address problems of alterity, while various genres, occasionally in different languages, are integrated into corpora in order to establish literary traditions associated with the motif of suffering in medieval literature.

Among the medical-historical works, several studies focus on a single author such as those by Bernard D. Haage, who investigates the educational background of Gottfried von Strassburg and Wolfram von Eschenbach through an analysis of their respective literary works.[2] In his evaluation of Gottfried, healing narratives in MHG and OF literature are compared to establish a literary tradition incorporating medical realism. This approach reveals a sparsity of medical elements in Gottfried's *Tristan*, which is interpreted as evidence of the poet's lack of medical knowledge and of the existence of a prevailing aesthetic, which disapproved of detailed medical descriptions in literature: 'Besonders seine Weigerung, näher auf die medizinische Praxis einzugehen (V. 7935-7961), birgt ex negativo wertvolle Hinweise auf seine eigene Bildung wie auf die kontroverse wissenschaftstheoretische Diskussion zur Medizin im 12. Jahrhundert' (*Tristan*, 193). The second work seeks to confirm the educational background of Wolfram in natural

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[1] Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kranker König: Kranker Bauer', in *Der kranke Mensch in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. by Peter Wunderli, Studia humaniora, 5 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986), pp. 61-77 (p. 62).

[2] Bernard D. Haage, 'Heilkunde im 'Tristan' Gottfrieds von Straßburg', appendix in *Kommentar zum Tristan-Roman Gottfrieds von Straßburg*, ed. by Lambertus Okken, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), III, pp. 187-206; idem, *Studien zur Heilkunde im „Parzival" Wolframs von Eschenbach*, GAG, 565 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1992).

sciences and medicine.[3] To verify the existence of a poetic tradition, a chronological examination of selected classical, OE, OF, and MHG literary depictions of medical and surgical procedures is undertaken. Medical references in *Parzival*, which differ from this tradition and, in particular, from Chrestien de Troyes' *Perceval*, are viewed as proof of Wolfram's background in *materia medica*. An analysis of the narratives involving Anfortas' suffering and Urjan's healing in *Parzival* confirms the superior medical knowledge of the poet in comparison to his contemporary artists: 'Das medizinische Wissen Wolframs von Eschenbach ist als Teil seiner außergewöhnlichen enzyklopädischen Bildung zu sehen. Nirgendwo in der abendländischen Dichtung läßt sich ein derart umfassender Kenntnisstand beobachten' (*Parzival*, 42).

W. Haberling concentrates on what he terms the 'Heldenlieder des Mittelalters' in his evaluation of the realistic nature of therapeutic measures for battle injuries in twelfth and thirteenth century literature.[4] The selected works include Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, and *Parzival* and Heinrich von Veldecke's *Eneide*, which are, contrary to Haage's approach, analysed without reference to medieval medical or surgical discourse. Fiction and realism remain undifferentiated as Haberling accepts literary portrayals as realistic representation of the treatment of noble knights: 'Wie im Lied, so war es auch in der Wirklichkeit' (24).[5] Important aspects remain unconsidered such as the educational background of the selected poets, the function of these texts, or their intended audiences as Haberling relies on his experience as a medical doctor in the early twentieth century to test the effectiveness of the described procedures. This approach, however, fails to tackle the problem of alterity: '[...] gestattet sie uns doch einen trefflichen Vergleich mit der Kriegsverwundetenfürsorge der jetzigen Zeit, deren glänzende Erfolge wir täglich zu bewundern Gelegenheit haben' (6). The results prove somewhat unreliable and occasionally reveal a nationalistic slant: 'Ihre Nachkommen [die Chirurgen im 18. Jahrhundert] haben heute auf den Schlachtfeldern und den Lazaretten der deutschen Chirurgie den ersten Platz in der Welt erobert' (51).[6] Overall, I feel that the value of this study lies in its summary of wound treatments present in MHG narratives in addition to a modern-day medical evaluation as to their potential effectiveness. A similar topic is pursued by Waltraut F. Dube but in relation to a corpus of ten MHG narrative works, including *Der arme Heinrich* and *Parzival*.[7] This is a thorough study of the relationship between literary medical references and medieval medical treatises during the period 1170-1250. Upon analysing the disorders and treatments present in the MHG epics in

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[3] 'In der vorliegenden Abhandlung kann [...] die enzyklopädische Bildung sowie das medizinische, insbesondere chirurgische Fachwissen Wolframs von Eschenbach in bisher ungeahnten Dimensionen sichtbar gemacht werden', *Parzival*, p. 5.

[4] W. Haberling, *Die Verwundetenfürsorge in den Heldenliedern des Mittelalters*, Jenaer medizin-historische Beiträge, 10 (Jena: Fischer, 1917).

[5] Also p. 3: 'wir wollen [...] ein denkbar vollständiges, zusammenfassendes Bild von der Wundversorgung, [...], entwerfen, welches, wenn auch oft dichterisch verklärt, gar trefflich die Zustände der damaligen Zeit widerspiegelt und daher von besonderem Werte für die Beurteilung des wundärztlichen Wissens und Könnens des Mittelalters sein dürfte'.

[6] Cf. also his view on female healers, p. 24: 'Schon in altersgrauen Zeiten hat die Frau ihre linde Fürsorge den Verwundeten angedeihen lassen. Vor allem aber sind es die deutschen Frauen, die von jeher den verwundeten Kriegern ihren treuen Beistand gewährten'.

juxtaposition with relevant medical treatises, Dube concludes that '[...] it is possible, perhaps even likely, that the MHG poets based their medical concepts on actual medical practices of their time' (275).

Several studies concentrate on the representation of a single disease such as madness or leprosy in literary or non-literary works. Michael Graf focuses on madness in Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*, consulting medieval medical authorities to diagnose the pathology of the hero's condition and to disclose its contemporary meaning in the work.[8] He interprets Iwein's condition as a combination of melancholia and love-sickness in accordance with medieval medical ideas, e.g., melancholy is linked to such factors as climate, season, poor nutrition and traumatic events (182) in line with humoral pathology, the dominant theory of disease causation in the Middle Ages.[9] One can infer from the inclusion of such theories that they were known among Hartmann's audiences: '[...] es darf überdies ein Publikum vorausgesetzt werden, dem die Vorstellung von einem Säftegleichgewicht im menschlichen Körper vertraut war' (30). Graf further argues that this integration of medical concepts reveals an ideology of nobility in the presentation of Iwein's love-sickness as 'ein Männerwahnsinn'(186): 'Er wurde im Mittelalter entschlüsselt als Wahnsinn der Liebe, ergo des Adels, ergo der Vitalität, ergo der naturhaften Herrschaftsgewalt. Der Diskurs sprach von Wahnsinn und Liebe und meinte Macht und ihre Rechtfertigung' (187). The presence of natural aetiological factors in *Iwein* is interesting in that it contrasts with the metaphysical cause Hartmann attributes to suffering in *Der arme Heinrich*; this element of alternation in attributable causes of disease is of relevance to my study as regards ascertaining the literary purpose of suffering in the latter work.

Nicola P. B. Göhrig's study is a 'medizingeschichtlich-soziologische Untersuchung', which seeks to reveal the literary function of leprosy through an examination of realistic medical detail present in six MHG narrative works including Hartmann's *Der arme Heinrich* and Konrad's *Engelhard* and *Silvester*.[10] The introductory section incorporates an overview of the medieval medical and social reality of the disease of leprosy. In the *Armer Heinrich* Göhrig rejects the idea that Heinrich is inflicted with leprosy as divine punishment in favour of her belief that he is an 'Ideal-Ritter [...], der gleich Hiob, eine Prüfung durch Gott auferlegt bekommen hat' (60). She sees no indication of guilt in the work until Heinrich accepts the offer of the girl to sacrifice her life for him: 'Nur jetzt, als er dem Angebot des Mädchens zustimmt und sie als "magisch-materielles Mittel" einsetzt, um wieder gesund zu werden, macht er sich schuldig, da seine Verhaltensweise in

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[7] Waltraut F. Dube, 'Medieval Medicine in Middle High German Epics' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1981).

[8] Michael Graf, *Liebe – Zorn – Trauer – Adel: Die Pathologie in Hartmann von Aues 'Iwein': Eine Interpretation auf medizin-historischer Basis*, DLA, 7 (Bern: Lang, 1989).

[9] Graf, p. 183: 'Die polykausale Aetiologie der Erkrankung wird im humoralpathologischen Vorstellungshorizont vom literarischen Werk exakt nachvollzogen'.

[10] Nicole Patricia Beatrice Göhrig, 'Die Darstellung des Aussatzes in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universität für Bildungswissenschaften Klagenfurt, 1991). Cf. p. 147: '[...] die in die Welt der Fiktion integrierten Detailrealismen von den Dichtern [haben] jeweils eine ganz spezifische Stellung und Funktion zugeordnet bekommen'.

krassestem Gegensatz zu seinem Bekenntnis steht' (69). Göhrig maintains that the central position of leprosy in the poem together with the realistic details on the social treatment of lepers verifies the interpretation of leprosy as a test (80), although why such detail could not equally demonstrate the function of this disease as a punishment is unclear.[11] In contrast to Heinrich, the leprosy imposed on Konrad's *Silvester* is a punishment for sin (117); although similar to *Armer Heinrich*, *Silvester* contains little description of the disease. Here, however, this lack of realistic medical detail is interpreted as a poetic intent to increase the fame of St Silvester: '[...] daß das Vorhandensein der wenigen detailrealistischen Aspekte deutlich zeigt, daß es dem Dichter hier gar nicht so sehr darum zu tun war [sic] medizinisch tradiertes Fachwissen [...] weiterzugeben, sondern seine Intention war ausschließlich darauf ausgerichtet [...] durch "den ersten entscheidenden Sieg" des Christentums über das Heidentum den Ruhm Papst Silvesters zu mehren' (125).[12] In conclusion Göhrig discerns an increase in realistic medical detail in MHG literary works towards the end of the 'hochhöfischen Zeit', a factor she attributes to the changing taste of courtly society and a poetic objective to distribute 'gelehrtes Fachwissen' (149). It is, however, difficult to ascertain the accuracy of this statement as it is based on a small corpus of six MHG works rather than on a diachronic overview of the emergence of medical details in a large corpus of medieval literature.

Two studies focus on the existence of a specific religious interpretation of disease in non-literary texts, namely the correlation between sickness and sin. Both are diachronic in nature but that of Wolf von Siebenthal is additionally interdisciplinary in its incorporation of medical, philosophical, and theological texts.[13] The investigation by Rose Erlacher is concerned solely with medical texts, aiming to reveal 'das Phänomen Sünde und Krankheit unter Berücksichtigung seiner geschichtlichen Wandlungen'.[14] Despite its diachronic intent, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are omitted as attention remains focused on pre-Hippocratic, Hippocratic, Romantic and modern texts; such exclusion results from Erlacher's perception of a hiatus in the writing of Hippocrates in the perpetuation of a belief in sin as a cause of sickness: 'Hippokrates war es, der das bis in seine Zeit hinein bestehende Bündnis zwischen Religion und Medizin auflöste, um an seiner Stelle die in unserer Zeit allein geltende Verbindung zwischen Naturwissenschaft und Medizin gelten zu lassen' (10). With this assertion, the possibility that a moral interpretation of disease existed within the realm of medieval medicine is rejected. Instead Erlacher claims that this ideology was suddenly (and unexplainably) revived with the onset of Romanticism: 'Und so war es die Romantik vor allem, welche die christlich-religiösen Tendenzen an die medizinische

[11] 'Am Ende dieser medizingeschichtlich-soziologischen Untersuchung des 'Armen Heinrich' Hartmanns von Aue gilt es somit as Resumée der angeführten detailrealistichen Momente, die diese Dichtung in sich birgt, festzuhalten, daß die Aussatzerkrankung, die Heinrich befallen hat, für etwas Höheres steht – für eine Prüfung durch Gott', p. 80.
[12] Also p. 148.
[13] Wolf von Siebenthal, *Krankheit als Folge der Sünde: Eine medizin-historische Untersuchung*, Heilkunde und Geisteswelt, 2 (Hannover: Schmorl & von Seefeld, 1950).
[14] Rose Erlacher, *Sünde und Krankheit als Problem in der Geschichte der Medizin* (München: Druck der Salesianischen Offizin, 1929), p. 7.

Wissenschaft heranbrachten' (16). The remainder of the work concentrates on nineteenth- and early twentieth century medical authors who incorporate a 'christlich-religiöse Weltanschauung' in their writings, such as Ringseis, Heinroth, and Blüher. Overall, the study fails to trace medical historical developments in the correlation of sickness and sin. As a consequence of its leap from antiquity to Romanticism, it proves more comparative than diachronic in its approach and the exclusion of medieval and Renaissance medical texts leaves one unconvinced of a sudden renewal in this belief in eighteenth century medical thought.[15]

Von Siebenthal similarly seeks to investigate the belief in sickness as a consequence of sin over the vast period from primitive times to modernity.[16] His study is more comprehensive than that of Erlacher in its additional inclusion of philosophical and theological texts. Due to its extensive nature, the section on the Middle Ages is brief. The author acknowledges the absence of guilt in New Testament (hereafter NT) healing narratives but claims that this neutral perspective on disease is neglected by the Church Fathers, and by the medieval church, who, he believes, relentlessly propounded the moral interpretation of suffering as a divine punishment for sin: 'Man unterstützt im späteren Mittelalter kirchlicherseits die Ansicht, daß Krankheit in erster Linie eine Strafe Gottes sei und steigert sie ins Extrem' (47). Due to the influence of Neo-Platonism and Stoicism on early Christian and medieval thought, it was believed, according to the author, that the divine *modus operandi* in imposing suffering was through demonic means: 'Die Dämonen verhängen unter Zulassung Gottes über den Sünder die Krankheit. Dieser Glaube ist der vorherrschende' (47). The author observes a great divide between the realms of medicine and theology on the subject of disease causation: while the medical profession by and large disregarded a moralistic perspective on disease, the Church opposed scientific theories of causation in its insistence on sin as its source and rejected medical treatments in favour of religious ones in its healing: 'Obwohl die Ärzte, dem Beispiel ihres großen Lehrers folgend, die übernatürliche Genese der Krankheit ablehnen, wird kirchlicherseits diese Ablehnung bekämpft und daran festgehalten, daß Krankheit eine Folge der Sünde sei und nur mit entsprechender Einkehr der Gläubigen und durch sonstige kirchliche Heilmittel wieder gebannt werden könne' (48-49). As proof of a prevailing anti-medical attitude in the medieval church, von Siebenthal repeats the commonly-held assertion that ecclesiastical decrees passed during this period banned clerics from the practice of medicine: 'Papst Honorious III. verbot im 13. Jahrhundert den Geistlichen die Ausübung des ärztlichen Berufes' (49).[17] But, as Amundsen has demonstrated, this series of legislation specifically forbids the study of jurisprudence and medicine for temporal gain by religious clergy, i.e. monks and canons regular. It did not apply to the majority of clerics, who

[15] For a thorough study on the integration of religious ideas in medieval medical texts see Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

[16] The inclusion of this cause in such works is ultimately linked by the author to the development of psychotherapy.

[17] These are similarly misinterpreted by others, see Dube, pp. 68-69: 'Because of such abuses as extended absenteeism from monasteries, treatment of patients for lucrative fees, and succumbing to luxury, several decrees were issued by the church against medical practise by clerics'; also Dirk Matejovski, *Das Motiv des Wahnsinns in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung*, stw, 1213 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1996), p. 35.

were secular clergy, and at no point did it prohibit the practice of medicine for any clerical members.[18]

Sources cited by von Siebenthal as proof of a widespread medieval belief in this moral interpretation of disease include the works of St Cyprian (d. 258), St Chrysostom (d. 407), and Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) although scant evidence is produced for the High Middle Ages. Reference is made to an unspecified papal bull, which instructs physicians to coerce patients into contacting a priest before agreeing to a second visit; this bull is probably *cum infirmitas* (canon number 22), which was passed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and later became part of Gregory IX's *Decretales* in 1234.[19] It is the only medieval ecclesiastical law which expresses a belief in sin as a cause of sickness and its clarification in Pope Pius V's *super gregem* hints at its ineffectiveness in enforcing such action: 'It is obvious that by the early 16th century, there was no uniformity either of practice or of interpretation of the major divisions of *cum infirmitas*'.[20] Von Siebenthal also cites the Christianized hospital admittance procedures of St Elizabeth of Hungary or Thuringia (d. 1231), which consist of compulsory confession and communion, as evidence of a belief in sin as a cause of suffering; the fact, however, that St Elisabeth, as a religious member of the Church, integrated spiritual measures with medical treatments is unsurprising. Such evidence confirms the existence of a belief in sin as a cause of suffering in the Middle Ages but fails to convince that this belief was widespread in society and heavily promoted by the Church to the detriment of medicine. This perceived anti-medical stance by the Church, the extent of the belief in sickness as a consequence of sin, and the role of demons in its mediation will be a focus of investigation in my thesis.

Several studies maintain that leprosy in the Middle Ages is a moral disease, synonymous with a sinful state: 'Instead of sympathy, popular reactions expressed aversion because of the moral stigma attached to this disease [leprosy]'.[21] Dube largely bases her argument on the popularity of this interpretation during the Middle Ages on an extract from the ninth century *De Sermonum Proprietate* (18.5, *PL* 111: 501D): 'Contracting leprosy was regarded as a punishment for pride, heresy and other transgressions outlined by Hrabanus Maurus [...] This sample [...] reflects some of the ecclesiastical interpretations of leprosy for several centuries. The ideas of the ninth century were still valid in the fifteenth' (242). However, as I discuss in Chapter 2, this passage by Hrabanus on leprosy is an allegorical reference to spiritual leprosy, i.e. heresy, rather than to the actual disease itself. No later sources are cited by Dube as her evidence for the validity of this moral interpretation of leprosy in the late Middle Ages rests on the fact that this manuscript was included in the first encyclopaedia to be printed. The lack of later sources expounding this

[18] Darrel W. Amundsen, 'Medieval Canon Law on Medical and Surgical Practice by the Clergy', in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 52 (1978), 22-43 (p. 33).
[19] 'Compilatio quarta' in *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, ed. by E. Friedberg (Leipzig: [n. pub.], 1882, repr. 1956), 5.14.4.
[20] Darrell W. Amundsen, *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Baltimore: Hopkins Press, 1996), p. 277.
[21] Dube, p. 242.

view, however, undermines the case for its prevalence in the late twelfth/early thirteenth century; the presence of this passage in the first encyclopaedic manuscript to be printed in no way signifies its acceptance by all sectors of medieval society.[22] Göhrig's study also underlines the moral significance of leprosy: 'Allerdings nimmt der Aussatz unter den soeben genannten übrigen Seuchenerkrankungen eine völlig andere Position ein, da bei dieser Erkrankung Schuld und Sühne, die man als Ursache der Krankheit angesehen hat, immer im Vordergrund standen' (42). This statement proves false as, while sin could be attributed to a leprous state in the Middle Ages, 'Sühne' could not; it is a means of reconciliation not causation. Furthermore, as I argue in my thesis, the onset of leprosy is not continuously interpreted in this negative manner; it is also viewed as a naturally occurring disease, as a test of faith, and as a means through patient acceptance of suffering, to gain eternal life (see Chapters 4 and 5).

A more thorough study on leprosy in the Middle Ages is undertaken by Saul Nathaniel Brody. In this sociological work, he examines the moral connotations attached to this disease in medical, theological, and literary works in order to disclose the plight of the leper in medieval society.[23] The period and geographic area under investigation remain unspecified and selected texts range from antiquity to modernity. The texts are neither diachronically nor synchronically analysed and thereby exclude any element of development or change in the representation of the disease. The study commences with a detailed modern overview of leprosy to establish a standard against which to measure its description in medieval texts, which leads Brody to conclude that 'As the emblem of a moral condition, the disease was not described with modern clinical accuracy' (22). However, the advanced, technical nature of medicine in the late twentieth century is perhaps unsuitable for assessing the scope of medieval medicine as such a comparison does not overcome the problem of alterity and can place unjustifiable demands on a different era, maybe resulting in an underestimation of its complexity.[24]

As proof of a moral understanding of leprosy, narratives depicting this disease are selected which express or imply its punitive nature; such evidence confirms the existence of this belief in medieval times but Brody makes the assumption that it is widespread in all sectors of society: 'And underlying all of it — beneath ecclesiastical edicts, medical diagnoses, legal decisions, municipal decrees — was the most ubiquitous assumption that his leprosy was a punishment for sin' (106). His interpretation is one-dimensional in its neglect of natural theories on the causation of leprosy present during this period: 'The association of leprosy and sinfulness was as widespread as the disease itself' (107). Although immorality and sickness have been associated since antiquity, Brody attributes blame to the Bible for what he perceives as the prevalence of this attitude in the

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[22] Text was selected by Adolf Rush in 1467, see Dube, p. 242.

[23] Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

[24] 'The explanation for the frequent unreliability of medieval medical accounts is clearly the rudimentary level of medical knowledge in the Middle Ages. Physicians were unskilled and untrained, and their theories usually faulty; they could not help but be unreliable', p. 41.

Middle Ages: '[...] no other document can claim to have helped so much in propagating that reputation' (108). Presumably only the Old Testament (hereafter OT) narratives of divine wrath are considered here as a different attitude is evident in the compassionate response of Jesus towards lepers in the NT. Although medieval theological texts incorporate a moral concept of leprosy, Brody, unlike Erlacher, reaches the unusual conclusion that medieval physicians were more likely than priests to castigate lepers as sinners: 'A priest, out of charity [...] might not be as ready as the doctor to say that one of his neighbours must have sinned' (147). The allegorical use of leprosy in homiletic literature is viewed as particularly influential in forming 'the popular attitude towards leprosy', which Brody believes is reflected in medieval literature (142). Selected prose is presented as evidence albeit without consideration of genre, patronage, or literary intent. Only one understanding for the inclusion of leprosy in literature is identified, namely as an indication of a diseased, sinful soul: 'This [moral] failure underlies the significance of leprosy at nearly every appearance of it in literature' (157). Alternative reasons for its depiction remain unconsidered and Brody concludes by attributing the perpetuation of this association in modern times to this medieval stigmatization, which he maintains caused its entrenchment in Western culture.

The sinful associations of disease also form the topic of a social-historical study by Penelope Doob in which she seeks 'a representative late medieval view of madness and its conventions'.[25] The corpus consists mainly of theological texts, including the Bible, commentaries, saints' lives, penitential handbooks, sermons and exempla with texts analysed non-chronologically and dating from antiquity to the fifteenth century. Doob claims that 'for the Middle Ages the connection between sin and disease was inevitable' (2), mainly due to the influence of the Bible, which 'continually attributes disease to sin'. In a similar vein to Brody, only the OT is considered here without reference to the virtual absence of this ideology from the NT. In contrast to the exclusive focus on sin as the cause of suffering in other studies, Doob cites three transcendental explanations from the *Glossa ordinaria* which 'codifies medieval thought' on disease (4): disease is divinely inflicted 'for testing, or for improving the just, or for damning the wicked' (*GO*, 3:2164).[26] Doob appears to interchange the concept of improving the just with purgation of sin in her claim, that 'Although the view of the disease as a punishment to damn the wicked was extremely popular, still more common were the optimistic views as purgation or as test' (4) but later contradicts this by arguing that the concept of disease as test is rare in literature or indeed in life as 'in general then, disease in literature is seen as punishment or purgation and its infliction is morally justified by the sick man's guilt' (6-7).[27] No specific genre, period, or text is referred to here, thus making it impossible to test the validity of this claim.

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[25] Penelope B. R. Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children: Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. i.

[26] I am currently unable to get the *PL* reference for this *GO* quote.

[27] Doob, p. 7, also seems to imply a sinful association even in the case of a test.

As regards madness, it is irrelevant whether scientific or supernatural explanations are given to explain its onset as 'all have, or can be interpreted as having, a moral component [...]. The model for the onset of madness seems to be this: a man sins; God determines to punish him; God inflicts disease either directly or through angelic or diabolic intermediaries, through the environment (season, stars), or through permitting a man's sins to modify his humours and cause illness [...]' (11). Those driven mad on account of the seasons or the stars are implicitly guilty as such a condition is avoidable through proper, i.e. disease-preventative, behaviour: 'A man need not succumb to seasonal madness any more than to astrological madness, for he can rule his will and control his diet to rid himself of excess humours' (20-21). This view of averting 'sin' assumes a common knowledge within medieval society of detailed medical and astrological theories. But as education, medical advice, and the option of a selective diet were confined to the upper realms of society, such an interpretation of guilt is invalid for the majority of medieval citizens. Her conclusion that 'whatever the immediate cause of madness, the ultimate moral causes are always implicit' (11) is one which I will challenge in my thesis. Doob rejects the possibility that scientific somatic explanations for disease were customary in the Middle Ages although evidence is not supplied from a medieval source to support her claim that moral interpretations of disease predominated; instead Robert Burton's 17th century work, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, is cited, which, according to Doob, 'codifies and is thoroughly representative of medieval views of madness and disease' (7).

Doob's further claim that '[...] possession was almost always associated with sin' (17) overlooks the possessed individuals in NT miracle accounts and in medieval legendaries, who portray no sign of guilt whatsoever. Her concept of possession is extensive, incorporating not only the presence of demons in humans but also the readiness of humanity to follow demonic prompting and to commit sins which may lead to damnation. Doob argues further that as all disease has a moral component, most healing procedures must necessarily include spiritual measures: 'confession and penance are normal prerequisites for any cure, and if spiritual remedies are not applied, purely physical treatment has no chance of success' (37).[28] No references are given to support this assertion and in reaching this conclusion, the multiple miracle narratives in the NT and in medieval legendaries are, once again, unregarded. Basing her work on such an extensive concept of moral disease results in a one-dimensional interpretation that identifies an immoral component in practically every instance of suffering in the Middle Ages. This mentality on disease is ascribed indiscriminately to all sections of society by Doob, who refers to it as 'a medieval fondness for moral interpretations of disease' (208). The complex nature of mentalities, which can

[28] Cf. p. 36: 'It was widely believed that no physical cure would be effective unless the sin that originally caused the disease were forgiven'.

interrelate with and superimpose on one another and differ inter alia according to period, class, occupation, generation and geographical region, is unconsidered.[29]

Dirk Matejovski also investigates medieval madness in his ambitious study; he reconstructs medical, judicial, and theological thought on this condition to expose its 'historisch gebundene Wahrnehmungsweisen und Verständnisdispositionen', which are juxtaposed with madness narratives in selected twelfth and thirteenth century texts to reveal reflection or differentiation (13). Matejovski reports positively on the theoretical and practical aspects of monastic medicine and contrary to Doob, asserts the predominance of somatic rather than supernatural interpretations of disease in medical texts (61): 'religiös determinierte Konzepte im Mittelalter [stellten] keineswegs die dominierenden Interpretationsmuster für die Einordnung psychischer Störungen [dar]' (77). A biblical schema is employed to describe madness in the context of theological traditions, consisting of three mad types: (i) the *Psalmnarr*, (ii) Nebuchadnezzar and (iii) the possessed. Although Matejovski claims that 'man im Mittelalter Krankheit nicht einheitlich als Sündenstrafe sah', his evidence for religious literature rests mainly on a study by Kroll and Bachrach, which is based on pre-Crusade texts and therefore inapplicable to the period under investigation by Matejovski.[30] Furthermore, although Kroll and Bachrach acknowledge the limited nature of their investigation in terms of analysed pre-Crusade texts, Matejovski applies their results generally to medieval miracle narratives: '[...] analysiert man Mirakelerzählungen, dann stellen nur fünf bis zehn Prozent der Fälle einen solchen Zusammenhang von Krankheit und Sünde her' (84). His conclusion that 'Für den Rest der Texte gilt: »Krankheit ist Teil der menschlichen Existenz [...]«' underestimates the complexity of the motif of suffering in this genre. Matejovski traces a theological concept of madness through MHG, Latin, ME, and OF *Mirakeln, Legenden*, and *Mären* with the selected corpus comprehending Gregory of Tours' *Historiarum Libri Decem*, Caesarius von Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*, the anonymous ME *Robert of Sicily*, and Zwingäuers (or Zwickaurs) *Des Mönches Not*.[31] However, the results of this theological analysis are limited, as madness is classified either as a deserved *göttliche Strafe* or as a random *Besessenheit*, a system, which excludes several possibilities, such as the potential of disease to operate as a chastisement or a test, or that of possession to function as a punishment (97).

Several studies focus solely on MHG works, including several of those examined in my thesis. Torsten Haferlach incorporates a broad spectrum of OHG and MHG literary works (63 texts, plus *Minnelieder*) in his study on whether the function of medical detail in a text aids its

[29] For more on mentalities see Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Menschen und Mentalitäten: Einführung in Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Akademie, 1996).

[30] Jerome Kroll and Bernard Bachrach, 'Sin and the Etiology of Disease in pre-Crusade Europe', in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 41 (1986), 395-414.

[31] *Robert of Sicily*, however, is outside the specified time frame of the study – the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – as it was written in the late fourteenth century.

generic classification.[32] The texts are analysed diachronically 'so daß ein exemplarischer Überblick über die literarhistorische Entwicklung der dargestellten Thematik im Mittelalter ermöglicht wird' (1), while a synchronic approach seeks to illuminate the differentiation in medical detail between the genres: 'dabei wird versucht [...] die medizinisch relevanten, gattungsmarkierenden Unterschiede herauszustellen' (3). This study analyses multiple genres, classified as *Heldenepos*, *Epen und Romane*, *Weltgeschichtliches bzw. geistliches Epos*, *Tierepos*, *Lyrik*, *geistliche Dichtung, Bibeldichtung und Legende*, *Schwank, schwankhaftes Epos*, and *Versnovelle*. *Geistliche Dichtung, Bibeldichtung und Legende* are generically classified as *Legende*, with popular works characterized by divine miracles incorporated into the corpus, which includes *Der arme Heinrich*, *Gregorius*, *Silvester*, *Crescentia*, and *Barlaam und Josaphat*: 'Gattungsspezifisch ist für die Legende das Element des Wunderbaren, das an bestimmten Stellen in das Leben des Protagonisten eingreift und auch Heilung bringen kann. Legenden sollen dem Leser exemplarisch christliche Tugenden und gottgefälliges Leben vorführen' (143).[33] Conclusions on suffering drawn from the corpus are classified as generic criteria and include such claims as that only illnesses 'ohne äußere Einwirkungen und Verletzungen' are evident, that 'das Paradigma der Erkrankungen' is leprosy (146),[34] and that the superstitious belief in the therapeutic properties of blood is 'fast immer' present in its depiction (152).[35]

Among the ailing protagonists in *Legende*, Haferlach identifies a single response to suffering consisting of humility and religious gestures without considering those who fail to react at all or those who can not as they are annihilated for their sin.[36] Furthermore, the author believes that no criticism of physicians or society is expressed in this genre: 'Textimmanente Kritik an den Ärzten gibt es nicht, dafür ist ihre funktionale Bedeutung nicht groß genug; auch ist es nicht die Aufgabe der Legende, gesellschaftliche Kritik zu formulieren' (211). Disapproval both of medical figures (albeit rarely) and of society is, however, transmitted through this genre; the faults and foibles of medieval Christians are depicted as a means of edification in numerous narratives in legendaries where such offences are punished by pain. Finally, Haferlach maintains that God is the solitary inflictor and healer of diseases in this genre and thereby overlooks the complex network of mediators of infliction and healing (183). The general traits of the specific corpus examined by Haferlach can not be interpreted as typical characteristics of *Legende* as legendaries are excluded and, as I will demonstrate in my thesis, analytical results from such sources can differ quite dramatically to those from single works, primarily due to narrative intent. The results of my comprehensive analysis of Latin and MHG texts differ from those presented here but as my corpus

[32] Torsten Haferlach, *Die Darstellung von Verletzungen und Krankheiten und ihrer Therapie in mittelalterlicher deutscher Literatur unter gattungsspezifischen Aspekten* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1991).
[33] The *Kaiserchronik* is included under *Weltgeschichte* and Parzival under *höfische Romane*.
[34] 'Er ist die wichtigste Erkrankung der Legende und erscheint fast immer an exponierter Stelle', p. 147.
[35] In contrast Göhrig, p. 56, claims that the motif of a blood-victim constitutes a traditional trait of leprosy narratives in 'vielen mittelalterlichen Erzähldichtungen'.

is also limited, I do not intend to supersede these results with mine as definitions of generic difference. What I hope to demonstrate is that the topic of suffering in medieval literature is complex and that the role of narrative intent is significant in its chosen depiction. The value of Haferlach's study, for my purpose, lies less in his typological conclusions on *Legende* than in his discussion of an extensive medieval corpus.

The function of the motif of incurable disease, in particular leprosy, in MHG literature is examined by Erich Kaiser in a corpus incorporating *Der arme Heinrich* and *Engelhard* and to a lesser extent, *Silvester*, *Tristrant*, *Parzival*, *Daniel vom blühenden Tal* and *Frauendienst*: 'Die Methode dieser Arbeit ist es, ein gemeinsames Motiv auszuwählen und zu beobachten, das von verschiedenen Dichtern zu verschiedenen Zeiten behandelt wird' (i).[37] The approach is diachronic within the short period of the MHG *Blütezeit* from 1170-1300 and excludes medical treatises despite references to the realism of the disease narratives. The work focuses on the disease of leprosy, which in 'ihre[r] ursprüngliche[n] Form' in the OT is a divine punishment for sin and an expression of guilt (12).[38] However, no Biblical evidence is provided in support of this claim, while the presence of other incurable OT diseases such as blindness, infertility, and paralysis are unconsidered. Furthermore, no distinction is made between the concept of chastisement or punishment, as both are used interchangeably. Kaiser concludes that the depiction of incurable sickness in the discussed works is 'zeitbedingt' with earlier works 'archaischer' in comparison with the more realistic later works (116). This is interpreted as a new development in the motif of disease in MHG literature: 'Mit diesem Prozeß beginnt auch der Komplex "Krankheit" in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung aus dem gesellschaftlichen Bereich der Ehre und Schande ins Psychologisch-Realistische überzuwechseln und sich seinem heutigen Gehalt anzunähern' (117). Despite the restricted corpus, generic generalizations are made for *Legende*, *Novelle*, *Roman*, and *Märchen*. It is maintained that leprosy is the most frequently healed condition in *Legende* (113), and has 'die Funktion des göttlichen Züchtigungsmittels' (37).[39] Similar to Haferlach, Kaiser asserts that its healing involves the use of blood: 'Die Heilmethode ist die in der Aussatzsage übliche: das Bad im Menschenblut' (68). Again due to the focus on solitary works, no consideration is given to the multiplicity of diseases presented as inflicted in legendaries, the varied healing means or to the existence of healing narratives involving leprosy which have no association with sin or guilt.

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[36] 'Die Protagonisten der Legende sind entweder armselige, beladene oder kranke Menschen, die sich demütig auf den Weg zur innerlichen und persönlichen Begegnung mit dem Christentum begeben, oder auch namhafte, heiliggesprochene Personen mit Charisma, deren Wirken als *imitatio Christi* konzipiert sein kann', p. 142.

[37] Erich Kaiser, 'Das Thema der unheilbaren Krankheit im "Armen Heinrich" Hartmanns von Aue und im "Engelhard" Konrads von Würzburg und weiteren mittelhochdeutschen Gedichten' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen, 1964).

[38] 'Alttestamentlich ist der verbreitete Glaube vom Aussatz als einer Strafe Gottes (besonders für Hochmut)', p. 113.

[39] 'Hier im "Evangelium Nicodemi" wie in allen andern geistlichen Dichtungen wird bei den Wundern Jesu oder – in den Legenden – der Heiligen meist die Befreiung vom Aussatz hervorgehoben [...]', p. 113. Its portrayal operates 'didaktisch als Strafe und als Symbol für Schuld und Sündhaftigkeit', pp. 117-19.

Erich Koller concentrates on the role of the motif of sickness and injury in selected MHG heroic poetry, legends, courtly literature, and 'vermischte Typen' to demonstrate that its manner of representation is generically determined: '[...], daß es offenbar Regeln gibt, nach denen sich den einzelen Dichtungsgattungen jeweils spezifische (gattungstypische) Formen der körperlichen Beeinträchtigung zuordnen lassen'.[40] Texts are selected on account of their representative importance for the respective genre with the *Kaiserchronik* and Veldecke's *Sente Servas* selected as exemplary legends; despite its secular nature, the *Kaiserchronik* is referred to as 'der typische Vertreter der Legendendichtung' (15). The interpretation of sickness in this genre is one-dimensional, as sin is viewed as the solitary reason for its onset: 'Die Krankheit ist dargestellt als Werkzeug des strafenden Gottes und entspricht als körperlicher Schaden im Gegensatz zur Verwundung der Heldendichtung einem gestörten Verhältnis zwischen Mensch und Gott' (18). Sickness is classified as 'die Peitsche Gottes' and its healing as 'sein Zuckerbrot' (18) and accordingly, it is maintained that – even in the absence of any narrative implication – the sickness of all emperors in the *Kaiserchronik*, such as Tiberius, Vespasian, and Heraklius, were interpreted by the reader or listener in this manner.[41] The presence of natural causes for the onset of sickness is rejected with the claim that all physical disorders are caused by God, demons or the Devil (18).

Although very little criticism of the medical profession is expressed in the *Kaiserchronik*, Koller surmises that 'eine ausgeprägte Frontstellung' against medicine exists in the work with physicians being depicted 'doch recht abträglich' (25). The representation of the physicians who agree to cut open the mother of Nero is cited as an example of this attitude without consideration of the background to their participation; they are in fact forced to incise or suffer death. A similar anti-medical attitude is identified in *Der arme Heinrich* as a typical trait of this genre (36) but the suggestion of the Salernitan physician to Heinrich to approach God for a cure suggests co-operation with rather than opposition to God: 'des sît ir iemer ungenesen / got enwelle der arzât wesen' (203-4).[42] Finally, an anti-medical sentiment is discerned in *Parzival* in the failure of medical and superstitious means to cure the 'an Minne "erkrankten" Amfortas' (78). But these methods fail not because Wolfram wishes to impart such an opinion but because it is not in accordance with divine will; indeed some methods actually succeed in alleviating pain, an aspect unconsidered by Koller. In the second part of the study, vocabulary employed in the corpus to describe sickness is compared with exemplary medieval medical treatises in order to establish which contain a richer range of words for disease. Although Koller concludes that the medical

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[40] Erwin Koller, 'Der Motivkreis von Krankheit und Verwundung: Funktion und sprachliche Verwirklichung in deutschen Dichtungen des Mittelalters' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, 1970), p. 4.

[41] 'Die Schilderung, wie Könige an einer Krankheit zugrunde gehen, die, auch wenn dies nicht immer ausdrücklich gesagt ist, als ein von Gott verhängtes Schicksal verstanden wird, bringt die in der Heldendichtung "verdrängte" Krankheit in das Bewußtsein des Publikums', p. 18. A similar opinion is expressed by Haage *Parzival*, p. 29, who views suffering in this text predominantly as a divine punishment for sinful Roman emperors, even in instances when no evidence exists to suggest this, e.g. Tiberius.

[42] Hartmann von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*, ed. by Hermann Paul, rev. by Kurt Gärtner, ATB, 3, 17th edn (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001).

treatises do, he does not view this as a reflection of authorial education and expertise, and narrative purpose; instead this difference is interpreted as evidence of an avoidance of realistic details by medieval poets, who distanced themselves from the 'geheimnisvollen und gefährlichen Phänomen der Krankheit' (206).

As outlined in the examples above, much work has been carried out on the topic of suffering in the Middle Ages from a variety of perspectives. However, the results are not always clear-cut as scholars contradict one another particularly with regard to the degree of church hostility towards medicine, the prevalence of the moral interpretation of sickness as a consequence of sin (especially in connection with leprosy) in both medieval society and in literature, and the co-existence of alternative religiously-determined concepts of suffering. Confusion results largely from a reliance on certain Biblical assumptions and the nature of selected corpora and sources. Through my investigation, I intend to question certain beliefs as regards the motif of suffering in the Bible and in the Middle Ages. My study focuses on the area of transcendental suffering as reflected in narratives composed in the period ca. 1135-1275 and is comparative and interdisciplinary in nature. It differs from other investigations by virtue of its systematic and comprehensive analysis of suffering in the OT and the NT, which is necessary in order to challenge misconceptions about the nature and manner of suffering in the Bible and correspondingly, in religious and secular literature in the Middle Ages. It attempts to trace diachronically the development of religiously determined concepts of suffering through the OT, the NT, a selection of early Christian writers, Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church and medieval commentators, in addition to synchronically comparing its emergence in various medieval narratives. The condition of death is excluded from other studies but included here as it constitutes the most frequently imposed condition in the OT and its significance can therefore not be underestimated. Furthermore, I examine both natural and supernatural theories of disease causation in the Bible and in the corpus in order to determine the prominence of transcendental concepts.

The corpus includes single works and multiple narrative collections and includes popular medieval Latin works comprehending Caesarius von Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (hereafter referred to as *DM*), Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (hereafter *LA*), Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares* (hereafter *SV*), and the *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, ed. by Joseph Klapper (hereafter *EM*) and the MHG narratives of the *Speculum ecclesiae* (hereafter *SE*), Hartmann von Aue's *Der arme Heinrich* (hereafter *AH*), Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (hereafter *Parz*), *Die Kaiserchronik* (hereafter *KC*), Konrad von Würzburg's *Silvester* (hereafter *Silv*), and *Engelhard* (hereafter *Eng*).[43] This investigation identifies two biblical models of

[43] The corpus consists of *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. by Robertus Weber, 4th edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994); Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. by Josef Strange, 2 vols (Cologne: Lempertz, 1851-57); Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. by Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1890, repr. 1965); Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrated Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jaques de Vitry*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Crane (London: Nutt, 1890); *Erzählungen des Mittelalters in deutscher Übersetzung und lateinischem Urtext*, ed. by Joseph Klapper, Germ. Abh., 12 (Breslau: Marcus, 1914); *Speculum Ecclesiae: eine frühmittelhochdeutsche Predigtsammlung*, ed. by Gert Mellbourn (Lund: Gleerup, 1944); *Der arme Heinrich*, as in note

suffering, consisting of a healing-centred paradigm and a suffering-centred paradigm, and explores the chosen corpus of works for reflection of or differentiation from these paradigms. Through this study, I hope to demonstrate the presence of a taxonomy of beliefs to explain suffering in both the Bible and the corpus and to disclose the narrative purpose for its inclusion. By doing so, I hope to present a more balanced and accurate analysis of the motif of suffering in medieval literature than has been provided hitherto.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 1 consists of a literature review. Chapter 2 explores the diversity of opinion on religious concepts of suffering in the Middle Ages. The views of particular Church Fathers and medieval commentators are examined in order to establish a pattern of religious ideas associated with suffering; these include Tertullian, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Ambrose of Milan, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, in addition to Hrabanus Maurus, Johannes Andreae and Nicholas de Tudeschis. Attitudes towards secular medicine among selected early Christians, and Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church are also investigated followed by an overview of monastic medicine, the clerical practice of medicine, and the spiritual obligations of both physicians and patients. In Chapter 3 an analysis of the depiction of physicians and secular medicine in the Bible and in the medieval corpus together with the integration of medical metaphors is carried out in order to challenge the view that an anti-medical tradition was perpetuated through these sources. In Chapters 4 and 5 respectively the presence of the healing-centred and suffering-centred paradigm is examined in the Bible and the results juxtaposed with the findings from the selected corpus. Finally, in chapter 6 the conclusions of this study are summarised.

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41 above; Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. by Karl Lachmann, trans. by Wolfgang Spiewok, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981); *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensberger Geistlichen*, ed. by E. Schröder, MGH, Deutsche Chroniken (Scriptores qui Vernacula Lingua usi sunt) I,1 (Hannover: Hahnsche, 1892, repr. 1984); Konrad von Würzburg, *Die Legenden I*, ed. by Paul Gereke, ATB, 19 (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1925); idem, *Engelhard*, ed. and rev. by Ingo Reiffenstein, ATB, 17, 3rd edn (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982).

2. THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS ON THE EXISTENCE OF SUFFERING

> Eine Hauptfunktion der Religionen ist es, Krankheiten (und damit verbunden Leid, Tod, Endlichkeit) sinnvoll zu erklären und zu „bewältigen".[1]

The religious view that God is the proximate cause (genesis) of all sickness stems from the Bible, particularly from the OT, where according to the book of Genesis, humanity became subject to physical sufferings (Gn 3.16) and eternal death (Gn 3.19) as a consequence of the incitement of divine wrath through – Adam and Eve's act of disobedience – original sin.[2] This event sets human suffering within a moral framework which expands throughout the history of the Bible to incorporate various explanations for its onset. However, as the reasons for disease and death are derived from Biblical narratives rather than being clearly stated in the Bible, they are open to interpretation, resulting in differing systems of explanation among early and medieval Church writers as to why God causes or permits human suffering. In order to aid our comprehension of the interpretation of Scripture in the Middle Ages, we turn to the writings of the Church Fathers and medieval commentators: 'As far as interpretation is concerned, the Middle Ages are a period of transition from the old patristic exegetical theology to the divorce between biblical interpretation and theology which we find in the work of Thomas Aquinas'.[3]

The Bible primarily used in the medieval West was St. Jerome's Latin translation, the *Vulgata latina*, although its corpus was not absolutely fixed and usually included non-canonical prologues and brief texts.[4] It was the most studied book of the Middle Ages, 'a school book *par excellence*'.[5] Copies designed for study often combined Scripture and exegesis through added commentary in the form of glosses, a Carolingian development from the catena, which were 'intended as guides to perplexed readers, so that they could understand what the text meant in places where it was otherwise difficult or incomprehensible'.[6] This form of early medieval commentary largely conformed with the interpretations of the Greek[7] and in particular, the Latin

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[1] Michael Klöckner, 'Krankheit II: Religionswissenschaft', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. by Walter Kasper and others (Freiburg: Herder, 1997), VI, col. 427-8 (col. 427).

[2] 'Gesundheit und Krankheit gewinnen ihre Realität und Polarität erst in der Wirklichkeit des Menschen nach dem Sündenfall, denn erst der Fluch Gottes unterwarf den Menschen den Gesetzen des Fleisches. Die Abwendung von Gott wurde die Ursache menschlichen Leidens, und damit ein Anderssein vom Normalzustand, dem Augustinischen *status mirabilis*': Gerhard Müller, 'Arzt, Kranker und Krankheit bei Ambrosius von Mailand (334-397)', *Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft*, 51 (1967), 193-216 (pp. 209-10).

[3] Robert Grant with David Tracy, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), p. 83.

[4] Cf. C. Ocker, 'Biblical Interpretation in the Middle Ages', in *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. by Donald K. McKim (Illinois: Intervarsity, 1998), pp. 75-84 (p. 75): 'By the end of the fourth century in Western Christianity, sixty-six books with an additional eight of less certain authenticity were accepted as canonical Scripture, yet the border distinguishing these books from other kinds of sacred literature was neither frozen nor fluid but somewhere in between, and this can be seen from the codices themselves'.

[5] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. xiv.

[6] Gerald Bray, *Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present* (Leicester: Apollos, 1996), p. 148.

[7] These were mostly from Origen (c.185-c.254, whose writings particularly influenced the Cappadocian fathers, Basil of Caesarea (c. 329-79), Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 330-c.390), and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335-94). See Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 131.

Fathers[8] of the Church and consequently, exegesis was 'undifferentiated and unspecialised' during this period[9] and remained 'static, traditional, and conservative':[10] 'Exegesis became almost synonymous with tradition, for the good commentator was the scholar who passed on faithfully what he had received'.[11] The technique of glossing became widespread by the second half of the eleventh century and by 1175 Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* was completed, which assembled the knowledge contained within the Bible and its glosses into a continuous text; this constituted 'the first comprehensive and fairly coherent treatment of the Bible in Europe and one of the most widely used exegetical works of the later Middle Ages'.[12] The first complete glossed Bibles emerged ca. 1220, including the work to become known as the *Glossa Ordinaria.*[13]

Scriptural study gradually moved from Carolingian schools to the library of the Victorines in Paris and finally, to the universities.[14] Other forms of exegetical literature were produced additional to glosses as opinions were collected in books of sentences and contradicting authorities were considered in books of questions (*quaestiones*). A new form of commentary known as *postilla* also developed, which involved the addition of interpretations from the main exegetes of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to the glosses; this technique became popular in the principal mendicant orders (the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinian Hermits, and the Carmelites), whose theologians played an important role in the development of scholastic exegesis. Literal and spiritual senses of the Bible were distinguished by medieval exegetes,[15] with the three spiritual senses allegory, tropology and anagogy disseminated through Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram.*[16] Nevertheless, moral interpretations prevailed in sermons due to their persuasive effectiveness: 'It was not hard to see that in the secular context, moral exhortation soon gained the upper hand, and it was preaching more than anything else which encouraged medieval scholars to accentuate the moral sense over and above the allegorical or mystagogical ones'.[17] With the influence of the Aristotelian views of nature, the literal meaning of Scripture came to be regarded more highly and its principal exponent St. Thomas Aquinas established theology as a separate science.

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[8] Especially Ambrose of Milan (c.339-97), Jerome (c.347-419), Augustine of Hippo (354-430) and Gregory the Great (c.540-604). See Robert E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman, 1959; repr. 1986), p. 38.

[9] Smalley, p. xv.

[10] McNally, p. 5. There is, however, some diversity on the issue of suffering in patristic writings and medieval commentaries. These are dealt with in this chapter.

[11] Ibid., p. 29

[12] Ocker, p. 77.

[13] For an edition of the final form see *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria*, introduced by K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson, 4 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

[14] Grant, p. 84.

[15] 'in divina pagina non solum intellectus et res significant, sed ipsæ res alias res significant': Richard of St Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis Ecclesiae*, *PL* 177:375C.

[16] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 1,1; *CSEL* 28/3, p 3. John Cassian (c. 430-35) uses the same sort of division in *Collatio 14, De spiritali scientia*, *PL* 49:962B.

[17] Bray, p. 151.

2.1 Modern Interpretations of Religious Concepts of Suffering in the Middle Ages

> Theologians, philosophers and common people very often have been inclined to view sickness primarily from a moralistic point of view. Nor have physicians always excluded this point of view from their approach to the sick.[18]

Since modern scholarly opinions on the views of the Church Fathers and medieval commentators on religiously-determined concepts of suffering are very diverse, one aim of my thesis is to evaluate the extent to which these views are borne out in the Bible and in the chosen medieval corpus. According to Dieter Rössler, and Penelope Doob, suffering traditionally symbolised immorality in the Middle Ages and constituted a means of divine punishment or chastisement: 'Die *abendländ.-christl. Kultur* hat K.[rankheit] dann gemeinhin als das Geschick angesehen, das Gott dem Kranken selbst zur Läuterung verordnet, oder als die Plage des Bösen, die Gott aus gleichen Gründen zuläßt'.[19] The popularity of this belief in specific areas or societal classes is challenged by several scholars. Loren MacKinney argues against its general acceptance in tenth century Chartes and Rheims; Stanley Rubin questions its prevalence in medieval England; and Mirko Grmek restricts its validity to the uneducated masses: 'Der scharfen Kritik der gelernten Ärzte und der vernunftorientierten Philosophen zum Trotz wollte die Masse der Leute und wahrscheinlich auch die Mehrheit der berufsmäßigen Heiler nicht von dem archaischen Glauben abweichen, nach dem die Krankheit die Folge einer moralischen Schuld oder der Übertretung eines Tabus sei'.[20]

Both Carole Rawcliffe, and Paul Diepgen contend that this moral understanding of suffering was held to some degree by medical practitioners, and according to Rawcliffe, by the Church, albeit specifically with regard to those suffering from leprosy or madness: 'But whereas the Church tended to blame lunatics and lepers for their sin, self-indulgence or weakness which had caused them to destroy their own health, the medical profession adopted a rather less judgmental approach. By concentrating upon the need for a careful diagnosis, and attempting to understand the nature of the disease, physicians and surgeons grew disinclined to moralize'.[21] Jerome Kroll and Bernard Bachrach analyse descriptions of madness in pre-Crusade chronicles and saints' lives in the early Middle Ages and conclude that they could find no evidence 'that there was significant

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[18] Owsei Temkin, 'Medicine and the Problem of Moral Responsibility', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 23 (1949), 1-20 (pp. 1-2).

[19] Dietrich Rössler, 'Krankheit und Gesundheit', in *Wörterbuch des Christentums*, ed. by Volker Drehsen and others (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1988), pp. 684-5 (p. 684). Doob, p. 10: 'Clearly, then, in the Middle Ages there was a strong tendency to moralize disease, to see all disease as the consequence of Original Sin and most disease as the punishment or purgation of individual sins'.

[20] Loren C. MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine: with Special Reference to France and Chartres* (Baltimore: Hopkins University Press, 1937); Stanley Rubin, *Medieval English Medicine* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974); Mirko D. Grmek, 'Das Krankheitskonzept', in *Die Geschichte des medizinischen Denkens: Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by Mirko D. Grmek (München: Beck, 1996), p. 276.

[21] Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), p. 17. Cf. Paul Diepgen, 'Über den Einfluß der autoritativen Theologie auf die Medizin des Mittelalters', Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1 (1958), 1-20 (p. 9): 'Die Ärzte kommen gelegentlich in Konflikt, ob es überhaupt gestattet ist, gottgesandte Krankheiten mit natürlichen Heilmitteln zu bekämpfen'.

reliance upon a belief that sin was the major causative factor of mental illness'.[22] Heinrich Schipperges discovers in medieval theological sources 'ein wesentlich differenzierteres und durchaus positiv zu wertendes Gesamtbild' of sickness, while C.H. Talbot cautions from his analysis of medieval monastic records that 'the frequent assertion that the Church encouraged an exclusively spiritual approach to disease and set its face against the scientific pursuit of medicine should not go unchallenged'.[23]

The existence of multiple religious explanations, both positive and negative in terms of morality, is identified by some scholars and systematized in a range of two- to five-fold schemes. Rawcliffe (84) identifies 'an unshakeable conviction' within the Church that sickness constituted a test of faith or retribution for sin with alleviation attainable solely through divine grace; Christian Probst also identifies these reasons as the two poles of a belief.[24] In medieval sermons and religious literature David Lindberg distinguishes two motives for the infliction of illness, specifically as a punishment for sin or a stimulus to spiritual growth.[25] Erwin Ackerknecht, in contrast, proposes in his acclaimed history of medicine that the early medieval Church held three theories for its onset: 'Krankheit war entweder Strafe für Sünden, Besessenheit durch den Teufel oder Folge von Hexerei'.[26] Ulrich Eibach identifies suffering 'als Strafe Gottes [...], als Prüfung des Glaubens und als Ruf zu Buße und Bekehrung', while Nancy Siraisi suggests that Christian theological or devotional writers may have regarded illness 'as a spiritual trial, test, or purification' but does not elaborate on her distinction between the concept of a trial or a test.[27] Haage identifies, in addition to punishment for sin, the functions of suffering 'als Mittel der Prüfung und zunehmenden Läuterung'. He does not, however, distinguish between a test and a means of reformation but believes these function concurrently, an element which implies a moral deficiency on behalf of the sufferer.[28]

With reference to Ambrose of Milan, Müller (213) identifies a four-fold system, which was valid 'mit leichten Veränderungen' throughout the Middle Ages: '1. Die Krankheit trifft den Sünder zur Strafe und ist die Bedingung zur Besserung. 2. Für den Gerechten bedeutet sie Bewährung und Verdienst. 3. Das Leiden bewahrt vor Sünde und ist 4. ein Vorbote des Jüngsten

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[22] Jerome Kroll and Bernard Bachrach, 'Sin and Mental Illness in the Middle Ages', *Psychological Medicine: A Journal for Research in Psychiatry and the Allied Sciences*, 14 (1984), 507-514 (p. 511); See also ibid, 'Sin', 395-414.

[23] Heinrich Schipperges, 'Krankheit V' in *TRE*, ed. by Gerhard Müller and others (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), XIX, pp. 689-94 (p. 692); C. H. Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England*, (London: Oldbourne, 1967), p. 179.

[24] 'Die Vorstellung von der Krankheit bewegt sich in Theologie und Glauben damals zwischen zwei Polen [...] nämlich zwischen der Auffassung von der Krankheit als Folge der Sünde, als Strafe, und dem Bild der Krankheit als göttlicher Prüfung, als Gnade und Auszeichnung', Christian Probst, 'Das Hospitalwesen im hohen und späten Mittelalter und die geistliche und gesellschaftliche Stellung der Kranken', *Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft*, 50 (1966), 246-58, (p. 249).

[25] David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), p. 320.

[26] Erwin H. Ackerknecht, *Geschichte der Medizin*, 3rd edn (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1977), p. 76. For positive reviews of this book, see among others: Albert S. Lyons, *Clio Medica*, 18 (1983), 271-273; Donald Fleming, *Journal of the History of Behavioural Science*, 20 (1984), 255-256.

[27] Ulrich Eibach, 'Krankheit III: Theologisch', in *LThK*, ed. Walter Kasper and others, 3rd rev. edn, (Freiburg: Herder, 1997), VI, col. 426-30, (col. 429); Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), p. 8.

[28] Bernard D. Haage, 'Prolegomena zu Anfortas' Leiden', *Würzburger Medizinhistorische Mitteilungen*, 3 (1985) 101-126 (pp. 102-3).

Gerichtes'.[29] Finally, an identical five-fold system is presented by Temkin, and Schipperges,[30] which is derived by Diepgen from a gloss in the *Glossa ordinaria* (discussed later in this chapter).[31] This clarifies religious reasons for suffering as a means to increase the service of the righteous through their required patience, e.g. Job; to protect virtue from pride, e.g. Paul; to improve sinners; to proclaim the glory of God through its miraculous healing; and to commence eternal punishment on earth for the wicked, e.g. Herod. This system allies most closely with the scheme that I identify in my selected medieval corpus. However, a difficulty arises in that there are subtle differences between these divisions, which are difficult or impossible to distinguish in some less sophisticated medieval narratives. This is particularly the case with the classifications involving the increase of service, the protection of virtue, and the test of faith.

2.2 Interpretations of Suffering by Selected Fathers of the Church

Infirmitas quoque corporis sobrietas mentis est[32]

Ill-health is generally viewed by the Fathers of the Church as one of the evils suffered by humans as a consequence of the Fall, a state of vulnerability that does not change despite the emergence of a new relationship between God and humanity after the Resurrection.[33] According to Hieronymus, suffering is the common lot of man: 'Da mihi hominem qui non esuriat, non sitiat, neque algeat, non doleat, non febricitat, non torminibus et urinae difficultatibus torqueatur' (*PL*, 23:600). Systems of religious interpretation are proposed in the writings of some Church Fathers to explain the onset of sickness. Grmek (276) cites von Siebenthal and Diepgen in her claim that a one-dimensional view of sickness prevailed among these figures, ascribing the emergence of ill-health to sin: 'Die Kirchenväter kehrten zu den alten magischen Vorstellungen zurück. Die Annahme von der Schuld als nicht materieller Krankheitsursache wurde von jener der Sünde ersetzt. In den Kranken wurden deshalb starke Schuldgefühle erweckt, und zu den alten Reinigungsriten und Geistesbeschwörungen gesellte sich die Beichtpraxis'. Miloslav Matoušek (75) in contrast believes that the early Church viewed suffering as a test of virtue or a punishment and argues consequently, that Church Fathers including Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Basil, and Ambrose rejected medicine: 'Das Urchristentum wandte sich haßerfüllt gegen die gesamte antike Kultur, die als etwas Schlechtes verworfen wurde. Aus diesem Grund wurde auch jede wissenschaftliche

[29] Carl L. Paul Trüb inaccurately summarises Müller, altering the heralding of Final Judgement to a manifestation of divine grace, and combining test and reform to imply a moral flaw, which is absent from Müller's interpretation: 'Die Krankheit muß aber nicht Folge einer Sünde sein, sie kann auch den Sinn haben, dem Kranken die Werke Gottes zu offenbaren, ihn zu prüfen und zu läutern, oder ihn vor Schuld zu bewahren', *Heilige und Krankheit* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cota, 1978), p. 13.

[30] Temkin, p. 6, claims that this system was maintained by unspecified medieval 'theologians'. Schipperges, 'Krankheit V', p. 692. Christina Vanja summarises Schipperges but excludes the reformative effect of punishment: 'Krankheit: Mittelalter', in *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte in Einzeldarstellung*, ed. by Peter Dinzelbacher (Stuttgart: Kröners, 1993), pp. 195-200 (pp. 195-6).

[31] Paul Diepgen, *Die Theologie und der ärztliche Stand*, Studien zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Medizin im Mittelalter, 1 (Berlin: Rothschild, 1922), p. 52.

[32] Ambrose of Milan, *Hexaemeron*, 1,31.

[33] See Müller, p. 210.

Erkenntnis abgelehnt. So war auch die ganze wissenschaftliche Medizin in den Augen der Christen und insbesondere in den Augen der christlichen Theologen verwerflich, ja sogar schädlich. Fanatisch wurde auch jede Therapie und da wiederum jeder operative Eingriff abgelehnt'.[34] Such evaluations simplify a complex issue as no consensus emerges in patristic writings on potential reasons for a transcendental imposition of suffering. Even particular diseases can be interpreted differently, e.g., Bishop Cyprian (d.258) views plague as a test of the compassion of Christians in their response to the suffering of their neighbours,[35] yet Gregory the Great considers this disease on occasion to be a divine punishment for communal sin. Divine motivation for suffering is often omitted from patristic sources as the positive effects of pain for the soul, and the need for compassion when encountering the sick are underlined.[36] For the ill an event of suffering can be effective as a means of spiritual conversion,[37] or as a measure preventing excessive love for the world.[38] From a personal standpoint, Gregory of Nazianzus sees its benefit in the strengthening of character through patience and endurance.[39] Theories of demonology are reflected in some discussions on suffering as Tertullian (c.160-c.240), Augustine, and Gregory the Great highlight the role of malignant spirits in inflicting pain in an autonomous or mediatory fashion;[40] such suffering is not an automatic indication of guilt although a sinful state may increase vulnerability to such attacks (see Chapter 4).[41]

Various systems of religiously-determined concepts of suffering are proposed in patristic writings. Schadewaldt (127) generally identifies two reasons among the Church Fathers: 'Krankheit war für sie zwar Aufforderung zur Besinnung, war Prüfung im Sinne *Hiobs*, *Lazarus*, ja des Apostels *Paulus* [...], aber es war auch der Hinweis Gottes, alle Kräfte zu ihrer Bekämpfung und Überwindung einzusetzen, seien es Pharmaka, chirurgische Eingriffe, diätetische Ratschläge oder geistliche Seelsorge'. Gregory of Nazianzus highlights three reasons why even the saints suffer: to purify the physical being; to provide a touchstone of virtue and a test of philosophy; and to educate others by their example.[42] As mentioned in the previous section, Müller (210) identifies four motives in the works of Ambrose of Milan, comprehending punishment for transgression, elucidation, e.g. Lazarus and Job, protection from sin, and a harbinger of the apocalypse.[43] However, John Chrysostom is the most thorough on this topic, citing twelve reasons why saints and Christians suffer: as protection against pride in the face of good works and miracles; to prevent their idolisation by fellow Christians; to represent the power of God; as a means of serving God

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[34] Miloslav Matoušek, 'Zur Frage des Verhältnisses des Urchristentums zur Medizin', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft*, 1 (1960), 74-9 (p. 76).
[35] Cyprian, *De mortalitate*, c. 16, as quoted by H. Schadewaldt, 'Die Apologie der Heilkunst bei den Kirchenvätern', in *Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie*, 26 (1965), 115-30 (p. 118).
[36] Ambrose of Milan, *De Officiis Ministrorum libri tres*, *PL* 16:21-194.
[37] Basil, *Homilia in Psalmum* XLV, *PG* 29:417A and Gregory of Nazianzus, *epistole* 31, *PG* 37:68B.
[38] This is stressed by Augustine and Ambrose of Milan; see Eibach, col. 429.
[39] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letters* 31; *Panegyric on Basil* 26, as quoted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 137.
[40] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 19. 9, highlights their cleverness and deceitfulness in their independent role.
[41] See Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 19.4.
[42] Gregory of Nazianzus, *On the Death of His Father* 28, as quoted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 137.
[43] Punishment for sin: Ambrose of Milan, *De interpellatione Iob et David libri IV*, II, 1,2; *CSEL* 32,2 p 234, 6 sq; elucidation: *De officiis libri III*, I, 24, 113; 39, 194; ML t XVI c 61; c 87; protection from sin: *CSEL* 73 p 19, 49 sqq; harbinger: *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam libri X*, 10; *CSEL* 32,4 p 459, 3 sqq.

through endurance; as a demonstration of their belief in a resurrection and an eternal life; as a consolation to other sufferers; to encourage their imitation among Christians by revealing their similar nature; to enable Christians to distinguish between those who are blessed and those wretched as "Whom the Lord loves He chastens, and scourges every son whom He receives" (Heb. 12:6); as a means of improvement, for "tribulation produces patience" (Rom. 5.3); as a means of atonement; as a means of increasing service; and as a blow to the Devil when Christians give thanks to God in the midst of their pain.[44] Regardless of its purpose, suffering should always be borne with patience and appreciation.[45]

2.3 Theological Interpretations of Suffering among Medieval Commentators

> Leprosy was held to imply moral uncleanness. This view was already well entrenched in Carolingian times, when it was expressed by Hrabanus Maurus, among others.[46]

Spiritual reasons for suffering are identified by both Alcuin (c. 735-804) and his student Hrabanus (780-856). In his commentary on John 5.14 (the healing of an invalid), Alcuin warns Christians against presuming that all who suffer do so on account of sin simply because sin is implicated as its cause in this Biblical account.[47] Christians can be chastised through suffering but they can also suffer like Paul in order to prevent pride in the face of divinely bestowed gifts, be tested like Job, or through a miraculous cure, manifest the glory of God:

> Sæpe infirmatur homo ne extollatur in donis Dei, sicut de Paulo apostolo legitur (*II Cor.* XII,7); sæpe ut probetur, tribulatur, sicut beati Job patientia tribulata et probata est: sæpe infirmitas pro castigatione datur, ut illud: *Flagellat Deus omnem filium, quem recipit* (*Hebr.* XII,6); quibusdam vero infirmitas pro gloria Dei datur, ut de cæco nato, vel de Lazaro legitur.[48]

In three of these four categories the sick are blameless, as suffering constitutes a protective measure, a test, or a channel through which divine might is portrayed. Notably, the OT view that God inflicts sickness as a punishment on irredeemable sinners is absent; instead sickness is chastising and offers a chance to atone for misdeeds.

Hrabanus Maurus does not address this topic as extensively as Alcuin yet a paragraph in his work *De universo* (*De rerum naturis*) is cited by some scholars as evidence of a widespread

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[44] John Chrysostom, *Homily I on the Statues* on 1 Tim 5.23 in *NPNF*-1,9:331-44, as quoted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 138.

[45] *De officiis libri* II, 15, 19; ML t XVI c 115; *Expositio psalmi* CXVIII, 10, 33; *CSEL* 62 p 223, 8 sqq.

[46] Stephen R. Ell, 'Leprosy' in *Dictionary of the Middle* Ages, ed. by Joseph R. Strayer, VII (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1986) 549-52 (p. 550).

[47] 'postea invenit eum Iesus in templo et dixit illi ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliqud contingat', Io 4,49-5,16; Alcuin, *Commentaria in sancti Johannis Evangelium*, *PL*, 100:807 A: 'Quibus verbis aperte monstratur quia propter peccata languebat, nec nisi dimissis eisdem peccatis poterat sanari'.

[48] Ibid. 807 B.

belief in sickness or specifically in leprosy as a consequence of sin: 'Paralyticus significat animam vitiis dissolutam, atque in carnis suae languore peccatorum depressam: ut in Evangeli dicitur: Ecce paralyticus in grabato portabatur a quattuor (Mk.2)'.[49] Hrabanus, however, interprets the Bible at times tropologically while at others allegorically and, as Paxton has convincingly argued, the latter applies in this instance: 'But the fact that for Hrabanus a paralytic in a biblical text signified paralysis of the soul cannot be taken as evidence that he believed real paralysis was a simple expression of a spiritual condition'.[50] Nowhere in his writings is there an elucidation of religious motivation for suffering similar to that in the writings of Alcuin. Instead Hrabanus appears non-judgemental towards those who suffer, stating in his commentary on II Corinthians 15.19 that sickness is in itself neither good nor bad but can become positive when accepted – in the manner of Lazarus and Paul – with patience:

> Infirmitas etiam carnis interdum quam sit commoda, Lazari ipsius pauperis ulcerosi beatitudo demonstrat [...] pro hoc solo quod egestatem et infirmitatem corporis patientissime toleravit, sinum Abrahæ possidere beatissima sorte promueruit [...] beato Apostolo concinente: *Propter quod placeo mihi in infirmitatibus*.[51]

Despite the relationship of Alcuin and Hrabanus as teacher and student, there is no evidence of similar views on suffering in their works; while four reasons are highlighted by Alcuin, Hrabanus stresses its potential spiritual benefit and interprets Biblical suffering in either a tropological or allegorical light. Such difference in opinion indicates the complexity of this topic: 'If we are correctly to understand their attitudes to both earthly and celestial healing, we must not ignore the complexities of their world – a world in which the natural and the supernatural cut across and through one another both in actual fact and in terms of meaning and significance'.[52]

A variety of explanations is also evident in later sources, as Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) combines medical theories with religion in her attribution of the loss of a humoral balance to the loss of 'integritas' associated with the Fall of man,[53] and Thomas of Aquinas (1225-74) interprets sickness as an expression of a troubled soul (*S.th.* I-II, 49, 2;50,1). According to Diepgen, a medieval Gloss to Matthew 9.2 (the cure of a paralytic) stipulates five functions of divinely imposed suffering:[54] to increase the service of the righteous through their required patience, e.g.

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[49] 18.5, *PL* 111:501D. Cf. MacKinney, p. 27: 'His [Hrabanus] only pious aberration was a belief in sin as a cause for disease'; Brody, p. 127: 'Although Hrabanus Maurus connects certain types of leprosy with types of heresy, he also links other varieties of leprosy with other sins, such as pride, deceit, hidden blasphemy, anger, hypocrisy, faithlessness, and vices of the flesh'.

[50] Frederick S. Paxton, 'Curing Bodies – Curing Souls: Hrabanus Maurus, Medical Education, and the Clergy in Ninth-Century Francia', *The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 50 (1995), 230-252 (p. 241). Further Biblical accounts such as Matthew 8.14 (the healing of Peter's mother-in-law) are also interpreted allegorically by Hrabanus, with Peter's mother-in-law symbolising the synagogue and her fever as the burning jealousy of the Jews towards the Church: *Commentarium in Matthæum* 3.8.3, *PL* 107:860C-861C.

[51] Hrabanus, *Ennarationum in epistolas beati Pauli liber undecimus*, 15, *PL*, 112:144C.

[52] Paxton, p. 241.

[53] H. Schipperges, 'Krankheit' in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (München: Artemis, 1991), V, col. 1473-74 (col. 1473).

[54] This gloss is present in a Biblical commentary, which Migne attributed to a student of Hrabanus, the abbot Walafrid Strabo (808-849); it is now, however, believed to have been influenced by his ideas, see Klaus-Gunther Wesseling,

Job; to protect virtue from pride, e.g. Paul; to improve sinners; to proclaim the glory of God through miraculous healing; and to commence eternal punishment on earth for the wicked, e.g. Herod.[55] The fact that three motives involve the suffering of the just and the innocent indicates that all Christians – even God's chosen ones – suffer at some point on earth.[56] Three reasons are identical to those cited by Alcuin in the function of sickness as chastisement, to prevent arrogance, and as a medium of demonstrating divine glory through a miraculous healing. The fourth reason differs slightly, as instead of sickness functioning as a test of faith, the gloss underlines its purpose as a means of increasing service to God. The fifth rationale proves harsh, as sickness functions as a commencement of eternal damnation for sins deemed so heinous that punishment commences in this life; this aspect reinforces the OT belief in unforgivable sin.

These five reasons are cited by later writers such as the theologian Johannes Andreae (1243-1328) and the abbot and professor Nicolaus de Tudeschis (d. 1445), who was also known as Panormitanus.[57] In contrast, the Augustinian hermit and theologian Augustinus Triumphus (1243-1328) cites certain sins which he believes can result in physical affliction, which include carelessness, evil intent, feasting and excess or dissipation but his views are rejected by modern Catholic Church historians 'wegen seiner Übertreibungen und wegen seiner einseitigen Vertretung der Lehre von der potestas directa der Kirche'.[58] In conclusion, no established systemization of suffering is evident in the Middle Ages to explain why God inflicts or permits human suffering. The issue proves complex and can not be singularly reduced to the view that suffering constitutes a punishment for sin. In fact, most of the motives outlined in these sources concern the sufferings of the just and the innocent rather than the guilty.

2.4 Attitudes towards Secular Medicine and Physicians among Early Christians and the Fathers of the Church

From the very beginning comforting of the sick was one of the cardinal Christian virtues and complete altruism became so fundamental an ethical standard that it was part of faith.

'Walafrid Strabo' in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. by Friedrich Wilhem Bautz (Herzberg: Bautz, 1998), XIII, col. 169-76 (col. 169).

[55] I find myself unable to decipher these five reasons from the passage to which Diepgen refers: 'Nota infirmitates aliquando contingere propter peccata, etc., *usque ad* unde : *Duplici contritione conteret eos Dominus*. (Bed.) *Quid est facilius*, sed quoniam hoc spirituale non creditis, probetur signo visibili quod non minoris constat esse potentiæ, ut in Filio hominis latentem cognoscatis potentiam majestatis, quæ potest dimittere peccata ut Deus / *Tunc ait paralytico*. Ecce per remissionem pœnæ, dimissionem culpæ intellige. *Surge*. Surgere, est animam a carnalibus desideriis abstrahere. Lectum tollere, est carnem a terrenis desideriis ad voluntatem spiritus attollere. Domum ire, est ad paradisum redire, vel ad internam sui custodiam, ne iterum peccet. *Tolle lectum tuum et vade in domum tuam*. Ut quod fuit testimonium infirmitatis, sit probatio sanitatis. / *Et surrexit*. Magna virtus, ubi sine mora imperium salus comitatur. Unde merito, qui aderant relictis blasphemiis stupentes, ad laudem convertuntur tantæ majestatis': *PL*, 114: 95-7.

[56] Walafrid personally suffered from a physical defect with "strabos" [der Schielende] referring directly to his squint or cross-eyedness: Wesseling, col. 169-176 (col. 169).

[57] Nicholas incorporates a sixth reason, which indicates a natural rather than a supernatural causation of sickness: 'mala dispositio corporis, que provenit ex aliquo accidenti'. See Diepgen, 'Theologie', p. 52. According to Doob, however, just three reasons are included in a version of the *Glossa ordinaria* produced in 1590, involving a test of faith, a means of improving the just, or for damning the wicked; I have been unable to access this: *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria et postilla Nicolai Lyrani*, 7 vols, Paris 1590, *GO* 3:2164.

[58] Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, 'Augustinus Triumphus' in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (Hamm: Bautz, 1990), I, col. 300-301 (col. 300); see also Diepgen, 'Theologie', p. 52.

> Thus Christendom introduced medical ideals [...]. These ideals were destined to amalgamate with Greek scientific concepts, a fusion out of which the highest modern medical standards were to issue.[59]

According to the NT evangelists, healing came into the world through the figure of Jesus; He, as the new physician, cures both physical and spiritual ills.[60] Based on His compassionate actions, a new principle of life – *Imitatio Christi* – transpires, which the early Christian Church follows through its offer of healing, sanctuary and care to the sick and the needy; this action commences the long Christian tradition of institutional care.[61] Several figures in the early Church such as the doctors Cosmos and Damien successfully combined Christianity and medicine: 'Sie gelten als die Patrone der Ärzte und Apotheker in der katholischen Kirche [...]',[62] while natural history and practical medicine are incorporated in the writings of certain Fathers of the Church, ensuring the preservation and transmission of ancient medical knowledge. In general medicine is valued by the Fathers with the belief that this expertise – as indeed all knowledge – is a divine gift for which thanks should be given: 'Omnis sapientia a Deo Domino est' (Sir 1.1).[63] God bestows medicine out of concern for the fragility and weakness of the human body and supplies potential therapeutic means through particular properties of animals, plants or stones; the gift of reason enables the differentiation between beneficial and poisonous attributes.[64]

> creator humanorum corporum Deus sciebat quod talis esset fragilitas humani corporis, quae languores diversos posset recipere, et vulneribus aliisque debilitatibus esset obnoxia: et ideo venturis passionibus providens, etiam medicamenta procreavit ex terra et medicinae tradidit disciplinam, ut si accideret aegritudo corpori, non deesset medela[65]

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[59] Stephen D'Irsay, 'Patristic Medicine', *Annals of Medical History*, 9 (1927) 364-78 (p. 364). Cf. Vanja, p. 197: 'Mit der Gleichsetzung von Gottes- und Nächstenliebe bestimmte das Christentum den Umgang mit dem kranken Menschen grundsätzlich positiv. Der Dienst am Nächsten wurde als >>Gottesdienst<< begriffen'.

[60] '*Christus medicus* ist der schöne Topos der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte, dessen Spuren noch in der Neuzeit zu finden sind. [...] Gerade das ärztliche Wirken CHRISTI wird immer wieder hervorgehoben.' Müller, p. 201. Also Martin Honecker, 'Christus Medicus', in *Der kranke Mensch in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. Peter Wunderli (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986), pp. 27-44.

[61] 'Nicht nur setzte sie [die christliche Predigt] dem erträumten Äskulap den wirklichen Jesus gegenüber, sondern sie gestaltete sich selbst als die „Religion der Heilung", „als die Medizin der Seele und des Leibes" bewusst und bestimmt aus, und sie sah auch in der thatkräftigen Sorge für die leiblich Kranken eine ihrer wichtigsten Pflichten', Adolf Harnack, 'Medizinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte', *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 8 (1892) 37-152 (p. 132).

[62] Harnack, p. 48. Another influential figure was the exegete Julius Africanus, who compiled a comprehensive encyclopedic work of natural history – *Kestoi* – around the year 225. Physicians were also among the first Christians to be martyred; see Eusebius, *Kirchengeschichte* VII, 32 and VIII, 13, as quoted by Harnack, pp. 43-44.

[63] Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 10.2 and *2 Apology* 4.2, as quoted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 134. Eusebius (c.264-c.340) cites the application of a fig poultice by Isaiah (Is 38,21; IV Rg 20,7) as Biblical evidence to support the use of medicine: *PG*, 24:360. Origen attributes the *opus curandi et medendi* to the Archangel Raphael: *PG*, 11:176, as quoted by H. J. Frings, *Medizin und Arzt bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern bis Chrysostomus* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität, 1958), p. 24.

[64] Gregory of Nyssa, *PG*, 36:61 and *PG*, 46:464; Basil. *PG*, 29:101; Eusebius, *PG*, 24:1 072, as quoted by Frings, p. 9 and p. 56. Also Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 6.17, as quoted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 135.

[65] Origen, *PG*, 12:1 369, as quoted by Frings, p. 8. Origen, *Homily 18 on Numbers* 3, Annotations *on III Kings 15.13*, *Homily 1 on Psalm 37 1*, *Contra Celsum 3.12*, as quoted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 135. Cf. Schadewaldt, p. 121f.

According to Chrysostom, the purpose of all knowledge, including medicine, is to enable Christians to assist and care for one another (*PG*, 56:279).

While recognising that God or the Devil may occasionally impose suffering, the Church Fathers on the whole adhere to the entirely naturalistic ancient theory of humoral pathology to explain the emergence of sickness.[66] According to this theory, health depends upon an equilibrium within the body of the four humours (fire, earth, air and water) with sickness emerging when an imbalance occurs.[67] Tertullian (c.160-c.253), Clement (c.150-c.215),[68] and Ambrose prove particularly knowledgeable in scientific matters and refer to Hippocrates and Galen in their writings.[69] A range of diagnostic, prophylactic and therapeutic measures are described in some patristic works with suggested treatments involving dietetics, cauterisation, surgery or pharmacology. Gregory of Nyssa (c.330-c.395) recommends measuring pulse and breathing rates, observing skin colour and the presence of wheezing or gasping of breath as diagnostic methods and advises dietary measures as prophylaxis or an aid to recovery (*PG*, 46:29). Clement advocates avoiding rich foods; Ambrose stresses the benefits of correct fasting, the inclusion of wine, and a vegetarian and moderate diet; Hieronymus warns against overeating, particularly of meat; and Basil permits the medicinal use of wine, once prescribed by a physician.[70] Suggested therapies include a change of air or a visit to therapeutic baths; Basil personally availed of the latter in part treatment of a liver disorder.[71]

Physicians are generally viewed positively in patristic sources as servants of God, whose role consists in releasing the sick from their sufferings.[72] Gregory of Nyssa praises their compassionate and philanthropic gestures towards patients while Tertullian voices confidence both in their capabilities and in the power of nature.[73] According to Frings (47), the ethos and obligations of physicians as reflected in patristic writings correspond in general to stipulations outlined in the Hippocratic Oath. In order to heal, physicians must be competent so that patients possess faith in their abilities.[74] Although obliged to treat all sick individuals, physicians should not treat those suffering incurable diseases such as elephantiasis and cancer,[75] and according to Origen (*PG*, 11:949), they need not necessarily treat the wicked. It is the consultation of Christian physicians that is encouraged in the event of sickness although not all are competent and conscientious; some are inept or evil, giving patients harmful substances, or cutting and burning

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[66] Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel libri II*, 1,6; *CSEL* 32,1 p 381, 20 sqq. See Frings, p. 64, and Müller, p. 208.

[67] The four humours have the cardinal properties of dryness, warmth, coldness and moisture in different combinations and these correspond to the cardinal bodily fluids blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. Caelius Aurelianus, for example, attributes epilepsy to an excess of black bile: see D'irsay, p. 373.

[68] Harnack, p. 70.

[69] See Müller, p. 196f. on Ambrose, and Harnack, p. 78 on Tertullian.

[70] Ambrose, *Poen.* I, 14,16; *CSEL* 73 p 155, 94 sqq with reference to I Tim 5.23, as quoted by Müller, p. 209. Also Basil: *PG*, 29:264.

[71] *PG*, 32:580, as quoted by Frings, p. 73. Harnack, p. 56: 'Bäder, Arzneien und sonstige Körperpflege erschien ihnen erlaubt; sogar das Spazierengehen zur Erholung des Leibes hat Einer von ihnen angerathen, ein Anderer die Heilkraft des Wassers des todten Meeres geschildert'.

[72] Origen, *PG*, 14:768. The ideal physician combines both the figures of priest and doctor in one, as indeed was the case with several priests and bishops during this period. See Frings, p. 38.

[73] Gregory of Nyssa, *PG*, 32: 684, as quoted by Frings, p. 82. Also Tertullian, *De Anima*, *PG*, 43:8.

[74] Gregory of Nazianzus, *PG*, 36:116, as quoted by Frings, p. 82.

[75] Chrysostom, *PG*, 47:490, as quoted by Frings, p. 46.

them too readily and inappropriately either out of a lack of experience or sheer badness;[76] it is not medicine, which is at fault in such cases, but its practitioner.[77] The engagement of Jewish doctors or magicians is expressly discouraged or forbidden in such sources; Chrysostom (*PG*, 48:935-36) maintains it is better to die from an ailment than to be physically healed but spiritually destroyed by Jewish practitioners or magicians and advises physicians to refuse to treat patients who are simultaneously being attended by a magician in case the latter claims his success or tries to foist the blame for failure upon him.[78] Specific therapeutic practices are censured in several patristic texts including superstitious incantations, amulets, or magic, satanic practices to alleviate labour pains, and any attempt to procure an abortion, which constitutes murder in the eyes of the Church.[79]

In contrast to the specific spiritual obligations required of physicians set out in medieval canon law, few are incorporated into patristic writings. There is no requirement to encourage patients to confess or reflect upon behaviour although prayer is integrated in some procedures, such as in the advance manufacture of medication in the hope that it may never be required, or in treating the sick so that the attempt and medication will be effective in healing.[80] Where illness remains incurable despite the concerted efforts of physicians, hope lies in faith, and in heartfelt prayers; those of beggars, monks or hermits prove particularly effective.[81] In the event of mortal illness, physicians should instruct the wife of the Christian sufferer that he be baptised, regardless of the sorrow and despondency that this will cause as the family realises the fatal nature of the condition.[82] The overall lack in patristic sources of religious stipulations connected to secular healing, particularly those involving forgiveness, indicates that an absolute belief in sickness as a consequence of sin did not prevail among such figures: 'Wäre die Folge streng, so müßten Sündenbekenntnis und Reue als Heilmittel stärker im Vordergrund stehen'.[83]

Despite the advocation of the services of physicians and medicine in times of ill-heath, the soul is infinitely more important than the body for the Fathers: '[...] es besteht einhellige Übereinstimmung bei allen Vätern, daß die Seele wichtiger und mehr ist als der Körper, höher geschätzt werden muß als der Leib, der nur für viel Leid empfängliches, stoffliches Kleid für die Seele ist'.[84] The body, the vessel for the soul, is deserving of attention as, according to Chrysostom, its personal care constitutes a Christian obligation to God and the Church (*PG*, 62:670). Too much honour, however, should not be bestowed upon medics as their effectiveness in healing is completely dependent upon God, '[...] denn nichts Nützliches geschieht bei den Menschen ohne

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[76] Didymos A1. 39, 1 148 and Gregory of Nazianzus, *PG*, 36:208, as quoted by Frings, p. 48.
[77] Chrysostom, *PG*, 56:126., as quoted by Frings, p. 48.
[78] Frings, p. 87.
[79] Chrysostom, *PG*, 61:106; Basil. *PG*, 32:672 and 32:677, as quoted by Frings, p. 31.
[80] Medication: Chrysostom, *PG*, 47:349, as quoted by Frings, p. 54; treatment: Chrysostom, *PG*, 60:41, as quoted by Frings, p.60.
[81] Chrysostom. *PG*, 48:744 and 48:768; Serapion *PG*, 40:940; Gregory of Nazianzus *PG*, 35:809; *PG*, 35:1 020, as quoted by Frings, pp. 88-90.
[82] Chrysostom, *PG*, 60:25, as quoted by Frings, p. 90.
[83] Müller, p. 212.
[84] Frings, p. 37. Also D'Irsay, p. 365.

Gott'.[85] 'What the church fathers were eager to denounce was not the use of secular medicine, but the tendency to overvalue it and the failure to recognize and acknowledge its divine origin.'[86] Furthermore, an absolute reliance on medicine is discouraged, as suffering may be divinely imposed for a spiritual purpose and the soul must always take precedence over the body.[87] Indeed, if sickness operates as a punishment for heretics and schismatics, medical efforts will result in pain rather than healing.[88]

Despite general patristic support for the Christian employment of secular medicine, it is rejected by some Church Fathers on account that its use signals both a lack of trust in God and interference with His will.[89] Tatian voices concern that medical and in particular superstitious healing practices could constitute a demonic ploy to lead Christians away from God, as any successful cure could therefore stem from this malignant source;[90] he advises Christians to leave medicine to the heathens and to turn to God in times of sickness.[91] The Desert Fathers personally rejected everything worldly including medicine in order to pursue an ascetic lifestyle: 'Als Vorläufer späterer Mönche wollten sie von keiner Körperpflege etwas wissen und suchten Heilung allein bei Gott'.[92] According to Frings (16), however, this principle did not always hold in practice and several texts, e.g. the *regula orientalis* (*PG*, 34:987) and the *regula Pachomii*, (*PL*, 50:281f.) incorporate instruction for the care of sick monks.

2.5 Monastic Medicine (600-1100)

> Die Mönchmedizin bemühte sich redlich und oft mit einem bewundernswerten Universalismus zu retten, was zu retten war.[93]

The care provided by the early Church in establishing hospices for the spiritual and physical needs of the sick and needy continued in monasteries in the early Middle Ages: 'Die Krankenpflege erhält erstmals und zunehmend einen institutionellen Rang, wobei die Leibespflege (*cura corporis*) gleichrangig neben der Seelsorge (*cura animae*) steht'. [94] Monasteries became the dominant educational force during this period and were active in medical learning and some medical practice until the 11th or 12th century, when their influence in this area declined.[95] Cassiodorus (c.480-

[85] Frings, pp. 65-66. See Origen, *PG*, 11:673 and 11:709; Athanas. *PG*, 26:925; Basil, *PG*, 30:500, as quoted by Frings, p. 28 and p. 65.
[86] Lindberg, p. 321. Also Frings, p. 66: 'Grundsätzlich steht also die Hand Gottes über jeder ärztlichen Behandlung'.
[87] Frings, pp. 13-14.
[88] Palladios *PG*, 47:59, as quoted by Frings, p. 88.
[89] Frings, p. 12.
[90] Tatian, *PG*, 6:844, 6:846 and 6:851, as quoted by Frings, p. 14.
[91] Tatian: *Orat. ad. Gr.* 20, as quoted by Harnack, p. 55.
[92] Harnack, p. 55.
[93] Diepgen, 'Einfluß', p. 7.
[94] Schipperges, 'Krankheit', col. 1474; Eibach, col. 429.
[95] The Councils of Orleans (533) and of Narbonne (589) forbade the ordination of illiterate individuals and the *Artes liberales* together with some medicine were taught in monasteries. See Heinrich Schipperges, *Die Benediktiner in der Medizin des frühen Mittelalters*, Erfurter Theologische Schriften, 7 (Leipzig: St. Benno, 1964), pp. 17-18 and p. 40. The monastery at Monte Cassino was particularly influential on later medical schools such as Salerno. Also important for the

c.575), 'der eigentliche Schöpfer des mittelalterlichen Lehrplanes [...] auch des medizinischen Unterrichts',[96] envisaged that monks would study and practise medicine and encouraged the reading of medical works in translation.[97] Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-543) devotes a chapter of his rule (*Regula Benedicti*) to detailed instructions to his monastic community on the treatment of ill brothers; his concern for the physical well-being of monks is based on two NT passages (Mt 25.36; 25.40) and led to the involvement of the Benedictines in medical practice: 'Diese positive Einstellung dem kranken Körper gegenüber ist einer der großen Fortschritte, die die „Regula Benedicti" dem abendländischen Mönchtum brachte'.[98] Care of the sick was viewed as a means of serving Christ[99] and according to Benedict's directives, they should be provided with a room and a carer and be granted several privileges, including increased and better food (which generally included meat), comfortable clothing, increased sleep, regular bathing and a reduction in or easier duties.[100] Wine was deemed a 'Kräftigungs- und Heilmittel' and was permitted for both the sick and the healthy.[101] Remedies generally consisted of medicinal herbs, which were grown in the monastery gardens and prepared as ointments, tinctures, herbal drinks and spiced wines.[102] Monastic treatment included bloodletting and cauterisation, although surgery was a rare occurrence.[103]

The knowledge of healing properties of herbs was transmitted and expanded during this period through the writings of such figures as Isidore and Hrabanus.[104] Important medical works by religious medics include those of Constantinus Africanus, which were 'used as textbooks in most of the Schools of Europe'[105] and those of Hildegard von Bingen, which integrate practical healing

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development of medicine were the abbeys at Fulda, Tours, Reichenau, Hersfeld, Tegernsee and St. Gallen: See Schipperges, *Benediktiner*, p. 23; Lindberg, p. 318. On the decline of monastic medicine see Probst, 246-258.

[96] Schipperges, *Benediktiner*, p. 28. His *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium lectionum* (*PL* 70:1146) is the first textbook of the early Middle Ages to include medicine and recommends various medical texts such as those by Dioscurides, Hippocrates, Galen, and Caelius Aurelianus.

[97] Nancy G. Siraisi, 'The Medical Learning of Albertus Magnus', in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays 1980*, ed. by James A. Weisheipl, Studies and Texts, 49 (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1980), pp. 379-404 (p. 397, n. 26); also Anne F. Dawtry, 'The *Modus Medendi* and the Benedictine Order in Anglo-Norman England', in *The Church and Healing*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 25-38 (p. 26). Cf. Lindberg, p. 318.

[98] Gerd Zimmermann, *Ordensleben und Lebensstandard: Die Cura corporis in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, 32 (Münster: Aschendorffsche, 1973), p. 156. Cf. Benjamin Lee Gordon, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 27f.

[99] 'Denn Fürsorge für die Kranken und Besuch am Krankenbett zählen zu den guten Werken, die der Weltenrichter am Ende der Zeiten zur Sprache bringen wird.' Josef Semmler, 'Die Sorge um den kranken Mitbruder im Benediktinerkloster des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in *Der kranke Mensch in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. Peter Wunderli, Studia humaniora, 5 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986), 45-59 (p. 45); Schipperges, 'Krankheit', col. 1474; Vanja, p. 197.

[100] Zimmermann, p. 146. See also Dawtry, p. 26.

[101] Zimmermann, p. 177.

[102] Ibid., p. 179. See also Jerry Stannard, 'Medieval Herbals and their Development', *Clio Medica*, 9 (1974), 23-33 (p. 23).

[103] Ibid. Zimmermann, p. 178. Cf. Stephen R. Ell, 'Concepts of Disease and the Physician in the Early Middle Ages', *Janus*, 65 (1978), 159-65 (p. 161): 'The monastic view of medicine concentrated almost exclusively on the individual soul'.

[104] Isidor's highly influential work *Etymologiae* provides 'die Grundsätze der mittelalterlichen Medizin': Schipperges, *Benediktiner*, p. 29. Hrabanus' work, *De universo* (*De rerum naturis*), although based on *Etymologiae*, differs in its aim as Isidore 'wanted to sum up the knowledge of antiquity; Hrabanus wanted to lay the basis for a universal Christian science of biblical studies', Paxton, p. 246.

[105] K.W. Humphreys, 'The Medical Books of the Medieval Friars', *Libri*, 3 (1954) 95-103 (p. 95).

into a Christian concept of medical anthropology.[106] Secular non-religious medicine was practised in monasteries in the early Middle Ages with theories of health and disease, diagnostic techniques and therapeutic procedures derived primarily from Latin translations of Greek medical texts held in monastic libraries, such as those by Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, Soranus and Dioscorides. The presence and practical application of such sources indicates the range of monastic medicine: 'It is probable that substantial medical expertise could be found in most monasteries, except the very smallest, throughout the Middle Ages'.[107] Monastic practitioners, however, preserved and practised medicine rather than advanced this science: 'Dieser Klostermedizin verdanken wir keine technischen Errungenschaften in der Heilkunst, dafür aber – neben der Tradierung des antiken Bildungsgutes – eine formale Zucht, die vom 12. Jahrhundert ab die theoretische Medizin der frühen Universitäten begründen half'.[108]

The early medieval Church supported medicine within a Christian framework, whereby the soul is superior to the body,[109] and physicians are obliged to treat patients effectively,[110] with faith in the power of God rather than in the effectiveness of medication: 'medicina legatur a Domino constituta, ipse tamen sanos efficit'.[111] Prominent medieval religious figures also view medicine favourably; Alcuin refers to this science as 'iste laudabilis ordo', while Hrabanus justifies its use on account of its divine origin in his commentary on the thirty-eighth chapter of Sirach.[112] Bernard of Clairvaux viewed suffering as spiritually beneficial but also recognised the need to assist the sick out of love for one's neighbour and accepted the use of cheap therapeutic herbs for his monks.[113] However, despite such broad support for secular medicine, monastic opponents did exist, particularly in the stricter orders: 'In den Quellen der neuen strengeren Orden begegnen uns diese Beweise der Sorge für die Kranken ebenfalls. Doch vernehmen wir hier auch Stimmen, die den Krankheiten in erhöhtem Maße den Charakter eines Opfers oder einer Buße zumessen und der Sorge für den kranken Leib eine geringere Bedeutung zugestehen'.[114]

Monastic medical provision and care were intended primarily for the monastic communities with, according to Lindberg (320), such services also being made available 'on occasion' to the general population. Zimmermann, however, claims that monasteries played a much larger role in the care of ailing laity, referring as evidence to the St Gallen plan, which details, additional to infirmaries for monks, sickrooms, pharmacies, lodgings and kitchens for the sick and poor within the monastery: 'Von früher Zeit an nahmen sich die Mönche auch aller Kranken, die von außerhalb kommend, im Kloster Hilfe suchten, an. Später errichtet man für diese eigene

[106] Schipperges, *Benediktiner*, p. 48, views her work as 'der literarische Höhepunkt der frühmittelalterlichen Klostermedizin [...]'. Further important scientific writings include those of the Dominican theologian Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280), which incorporate human anatomy, physiology, and psychology: Siraisi, 'Albertus Magnus', p. 381.
[107] Lindberg, p. 318. See also Vanja, p. 197.
[108] Schipperges, *Benediktiner*, p. 60.
[109] See Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum* 8.13, *PL* 109:1030C.
[110] *De monachis curam infirmorum habentibus*, *PL* 70, 1146.
[111] Cassiodorus: *Institut.* Ed. Mynors 78, 10-79, 8, as quoted by Schipperges, *Benedikiner*, p. 27.
[112] Alcuin, *Poetae* (n.27), p. 245; Hrabanus, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum* 8.13, *PL* 109:1030B. Medicine is also defended by an anonymous monastic physician at Bamberg around 800: see Karl Sudhoff, 'Eine Verteidigung der Heilkunde aus den Zeiten der „Mönchsmedizin"', *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 7 (1913) 223-237.
[113] Zimmermann, pp. 158-159 and p. 180.
[114] Zimmermann, p. 157.

Krankenhäuser innerhalb des Klosterbereiches'.[115] Additionally, some medical practitioners engaged in treating the sick outside the monastery to such a degree that church legislation was eventually introduced to curb such activities or to restrict involvement.[116] Monastic therapeutic measures aim on the whole at restoring the physical rather than the spiritual being, with bloodletting extensively performed as a means of balancing the four humours, a procedure which assumes a natural causality for the emergence of ill-health. Furthermore, several conditions such as colds and nose bleeds are associated in some sources with a harsh monastic lifestyle, involving poor diet, little sleep and constant standing in choir services.[117] Once ill, monks were excused from certain religious duties such as attending choir service, prayer, and mass; such measures indicate that a firm belief in sin as a causative factor of disease did not prevail in monasteries, as surely religious duties would be correspondingly increased rather than decreased? In instances where religious measures are integrated with therapy, these tend to involve the sacraments of Holy Communion or the last rites, rather than those involving forgiveness such as confession and penance, which could point to a widespread belief in sin as a cause of suffering.[118] Overall, I can find no evidence to support Matoušek's view (77) that the relationship of the early Church towards medicine was 'ein rein negatives, destruktives Verhältnis, das auf der Vorstellung beruhte, daß die medizinischen Kenntnisse und die darauf basierende reale Hilfe des Menschen für den Menschen auf die Dauer durch den dümmsten Aberglauben religiösen Inhaltes ersetzt werden können'.

2.6 Laws on the Clerical Practice of Medicine

The Church passed laws with regard to clerical involvement in medicine, surgery, and secular law during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as part of a reform movement within monasticism, aimed at 'reducing monastic involvement in the world and re-emphasizing the spiritual nature of the monk's calling'.[119] Contrary to some scholars' views, the Church did not at any point forbid the practice of medicine to clerical members, nor did its legislation affect all clergy.[120] Canon 9 of the Second Lateran Council (1139) stipulates that monks and canons regular should not study medicine (or secular law) for the sake of temporal gain:

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[115] Zimmermann, p. 156, n. 8. See also Schipperges, 'Krankheit', col. 1474.
[116] Dawtry, p. 31.
[117] Zimmermann, p. 194.
[118] I perceive no particular stress on confession as a means of healing as maintained by Richard Palmer, 'The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in *The Church and Healing*, ed., by W. J. Shiels (Blackwell: Oxford: 1982), pp. 79-99 (p. 85): 'In catholic theology confession was of fundamental importance in the treatment of disease. It was probably the church's nearest approximation in the medieval and modern periods to a formal ritual of healing'.
[119] Lindberg, p. 191.
[120] Cf. Humphreys, p. 97: 'In the thirteenth century Pope Honorius extended the prohibition to all clerics whether regular or secular'. Diepgen, 'Einfluß', p. 10: 'Schließlich wird ihm [dem Theologen] die Ausübung der ärztlichen Praxis verboten, vor allem die chirurgische Tätigkeit'. See also Roberto S. Lopez, *The Birth of Europe* (London: Phoenix House, 1967), p. 373. For an accurate analysis see Amundsen, 'Medieval Canon Law: on Medical and Surgical Practice by the Clergy', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 52 (1978), 22-43 (p. 23).

> Prava autem consuetudo, prout accepimus, et detestabilis inolevit, quoniam monachi et regulares canonici post susceptum habitum et professionem factam, spreta beatorum magistrorum Benedicti et Augustini regula, leges temporales et medicinam gratia lucri temporalis addiscunt. Avaritiae namque flammis accensi, se patronos causarum faciunt; et cum psalmodiae et hymnis vacare debeant, gloriosae vocis confisi munimine, allegationum suarum varietate iustum et iniustum, fas nefasque confundunt. [...] Ipsi quoque, neglecta animarum cura, ordinis sui propositum nullatenus attendentes, pro detestanda pecunia sanitatem pollicentes, humanorum curatores se faciunt corporum.[121]

It is principally concerned with the dangers of avarice, which could lead to a neglect of spiritual duties, although the fear is also expressed that a religious medical practitioner might encounter scenes unfitting for his status: '[...] there is no doubt that during the century a tendency is apparent to engage in medical practice to the detriment of their religious duties'.[122] As this statute applied only to monks and canons regular, it excludes the majority of clerics, who consisted of secular clergy. It does not forbid the actual practice of medicine for any clerical member but questions the motivation of those practising medicine for financial gain: 'In practice, clerics had engaged in secular pursuits from the time of the early Church onwards, and gradually, in theory, the canonists came to apply one criterion, i.e., of motive, whether such work was undertaken from a genuine need (*necessitas*) or selfish gain (*turpe lucrum*)'.[123]

This statute, however, was never included in any official collection of canon law; 'Even though it is also a canon of a general Church council, its provisions were of little lasting significance'.[124] Canon 8 of the Council of Tours (1163) constitutes the first canon, which addresses the study of medicine by clerics, to be included in the officially promulgated collections, e.g., *Decretales* of Gregory IX (1234).[125] This forbade the departure of monks and canons regular for the study of medicine (or secular law) in the belief that interaction with the secular world would cause them to neglect their spiritual duties; those who did leave for this purpose and did not return within two months were to be excommunicated: 'It is the leaving of their cloisters for secular, rather than purely religious purposes, that was condemned, not the study of medicine or secular law'.[126]

> [...] Unde ne sub occasione scientiae spirituales viri mundanis rursum actionibus involvantur, et in interioribus eo ipso deficiant, et quo se aliis putant in exterioribus

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[121] *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J Alberigo and others, 3rd edn (Bologna: Instituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973), pp. 198 f. Identical statutes had previously appeared in the regional councils: Canon 5 of the Council of Clermont (1130) and Canon 6 of the Council of Reims (1131). This canon was later incorporated into those of Montpellier (1162), Tours (1173), Montpellier (1195) and Paris (1212). Amundsen, 'Canon Law', p. 29, and Joseph Schatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994), p. 8.
[122] Humphreys, p. 97.
[123] J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1969), n. 23, p. 55.
[124] Amundsen, 'Canon law', p. 30.
[125] Ibid., p. 32.
[126] Ibid., p. 33.

providere: de praesentis concilii assensu, huic malo obviantes, statuimus, ut nullus omnino post votum religionis, post factam in aliquo religioso loco professionem, ad physicam, legesve mundanas legendas permittatur exire. [127]

The clerical orders included in this ban on the study of medicine are extended by Honorius III in *Super specula* (1219) to include clergy, whose major functions were spiritual such as archdeacons, deacons, priors, cantors and priests, and also those possessing major ecclesiastical benefices, in an effort to encourage the study of theology.[128] Still, this law excluded large numbers of clerics from the prohibition of medical study and the last piece of medieval canon law to address this issue – Boniface VIII's *Liber Sextus* (1298) – actually reduces restrictions by removing prohibition from clergy in parochial churches and providing an opportunity for religious to depart for medical study, if permission is first obtained from their prelates and the majority of the members of their house.[129] Clerical practice of medicine occasionally presented some problems to the Church, as guilt could be incurred upon the death of a patient, thereby preventing a fulfilment of spiritual obligations.[130] As this danger is far greater with the practice of surgery than with the practice of medicine, a canon is included in the Fourth Lateran Council under Innocent III (1215) forbidding the practice of surgical procedures involving burning or cutting to subdeacons, deacons or priests.[131]

In summary, medieval canonical legislation which addresses the study of medicine by clerics cannot be deemed anti-medical as it seeks to prevent the temptation of avarice and secular distractions for certain clerical members rather than prohibiting the practice of medicine by clerics. During this period all clerics were permitted to practice medicine, and medical practitioners could be found at the highest levels of church hierarchy.[132] The study of medicine was forbidden to a minority while the ban on surgery was applicable only to those clerics in major orders, thereby leaving the majority of clerics unaffected.[133] Furthermore, the canons contain no moral objection by the Church or any implication that the practitioner was interfering with Divine will: 'The church was simply concerned about losing the services of some of its members'.[134]

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[127] *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi and others, new edn (Florence and Venice, 1759-98), XXI, col. 1179.

[128] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVII ad annum MCCCIV*, ed. by Augustus Potthast, (Graz: Akademische,1874; rep. 1957), 3, 50, 10. See Amundsen, 'Canon Law', p. 36.

[129] ibid. 3, 24, 1 and 3, 24,2. See Amundsen, 'Canon Law', pp. 36-37.

[130] This is highlighted in several rescripts: *Compilatio Secunda*, 1, 8, 2 and *Compilatio Quarta*, 5, 6, 3 in *Quinque Compilationes Antiquae*; *Decretales*, 1, 14, 7 and 5, 12, 19.

[131] Canon 18: '[...] Nullus quoque clericus rottariis aut balistariis aut huiusmodi viris sanguinum praeponatur, nec illam chirurgiae artem subdiaconus, diaconus vel sacerdos exerceant, quae ad ustionem vel incisionem inducit [...].' Alberigo, ed., *Conciliorum*, p. 244. This canon was included in *Compilatio Quarta* 3, 19, 2 and *Decretales* of Gregory IX 3, 50, 9.

[132] For example, Petrus Hispanus (later Pope John XXI (d. 1277)) who wrote a popular medical compendium, the *Thesaurus pauperum*.

[133] There are seven different orders: four minor orders consisting of porters, acolytes, exorcists and lectors and three major orders consisting of sub-deacons, deacons and priests: Amundsen, 'Canon Law', p. 28.

[134] Schatzmiller, p. 9.

2.7 Spiritual Obligations of Physicians and Patients

> Ecclesiastical authorities in a religiously monolithic society such as that of medieval Europe attempt to ensure uniformity of belief and practice by striving to subordinate medicine in all its aspects to religion. This is not to suggest that medieval European ecclesiastics wished to impose religious nosological and therapeutic models.[135]

As a consequence of socio-economic change, the occupation of *medicus* developed away from monastic centres during the twelfth century with the formation of university faculties and medical and surgical guilds. The Church enshrined moral responsibilities for physicians in canon law to ensure that its ethical standards were adhered to by secular Christian physicians, thereby amending secular medicine to a more Christian version. By the late 12th century, literature on moral theology emerges which stipulates for physicians (and surgeons) certain standards of skill, conscientiousness, and compliance with the traditions of medicine: 'Der Arzt sündigt, wenn er vom Pfade der bewährten Tradition abweicht und neue Methoden anwendet, deren Erfolg unsicher und die mit Gefahren verbunden sind'.[136] Religious stipulations were laid down in ecclesiastical law as canon 22 – *Cum infirmitas* – of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) to ensure that Christian physicians addressed the spiritual as well as the physical needs of their patients.[137] It followed *Omnes utriusque sexus*, which made annual confession compulsory for all Christians on pain of excommunication.[138]

> Since bodily infirmity is sometimes caused by sin, the Lord saying to the sick man whom he has healed: "Go and sin no more, lest some worse thing happen to thee" [John 5:14], we declare in the present decree and strictly command that when physicians of the body are called to the bedside of the sick, before all else they admonish them to call for the physician of souls, so that after spiritual health has been restored to them, the application of bodily medicine may be of greater benefit, for the cause being removed the effect will pass away. We publish this decree for the reason that some, when they are sick and are advised by the physician in the course of the sickness to attend to the salvation of their soul, give up all hope and yield more easily to the danger of death. If any physician shall transgress this decree after it has been published by the bishops, let him be cut off from the church till he has made suitable satisfaction for his transgression. And since the soul is far more precious than the body, we forbid under penalty of anathema that a physician advise a patient to have recourse to sinful means for the recovery of bodily health.[139]

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[135] Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 2.
[136] Diepgen, 'Einfluß', p. 18. Cf. Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 260.
[137] This canon is incorporated into the 1234 official codification of canon law: Gregory IX, *Decretales* 5.38.13.
[138] *Compilatio Quarta*, 5.14.3; Gregory IX, *Decretales* 5.38.12.
[139] *Compilatio Quarta*, 5.14.4; translated by Amundsen, *Medicine*, pp. 266-7.

A belief by the Christian Church in sin as a cause of disease is expressed in this canon although it is limited as the canon neither states that disease is always the result of sin nor does it specify any particular illnesses in connection with this but rather ill-health in general. The canon is also unclear on whether sickness is divinely inflicted as a punishment on the sinner, whether sin itself weakens the body, thereby making it vulnerable to demonic attacks, or whether physical weakness is simply a consequence of original sin. In any case, the canon cannot be interpreted as evidence of a widespread belief in sin as the causation of disease as indicated by Amundsen: 'Since much illness was caused by sin, the confession of sin would remove the cause, thus making the physician's attendance either superfluous or more effective'.[140] As it is impossible for a physician to judge whether illness is indeed a result of immoral behaviour, the patient must be encouraged to call a priest to his bedside in each instance; if the sickness does have a moral cause, the sacrament of confession will have a curative effect although its use does not necessarily render the physician's skills and use of medication 'superfluous' as it appears to work in conjunction, making the medication more effective in treating the condition.[141]

The canon, however, fails to specify the efforts expected of a physician in attempting to coerce the sick to call a priest and confess. It is unclear what action the physician should take in the event of incompliance by the patient or in the face of an obvious lie; should the physician refuse to treat him, even if that results in the patient's death or should he simply proceed with medical efforts after a reasonable effort has been made to encourage the patient to avail of such spiritual measures? This problem remains unresolved at the very end of the Middle Ages as Pope Pius V renews the canon with clarification in *Super gregem*; he stipulates that a physician must cease treatment of a patient after three days if the patient does not produce a document signed by a confessor, confirming that he has confessed.[142] If this rule is disregarded, the physician will be severely punished in that he will no longer be permitted to practise and will be thrown out of his university or medical or surgical association.[143] The final section of this canon forbids the employment of immoral medical procedures by physicians: 'Man hatte vor allem 3 therapeutische Maßnahmen im Auge: die Verordnung des extramatrimoniellen Sexualverkehrs bzw. der Onanie, die Alkoholberauschung und die Überschreitung des Fastengebotes'.[144]

Prior to canon 22, the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor expresses the possibility of sin initiating sickness and the importance of confession in its treatment: 'Quia ergo constat, quod pro peccatis quandoque ægrotat homo, medicus visitans ægrum, primo debet eum monere ad pœnitentiam, et confessionem, ne peccato manente, tanquam ferro in vulnere, frustra sit malagma

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[140] Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 273.

[141] The duties of a priest when visiting an ailing Christian included sprinkling him with holy water, reciting particular prayers and inducing the individual to confess and to put his material affairs in order: Diepgen, 'Theologie' p. 50.

[142] This is interpreted by Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 277, as evidence that aspects of *cum infirmitas* were not widely enforced.

[143] R.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St Louis: Herder, 1957), p. 263f. See Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 277.

[144] Diepgen, 'Einfluß' p. 19 and *Theologie*, p. 57. From Galenic times, doctors saw a serious danger in the suppression of sexual urges, believing that certain fluids would become poisonous in the body if unreleased. Alcohol was believed to aid restoration of exhausted mental energy in the brain, while fasting interfered with dietary measures.

apponere' (*PL* 198:1567C). A tradition or statute also existed in certain hospitals, such as the hospital of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (1125-1153), which stipulated that all admitted patients were required to confess and receive communion before being led to a bed and receiving medical attention, perhaps indicating a belief in sickness as a cause of sin or a fear that the patient may die – spiritually unprepared – during treatment. Confession is also recommended by the Salernitan physician Archimatheus although a different rationale is evident here as he advises that physicians enquire whether the patient has confessed prior to treatment in order to prevent him becoming frightened and despairing of recovery should this be suggested at a later point during treatment.[145] The compulsion by physicians to ensure all patients confess, as stipulated in canon 22, removes the association with imminent death and resultant fear that the illness is fatal.[146]

Ill Christians also have certain obligations, which are outlined in Gratian's *Decretum* (c.23, qu. 4); this stipulates that a state of ill-health must not be ignored nor should one rely on a miracle; one must consult a physician and follow his advice. If a Christian recklessly ignores illness and dies, he will have committed a mortal sin: 'Der Verzicht auf Arzt und Arznei, die Faktoren, an die Gott den ordentlichen Weg der Genesung gebunden hat, ist eine schwere Sünde, unter Umständen dem Selbstmord gleich zu achten'.[147] Christians can only consult Catholic physicians as church councils forbade the services of Jewish doctors. Even accepting medications from a Jewish doctor was deemed reprehensible and consultation constituted an offence punishable by excommunication.[148] The Church justified this censorship as a means of protecting the soul of the patient, which could be endangered through such contact as Jewish practitioners might prevent dying Christians from receiving the last sacraments.[149] Although the Church acknowledges that sickness can be a consequence of sin, canon 22 is the only piece of canonical legislation to express this correlation. The insistence on confession is therefore a precautionary measure to ensure the spiritual health of the soul; this is the primary concern for the Church, particularly in the event of sickness as the patient could die without adequate spiritual preparation. This limits its application, and its inclusion as a causative factor of sickness cannot be extended as a blanket explanation by the Church for all suffering: 'Was alle Erörterungen wie ein roter Faden durchzieht, ist der Vergleich der Krankheit mit der Sünde und die Anwendung der theologischen Autoritäten und der theologischen Lehren über die kranke Seele auf den kranken Körper'.[150]

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[145] *Coll. Sal.* II, 74 as quoted by Diepgen, *Theologie*, pp.. 50-1 and ibid. 'Einfluß', p. 18.

[146] Further Christian obligations for the *medicus* include informing a dying patient of the terminal nature of his disease in order that he may repent his sins, and taking account of a patient's circumstances when demanding a fee for services: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2-2, 71, 4, vol. 38, p. 153; furthermore, the rich and poor should be treated even against their will as 'eine Pflicht der Caritas': Diepgen, 'Einfluß', p. 17; according to Joannes Teutonicus, the poor should be treated gratis rather than being left to die: *Glossa ordinaria* to the Gratian, *Decretum* D. 83, 1. Pars. Aquinas, however, restricts this obligation to those connected in any way to the physician (*propinqui*) or those who are really in a terrible state: *Summa theologiae*, 2-2, 71,1, vol. 38, p. 145.

[147] Gratian, *Decretum*, C.23, qu.5, c.9; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei Lib.*, I., cap. 17; Diepgen, 'Einfluß', p. 20; also: ibid., *Theologie* p. 12; Karl Sudhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin* (Leipzig: Barth, 1907-), IX, p. 44.

[148] Gratian, *Decretum*, C. 28, qu.1., c.13.; the Synod of Treves (1227) and the Synod of Albi (1254).

[149] Diepgen, *Theologie*, p. 20.

[150] Diepgen, *Theologie*, p. 59.

Summary

> It is not too strong to claim that within Christianity there was a fusion of secular and religious healing traditions. In its new context, Greco-Roman medicine would have to be accommodated to Christian ideas of divine omnipotence, providence, and miracles.[151]

This chapter highlights the complexity of religiously-determined reasoning for an onset of suffering in the Middle Ages. Through the brief overview of patristic writings, medieval commentaries and ecclesiastical legislation concerned with medicine, it is clear that medieval society did not view suffering simply as a consequence of sin. Additionally, the assumption of medieval Church hostility towards medicine appears unfounded despite the primacy of the soul over the body: '[...] no Christian document from the patristic period entirely condemns, *on theological grounds*, the Christian's use of physicians and medicine'.[152] Suffering is viewed in general as a consequence of the Fall and the existence of medicine and physicians as a divine gift to be employed in times of need. Ancient medical knowledge is preserved and transmitted through Christian writings together with a general recommendation to avail of Christian secular medicine and physicians in the event of ill-health. The understanding of disease and its treatment is essentially naturalistic and in line with the dominant aetiological theory of humoral pathology. Although it is maintained that demons can cause suffering, this association does not necessarily indicate an impetus of sin. Few religious measures are incorporated into suggested healing procedures although medical ethics are Christianised through the influence of the *caritas* shown by Jesus towards the sick.[153] The recommendation of employing faith and prayer in the case of incurable illness stresses the superiority of spiritual measures over secular ones.

Theological reasons for the onset of sickness are systematized in some patristic writings and medieval commentaries, although the issue is not clear-cut and no consensus emerges, as various systems incorporating two to twelve explanations exist. Although sin can cause suffering, the majority of outlined reasons tend to be positive rather than negative in terms of personal spirituality. The potential of sin as an impetus of sickness is stated in ecclesiastical legislation, in canon 22, *Cum infirmitas*, of the Fourth Lateran council, which advocates confession in order to eliminate this potential cause. Further laws restrict the study of medicine or surgical practise to some clerical members on account of certain dangers such as greed, neglect of spiritual duties, or the incurrence of guilt in the case of the death of a patient: 'But their belief in the sovereignty of God as the Final Cause, in his freedom to intervene in natural processes, and in the subtle trickery of evil powers that draw people away from God by healing them directly or luring them to rely on naturalistic models without reference to, or dependence on, him, motivated ecclesiastical authorities throughout the Middle Ages to subordinate medicine to the prevailing Christian

[151] Lindberg, p. 323.
[152] Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 7.
[153] Müller, p. 214.

construct of reality and to Christian ethics'.[154] Through a thorough analysis of the Bible and the chosen medieval corpus, I aim to demonstrate that a Christian anti-medical attitude did not prevail in the Middle Ages and that multiple religious reasons existed to explain the emergence of suffering; the number of reasons reflected in texts differ according to narrative type and will be described in the forthcoming chapters.

[154] Amundsen, *Medicine*, pp. 2-3.

3 THE PORTRAYAL OF MEDICINE, PHYSICIANS, AND NATURAL CAUSES OF DISEASE IN THE BIBLE AND IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

> The conflict between religion and science began in very early times.[1]

This chapter examines the portrayal of physicians and medicine in both the Bible and in the selected medieval corpus of texts. Modern scholarship differs as to the relationship of religion to medicine in both the OT and the NT. According to Rosner, and Clark Kee, physicians are presented in an overwhelmingly negative manner in the OT[2] while Seybold and Müller discern a 'skeptische, manchmal hart ablehnende Haltung gegenüber den Ärzten'.[3] Avalos goes even further with his claim that the consultation of such figures is forbidden in the OT: 'Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Israelite health-care system depicted in the canonical texts is the division into legitimate and illegitimate consultative options for the patient. This dichotomy is partly related to monolatry, insofar as illness and healing rest ultimately on Yahweh's control (Job 5.18) and insofar as non-Yahwistic options are prohibited [...] illegitimate options included consultants designated as "healers"'.[4] As regards the NT, Howard maintains that 'most references to physicians are uncomplimentary (as in Mark 5.25-26, more temperately put in Luke 8.43) or at best neutral'[5] while Matoušek argues that early Christianity rejected 'jede Wissenschaft und folglich auch die wissenschaftliche Medizin einfach als ein 'heidnisches Hirngespinst'.[6] Others such as Ferngren and Amundsen dispute this popular anti-medical stance of the NT: 'Nowhere in the NT is there even an implied condemnation of physicians and medicine or the rejection of naturalistic explanations of disease'.[7] In contrast to the Bible, there is little research on the portrayal of secular healers and medicine in medieval – particularly religious – literature. In line with the Bible, a general presumption exists that both are usually portrayed in a poor light in religious genres due to the perceived antagonistic attitude of the medieval Church towards medicine. Koller (36) maintains

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[1] Henry Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*, (Baltimore: Hopkins, 1944), p. 6.

[2] 'Elsewhere [apart from Gen 50.1-3] in the prophetic, historical, and wisdom traditions, however, physicians are portrayed in strictly negative terms.' Howard Clark Kee, *Medicine, Miracle, and Magic in New Testament Times*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1986), p. 17; 'Those physicians who called themselves rofé (lit. "healer") were foreigners, as a rule, and are mentioned in a derogatory fashion only', Fred Rosner, *Medicine in the Bible and the Talmud: Selections from Classical Jewish Sources*, Library of Jewish Laws and Ethics: 5 (New York: Yeshiva University, 1977), p. 7.

[3] Klaus Seybold and Ulrich B. Müller, *Krankheit und Heilung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978), p. 88; cf. ibid., p. 87: 'Im Zusammenhang mit dem »Heilungsmonopol Jahwes« steht die Skepsis, ja Ablehnung des ärztlichen Handelns im Judentum'.

[4] Hector Ignacio Avalos, 'Medicine', in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, ed. by Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. 507-09 (p. 508).

[5] J. Keir Howard, 'Medicine and the Bible', in ibid. pp. 509-10 (pp. 509-10).

[6] Early Christianity rejected medicine 'weil in den Augen der ersten Christen die medizinische Wissenschaft natürliche Eingriffe in die Krankheit mit sich brachte, die das Christentum als ein übernatürliches Phänomen ansah, durch den Willen Gottes hervorgerufen wurde', Matoušek, p. 76.

[7] Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, 'The Perception of Disease and Disease Causality in the New Testament', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang in der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, ed. by Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), XXXVII, pp. 2935-55 (p. 2952). Also idem, 'Medicine and Christianity in the Roman Empire: Compatibilities and Tensions' in ibid., pp. 2957-79 (p. 2965): 'There was nothing in Hippocratic medicine that was antithetical to Christian theology or practice'; Gerhard Fichtner, 'Christus als Arzt. Ursprünge und Wirkungen eines Motivs', in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien: Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster*, ed. by Karl Hauck (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), XVI, pp. 1-18 (p. 2): 'Das Christentum ist in einer Umwelt entstanden, die dem Arzt hohe Achtung bezeugte'.

such hostility constitutes a typical trait of legendary discourse: 'Wie es in der Legende üblich ist, besteht eine Opposition zwischen dem heilenden Gott und den weltlichen Ärzten'. This chapter re-examines healing narratives in the Bible and in a variety of religious and secular medieval texts for evidence of condemnation of physicians, of those who consult such figures, or those who employ secular healing methods.

3.1 Medicine in the Bible

> Melior est pauper sanus et fortis viribus quam dives inbecillis et flagellatus malitia / salus animae in sanctitate iustitiae et melior omni auro et argento et corpus validum quam census inmensus / non est census super censum salutis corporis et non est oblectatio super cordis gaudium (Sir 30.14-16)

As emphasis in the Bible lies on religious rather than medical interpretations of sickness, descriptions of disease and suffering tend to be broad and imprecise, and incorporate both literal and figurative usage of these concepts. Nonetheless, a considerable amount of medical detail is present in the OT, which implies an underlying acceptance of natural causes at least for some ailments, particularly those due to the actions of human beings.[8] Biblical law, as detailed in Leviticus, focuses on '[...] preventative medicine and physical and mental hygiene as applied to the individual, the family, the people, and society in general' and includes preventative and diagnostic measures for infectious diseases and epidemics, and health measures such as the obligatory weekly day of rest for both workers and cattle.[9]

The knowledge and availability of medicinal plants such as mandrake (Gn 30.14-16), constitutes a divine gift[10] and figurative reference is made in books Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah to knowledge on the setting of fractures, and various medications and treatments such as balm, ointments, dressings and bandages.[11] Additionally, the prophet Elisha (III Rg 2.19-22 and 4.39-41) prescribes antidotes against poison in the form of salt or meal. Good physical health is valued by

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[8] 'Although the Bible is not a medical text, its historical information, laws and precepts, and even its wording, yield an abundant harvest of information concerning the structure of the human body, diseases, injuries, cures, and, above all, preventative and sanitary procedures', Rosner, p. 4; W.H.R. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic and Religion* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 7, sees ethnologically three chief classes of disease causation: 1. through human agency, 2. through spiritual or supernatural beings, and 3. through natural causes.

[9] Rosner, p. 7. He also maintains that 213 of the 613 biblical commandments and prohibitions consist of health regulations in the form of ceremonial rites, p. 9. However, although the Levitical Code aids the health and survival of the Israelites, its main aim is to restore religious purity of the body 'in order to restore it to proper relationship with the people of the covenant'.

[10] 'ipse enim mihi dedit horum quae sunt scientiam veram ut sciam dispositionem orbis terrarum et virtutes elementorum [...] naturas animalium et iras bestiarum vim ventorum et cogitationes hominum differentias arborum et virtutes radicum' Sap 7.17-20; also Ez 47.12.

[11] Cf. following metaphors: Is 1.6: 'a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas vulnus et livor et plaga tumens non est circumligata nec curata medicamine neque fota oleo'; also Ez 30.21; Ier 51.8. Ier 8.22 and 46.11 refers to the ineffectiveness of the balm of Gilead to heal the mortal wound of the people and although it does not mention its ineffectiveness as regards illness, Clark Kee, p. 17, identies 'an implication of the inherent worthlessness of physicians and their effort at cures'.

Ben Sirach,[12] who highlights lifestyle choices detrimental to health such as a poor or inappropriate diet, overeating, persistent drunkenness, and destructive emotions such as jealousy, anger and anxiety:

> fili in vita tua tempta animam tuam et si fuerit nequam non des illi potestatem / non enim omnia omnibus expediunt et non omni animae omne genus placet / noli avidus esse in omni epulatione et non te effundas super omnem escam / in multis enim escis erit infirmitas et aplestia adpropinquabit usque ad cholera / propter aplestiam multi obierunt qui autem abstinens est adiciet vitam (Sir. 37.30-34)[13]

He suggests some countermeasures, such as inducing vomiting after overindulgence in food, and also underlines the prophylactic benefits of a moderate consumption of wine.[14] However, while most of the remedies outlined in the OT are perhaps capable of mending broken bones or healing injuries, they were probably ineffective in treating internal or complicated conditions.[15] Only one surgical operation – circumcision – is mentioned in the Bible although in this instance, it is performed as a symbol of Israel's covenant with God rather than as a prophylactic or hygienic measure.[16]

3.2 Secular Healers in the Bible

> Est enim tempus quando in manus eorum incurras / ipsi vero Dominum deprecabuntur ut dirigat requiem eorum et sanitatem propter conversationem illorum (Sir 38.13-14)

In line with Israelite monotheism, God is the only true healer of sickness portrayed in the OT; within this divine context of curing, traditional healers such as physicians are portrayed more as healing helpers to God rather than as independent medics.[17] Medical skills and treatments constitute a divine gift bestowed upon physicians to heal or to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and, as such, they reflect the greatness of God rather than the power of humanity. In this role, they are to be honoured and indeed, the non-canonical book Ecclesiasticus 38 (Sirach) urges respect for the services of physicians in 'a passage that contains the most straightforward praise of earthly

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[12] This can be seen in the maxim: 'ante iudicium para iustitiam tibi et antequam loquaris disce', Sir 18.19. Cf. Sir 18.21, which associates sickness with sin.

[13] Cf. Sir 30.24.

[14] See Sir 31.32-5.

[15] Josef Scharbert, 'Krankheit II: Altes Testament' in *TRE*, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), XIX, pp. 680-683, p. 681; Rosner, p. 7.

[16] Gn 17.12; Lv 12.3; Lk 1.59, 2.21; Phil 3.5. See J.A. Thompson, *Handbook of Life in Bible Times* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1986), p. 273.

[17] Cf. Heinrich Greeven, *Krankheit und Heilung nach dem Neuen Testament*, Lebendige Wissenschaft, 8 (Stuttgart: Kreuz, 1948), p. 22: 'Der Arzt darf daraus das Bewußtsein schöpfen, dass er in seiner beruflichen Arbeit zu einem Heilswerkzeug Gottes werden soll'. Also Rosner, p. 7. With this concept of physicians, it is difficult to see that Jesus 'scheint damit nun tatsächlich den Ärzten Konkurrenz zu machen', as maintained by Fridolf Kudlien, 'Der Arzt des Körpers und der Arzt der Seele', *Clio Medica*, 3 (1968) 1-20 (p. 9).

medicine anywhere in the Bible'.[18] This book, although not officially part of the Jewish canon, was usually regarded as canonical throughout the Middle Ages[19] and is generally interpreted as divine permission to practise medicine and to consult physicians in the event of ill-health.[20]

> honora medicum propter necessitatem etenim illum creavit Altissimus / a Deo est omnis medella et a rege accipiet dationem / disciplina medici exaltabit caput illius et in conspectu magnatorum conlaudabitur / Altissimus creavit de terra medicinam et vir prudens non abhorrebit illi / nonne a ligno indulcata est amara aqua / ad agnitionem hominum virtutis illorum et dedit homini scientiam Altissimus honorari in mirabilibus suis / in his curans mitigavit dolorem et unguentarius facit pigmentum suavitatis et unctiones conficiet suavitatis et non consummabuntur opera eius / pax enim Dei super faciem terrae (Sir 38.1-8)[21]

Despite this description of a model physician and the explicit permission granted to the Israelites to avail of such assistance, the OT contains no secular embodiment of this archetype or indeed any narratives of successful healing attained through such figures. This absence need not necessarily indicate an 'Abwertung' of the medical profession[22] and is perhaps unsurprising in view of the purpose of the Bible: 'Die wenigen Erzählungen über Heilung von Krankheiten betrachten die Heilung als nicht durch menschliche Heilkunst erfolgt, sondern als durch göttliche Kraft bedingte Wunder eines Gottesmannes (II Reg 5), selbst wenn er sich zusätzlich natürlicher Heilmittel bedient (II Reg 20; Jes 38.16-20), oder als Heilung durch Gott infolge von Fürbitte eines von Gott Erwählten (Gen 20.17 f.) oder als Wunder eines Engels (Tob 11.7-15) oder als Heilung von Aussatz und wunderbare Totenerweckungen durch einen Gottesmann (I Reg 17.17-24; II Reg 4f.)'.[23] In contrast to the Middle Ages, there appears to be no evidence of OT priests operating simultaneously as either doctors or surgeons with the Levites functioning instead as implementers of the purification rites as detailed in Leviticus:[24] 'In this capacity, priests were involved in various procedures for purifying those contaminated by childbirth, leprosy, seminal discharge,

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[18] Paxton, p. 241.

[19] See Paxton, p. 22; also Alexander A. Di Lella. 'Sirach' in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, ed. by Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. 697-99, p. 698.

[20] Some such as Wilhelm Ebstein, *Die Medizin im alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1901), p. 163, believe this: 'In diesen Worten Jesus, des Sohnes Sirachs, liegt sehr viel Beherzigenswertes, auch betreffs der Wertschätzung der Aerzte'. Others, however, such as Wilhelm Th. in der Smitten, 'Patient und Arzt: Die Welt des Kranken im Alten Testament', *Janus*, 61 (1974), 103-129, p. 111, interpret aspects of this passage as derogatory towards doctors: 'Diese Abwertung der *roy'ym* scheint auch in einer Passage bei Jesus Sirach (38, 1-15) durchzuschimmern'.

[21] However, in order to be effective, the healing process must include prayer, repentance and offerings. This aspect is dealt with in chapter 5.

[22] Cf. Seybold and Müller, p. 17.

[23] Scharbert, p. 683.

[24] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion: Pre-Christian Antiquity', in *Health / Medicine and the Faith Traditions: An Inquiry into Religion and Medicine*, ed. by Martin E. Marty and Kenneth L. Vaux (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), pp. 53-92 (p. 65). I can find no evidence that 'priests were the custodians of medical knowledge', as claimed by Friedenwald, p. 6.

menstruation, and contact with a cadaver'.[25] There are no surviving Jewish medical writings from this period; moreover, it is uncertain whether a distinct Jewish medical profession existed at all at this time although the Israelites must have possessed a basic knowledge of the treatment of wounds and the use of herbs.[26] Hebrew midwives were available[27] in addition to foreign physicians, such as those from Egypt, who were entitled to a fee.[28] Nevertheless, the main function of physicians probably involved the treatment of wounds and the embalming of corpses rather than the healing of disease.[29] In contrast to the OT, there is very little information in the NT on medicine or its practitioners although Luke was according to tradition a physician before becoming a disciple and is favourably referred to as 'Lucas medicus carissimus': 'Lucas blieb ihr [der Kirche] der geliebteste Arzt und als solcher zugleich das lebendige Wahrzeichen, dass Christenthum und Heilkunde sehr wohl zusammengehen'.[30]

When references concerning injuries caused by violence are excluded, only one OT character, King Asa, and one NT individual, an unnamed female, seek medical assistance when experiencing ill-health in the Vulgate; in the Septuagint, however, Tobias is also described as seeking medical assistance. King Asa suffers from possible gangrene of the feet in his old age[31] and although he consults physicians, the condition remains unhealed and finally results in death:

> aegrotavit etiam Asa anno tricesimo nono regni sui dolore pedum vehementissimo et nec in infirmitate sua quaesivit Dominum sed magis in medicorum arte confisus est / dormivitque cum patribus suis et mortuus est anno quadragesimo primo regni sui (II Par 16.12-13)

The reason for the failure of physicians to heal him is unclear but this passage is generally interpreted by biblical scholars as a condemnation of those who place their trust in medicine rather than in God: '2 Chr 16,12 macht dem König Asa (914-874) zum Vorwurf, daß er ärztliche Hilfe

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[25] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 65; In der Smitten refers to this Levite responsibility as a 'gesundheitspolizeiliche Zuständigkeit', p. 109. See Lv 12 (childbirth); 13 and 14 (skin-diseases); 15 (Sexual impurities) and 21 (purification of priests).

[26] ' J.Z. Baruch, 'The Social Position of the Physician in Ancient Israel', *Janus* 51 (1964), 161-168 (p. 162): 'From ancient Israel we do not know such collections of medical experiences, prescriptions and advices. Classical Hebrew medical writings are not known, the writings ancient Israel has left are primarily religious ones, codes of law with a historical, ethical and religious background and basis'; cf. Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', pp. 67–68: 'Not until the intertestamental period do we have evidence for a Jewish medical profession'.

[27] See Ex 1.15; the dangers of giving birth are highlighted in Gn 35.17-18.

[28] 'Ancient Egypt was renowned for its knowledge and skill of medicine', *The New Combined Bible Dictionary and Concordance*, intro by Charles F. Pfeiffer (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1961; repr. 1974), p. 290. Ex 21.18-19 indicates that medics may be employed and are entitled to a fee in its stipulation that in the case of a quarrel, the injured party will have his treatment costs covered by the perpetrator.

[29] King Jerhoram returns from Rama to Jezreel in order to get treatment for his battle injuries: IV Rg 8.29, 9.15, and II Par 22.6; Jacob had Egyptian physicians in his service, who were called upon after Jacob's death by his son Joseph to embalm his corpse: Gn 50.26. The existence of wound doctors is referred to figuratively on occasion: cf. Is 3.7; Ez 30.21. See in der Smitten, p. 108; Johannes Hempel, *Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit in biblischen Schriften*, 2nd rev. edn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), p. 238.

[30] Cf. Col. 4.14; II Tim 4.14. Luke does not seem to use his medicinal skills in the NT to bring about healing but there is nothing to suggest, as Kudlien, pp. 11-12, claims, that Luke renounced medicine because it was 'profane' or incompatible with religion. Kudlien maintains that if Luke continued, this would be 'die krasseste Reaktion, mit der ein Arzt sich dem Dualismus und seinen geistigen Auswirkungen beugen konnte'.

[31] See W.R.F. Browning, *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), p. 248, and Amundsen and Ferngren 'Medicine and Religion', p. 67.

einholte, statt sich in seiner Krankheit an JHWH zu wenden'.[32] However, nothing in the passage indicates disparagement of his actions or of physicians; the medic consulted is unnamed, with neither a mention of his character (good or bad) nor of his therapies. The absence of divine disapproval appears odd especially when contrasted with a similar account, that of Ahaziah, king of Israel, who sends messengers to Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron, upon sustaining injuries in a fall, to enquire whether he will recover or not. The consultation of spirits and heathen gods, in addition to various forms of magic such as augury, witchcraft, divination, soothsaying and sorcery, are expressly forbidden in the OT[33] and condemnation is expressed clearly and immediately through Elijah, who is promptly despatched by an angel to inform the messengers on their way to Baal-Zebub that Ahaziah will die from his injuries as a consequence of this sinful reaction: 'angelus autem Domini locutus est ad Heliam Thesbiten surge ascende in occursum nuntiorum Regis Samariae et dices ad eos num quid non es Deus in Israhel ut eatis ad consulendum Beelzebub deum Accaron' (IV Rg 1.3). Surely if the action of consulting a physician was as repugnant to God as that of resorting to gods, some criticism would be implied in the narrative?

For Amundsen and Ferngren, the death of King Asa indicates divine objection to the consultation of a particular type of physician – that of non-religious ones – as they believe that the medics King Asa consulted were probably foreign and therefore employed magico-religious methods of healing rather than those consistent with Jewish religious principles and it is for this reason rather than the engagement of physicians *per se* that he dies.[34] However, neither Asa nor Ahaziah combine religious measures with medicinal ones, as suggested in Sirach 38, nor do they reflect upon potential spiritual causes for their suffering. Through their secular or heathen response to sickness, they deny their dependence on God and the possibility of a divine purpose to the suffering in addition to disregarding the ultimate healing power of God.[35] Their attempts therefore fail and both die. In his commentary on Asa, Origen includes both possibilities: Asa dies as a consequence of employing a physician, who uses charms and trickery, or through placing his faith in the physician alone and not in God: 'Qui enim religione sunt præditi, utuntur quidem medicis tanquam ministris Dei, scientes quod et medicam scientiam ipse largitus est hominibus, quemadmodum et reliquas, herbas quoque ipse de terra germinare edixit. Sciunt tamen nihilominus, nihil posse medicorum artem Deo nolente, sed tantum posse, quantum Deus vult'.[36]

The Septuagint describes Tobias, like Asa, consulting physicians without incorporating any spiritual reflection or measures in his attempt to procure healing. White spots grow on his eyes,

[32] In der Smitten, p. 111. Cf. 'It is said disparagingly of King Asa of Judah (2 Chron. 16.12) that he sought healing not from God but from (foreign) physicians', Rosner, p. 7; also: Scharbert, p. 681; J.Z. Baruch, 'The Relationship between Sin and Disease in the Old Testament', *Janus* 51 (1964), 295-302 (p. 299); Clark Kee, p. 17; Rupert E. Davis, 'Medical Science Before Christ' in *Religion and Medicine*: *Essays by Members of the Methodist Society for Medical and Pastoral Psychology*, ed. by John Crowlesmith (London: Epworth, 1962), pp. 1-17 (p. 6); James Hastings, ed., 'Medicine', in *Dictionary of the Bible*, rev. by Frederick C. Grant and H. H. Rowley (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1963), pp. 637-41 (p. 637); Seybold and Müller, pp. 33-34; Hempel, p. 284.

[33] Such actions will be punished: Lv 20.6: 'anima quae declinaverit ad magos et ariolos et fornicata fuerit cum eis ponam faciem meam contra eam et interfeciam illam de medio populi sui'. Cf.: Lv 19.31; Lv 20.27; Dt 18.10-12.

[34] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 67.

[35] See Howard, p. 5: '[...] consulting a physician for help could be construed as denial of the primary role of God and evidence of lack of faith in him, as well as lack of willingness to acknowledge personal sin'.

[36] *Origenis Adnotationes in Librum III Regum* 15:23, in *PG* 17.53-55.

resulting in partial sight loss, which the physicians treat with ointment; this therapy causes more spots to appear and concludes in total blindness (Tb 2.10). Tobias suffers this condition for four years until he responds spiritually (see Chapter 5). His failure to secure healing from purely secular sources could stem from his initial lack of a spiritual response or his employment of a gentile physician. Alternatively, it could be in accordance with divine will that Tobias be miraculously cured without the involvement of a medic; this is the case with Job, who, unlike Tobias, has no confidence in physicians or secular medicine and rejects such services from the onset: 'prius vos ostendens fabricatores mendacii et cultores perversorum dogmatum' (Iob 13.4).[37] Job continuously seeks healing or death from God as an end to his pain but he is healed when he repents such demands and acknowledges the unfathomable nature of divine providence (see Chapter 5).

The solitary NT account of an individual consulting a physician concerns an unnamed woman who has been suffering from a haemorrhage for twelve years. This is recounted in the gospels of Mark and Luke with both detailing the condition and its duration; after this they differ. Luke adds that the woman spent all her money on treatment but no-one could cure her (Lc 8.43), an aspect Fenner (81) claims shows together with Lc 4,23 'ausgesprochenen Spott über die damalige ärztliche Kunst'.[38] In contrast to Luke, Mark elaborates, detailing the long and painful treatment the woman underwent under various physicians and the fact that – like Tobias and Asa – such treatments worsened rather than improved her condition: 'et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis annis duodecim et fuerat multa perpessa a conpluribus medicis et erogaverat omnia sua nec quicquam profecerat sed magis deterius habebat' (Mc 5.25-26). Although both narratives stress the incurability of the condition and the expense medical treatment entailed, these factors do not necessarily constitute criticism of the medical profession as asserted by Fenner (81): 'Ihr Können wurde vom Volk gering eingeschätzt, Mk. 5,26. [...] auch wenn die in der Stelle erwähnte Verschlimmerung des Leidens trotz oder infolge ärztlicher Behandlung als volkstümliche, noch heute überall anzutreffende Beurteilung der ärztlichen Tätigkeit anzusprechen ist'. Medicine is incapable of curing all disease (cf. Dt 28.27) and it is this factual limitation that is underlined here; futhermore, as outlined in the OT, physicians are entitled to a fee for their services, regardless of whether they prove effective or not.[39] While there is no comment on the character or the abilities of the consulted medics, there is also no hostility towards medicine or criticism of the woman's reliance on physicians. The woman hoped for a medical cure and consulted various perseverant physicians over the years.[40] Their failure to heal highlights the tremendous power of Jesus, who as

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[37] Browning, p. 295, interprets this rejection as confirmation of the lack of respect for such healers in Palestine during this period; Rosner, p. 7, however, believes it is because the physicians are idolatrous.

[38] Fenner, Friedrich, *Die Krankheit im Neuen Testament: Eine religions- und medizingeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 18 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930), p. 110, also interpretes this account as proof that Luke was not a doctor: 'Wäre der Verfasser ein Arzt, so wäre dieser ausgesprochene Spott über die damalige ärztliche Kunst unmöglich'.

[39] Gary B. Ferngren and Darrel W. Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity in the Roman Empire: Compatibilities and Tensions', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römanischen Welt*, ed. by Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 2957-80 (p. 2958): '[...] many diseases were virtually untreatable, particularly chronic disorders that were painful but not fatal'.

[40] Confidence in the skills of physicians is also expressed in their figurative use by Jesus in Mt 9.12: '[...] non est opus valentibus medico sed male habentibus'.

the ultimate healer succeeds where these secular healers founder (see Chapter 4): Jesus 'appears to be in no way hostile to secular healing [...] The remark regarding the doctors' inability to cure the woman with the bloody flux merely shows Jesus' superiority'.[41]

In successful healing accounts in both the OT and the NT, the key to healing does not lie in a combination of religious measures and medical advice as envisaged by Sirach but frequently in belief or a submission to divine will. While physicians are excluded from the healing process, medical substances and therapies are occasionally incorporated by divine healers or mediators. Such assimilation implies an attitude of acceptance rather than rejection of medicine and, according to Ferngren and Amundsen, in the OT 'in all but one recorded instance of healing by a prophet, some "natural" if not necessarily empirical, supplementary means were employed'.[42] This integration of medicinal-type substances in supernatural cures will be dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5. Additional to this, the popular metaphoric use of the physician in referring to Christ (*Christus Medicus*)[43] and the frequent use of medical analogies in early Christian and patristic writings indicate a positive attitude towards secular healers and medicine: '[...] the ideal of the compassionate physician provides an analogy for Jesus that would be difficult to account for if early Christianity viewed medicine unfavourably'.[44] According to Edelstein, their use gave 'a prominent place to the analogy of body and soul, to the similarity between the training of the body and the discipline of the soul, to the consideration of medicine as a counterpart of ethics'.[45] Furthermore, the assumption of the human form by Christ together with the NT idea of the resurrection of the body challenge the image of the body as evil: 'Certainly early Christian teaching regarding the Incarnation and the resurrection of the body stood in marked contrast to the Greek dualism that viewed the material world as evil and sought to purify the soul by denying the body'.[46]

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[41] Owsei Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians* (Baltimore: Hopkins, 1991), p. 104. f. Seybold and Müller, p. 87: 'Es gehört geradezu zur Typik der Wundererzählungen, vom Versagen der Ärzte zu sprechen, um die Kraft des Heilgottes um so heller strahlen zu lassen'.

[42] 'Medicine and Religion', p. 54; except for the brass serpent employed by Moses, as directed by God, to heal those Israelites suffering from poisonous snake bites: Nm 21.9.

[43] This was a prominent theme in the early church but its use is mainly metaphoric, referring to Jesus as healer of afflictions of the soul and only rarely of diseases of the body. Hieronymus refers to Christ as 'magister medicorum' in *Comm. in Ecclesiasten VII*, 20.21, *PL* 23, 1123. Fichtner, p. 7, states that 'Christus als Erlöser ist Christus der Arzt'. See: Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Exeter: Paternoster, 1985), 3:214-215; Kudlien, p. 9.

[44] Ferngren and Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity', p. 2965; cf. Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 133: '[...] they [the church fathers] inherited and exploited to the fullest the positive metaphoric value of the idea of the physician as one who unselfishly succors the ill, enduring unpleasant tasks in caring for the unhealthy, often administering necessarily painful means for effecting a cure, or helping people maintain health through regimen', and Fichtner, pp.10-13: 'Die große Hochachtung vor der medizinischen Wissenschaft drückt sich darin aus, daß auch Einzelheiten ärztlichen Handelns für würdig erachtet werden, das zentrale Thema der Soteriologie zu erläutern und anschaulich zu machen [...] Indirekt wird aus all dem die Hochachtung vor der Medizin deutlich'.

[45] Ludwig Edelstein, 'The Relation of Ancient Philosophy to Medicine', in *Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, ed. by Owsei Temkin and C. Lilian Temkin (Baltimore: Hopkins, 1967), p. 360.

[46] Ferngren and Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity', p. 2963; cf. G.B. Ferngren, 'The Imago Dei and the Sanctity of Life: The Origins of an Idea', in *Euthanasia and the Newborn: Conflicts Regarding Saving Lives*, ed. by Richard C. McMillan and others (Lancaster: Reidel, 1987), pp. 23-45.

Summary

> Im Zusammenhang mit dem »Heilungsmonopol Jahwes« steht die Skepsis, ja Ablehnung des ärztlichen Handels im Judentum.[47]

Health is valued in the OT with basic hygiene and preventative medicine incorporated into Biblical laws; various natural origins of sickness such as life-style choices are cited although the suggested remedies would be ineffective in treating internal or complicated disease. The availability of medicine and physicians constitute divine blessings and as such, it is acceptable for a Jew to employ them; they therefore perform a healing role within Judaism.[48] I find no evidence to suggest 'a radical shift in attitude towards physicians' in Sirach 38 as maintained by Clark Kee (18); he claims that physicians are no longer portrayed as 'opponents of God' here but at no point in the Bible are physicians described negatively or is their consultation condemned: 'There is nothing suggested by ben Sira that is in any way discordant with the attitudes enunciated in the Old Testament. But ben Sira enlarges upon earlier principles and attempts to resolve the tension that might be thought to exist between a reliance upon God and the use of natural means that were primarily acquired from pagan sources'.[49]

Despite the portrayal of an archetypal physician in Sirach, no successful cures are attained through physicians in either the OT or the NT. Few characters consult physicians in the Vulgate and those that do are not cured through secular means, if at all. Despite this absence of successful secular healings, there is no evidence of a critical attitude towards this profession, or of a frequent 'fierce competition' between prophets and physicians as proposed by Avalos (508). Moreover, the integration of secular therapies with sacred healings indicates that religion viewed medicine more as a complimentary force rather than as a competitive one.[50] By the 2nd century BC there were ample Jewish practitioners in both Palestine and abroad, who 'appeared to have adopted Greek rational-speculative medicine insofar as it was not antithetical to Jewish religious principles'.[51] The failure of secular medicine in the Bible underlines the greater purpose and power of God, highlighting the possibility of a divine purpose to suffering and the necessity of seeking His assistance in such instances. It is sinful to place all one's faith in physicians, not only 'since when they are effective, it is only because their efficacy comes from God, who can heal without them' (cf. Os 5.13-15),[52] but also because medicinal efforts attempted without any spiritual measures on behalf of the patient could be viewed as useless or even sinful in the sense that he could be interfering with divine will, as God may have imposed illness for a particular purpose, e.g. as

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[47] Seybold and Müller, p. 87.
[48] I do not agree with Clark Kee, p. 17: '[…] Yahweh is indeed the restorer and orderer of human life, individually and corporately, and no human agency, least of all physicians, can solve problems, alleviate sufferings, or cure ills'.
[49] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 69.
[50] However, 'the efficacy of the Israelite prophets resided more in their relationship with God than in technical expertise', Avalos, p. 308.
[51] Ibid, p. 144.
[52] Amundsen, *Medicine*, p. 143. Cf. Sir 38.2; Weish 7.20; 'timentis Dominum beata est anima eius' Sir 34.17

punishment, chastisement or test (See Chapter 5). Rather than disparaging secular healers or medicine, such narratives encourage spiritual reflection and the inclusion of religion as a therapeutic agency.

3.3 Natural, Magical, and Superstitious Causes of Suffering in the Medieval Corpus

> [...] uon div daz der mennessce gebildet ist uz uier zuhtsalen: uon der erde, uon dem wazzere, uon deme lufte, uon deme uiure. Von der erde wart ime gegeben der lîb, uon dem wazzere daz blot, uon dem lufte der mot, uon deme uiure der geist (*SE*, 66, p. 150)

Many characters in the chosen corpus fall ill or are ill, sometimes repeatedly, without explanation or interpretation, and include both pious and wicked figures comprehending saints, pilgrims, crusade knights, priests, monks, nuns, prelates, friars, bishops, kings, or usurers.[53] Nevertheless, natural causes of suffering are frequently highlighted. Injuries occur often and are sustained in various ways such as in battle, in joust, through physical force, torture or religious persecution, deception, accident, or wild animal attacks or as a punishment for crime or religious disobedience: 'Festinans itaque ad locum vidit beatissimos martires, alium suspensum pedes igne supposito, alium in quatuor lignis extensum et diutissime afflictum, alium ungulis exaratum, alium manibus abscissum, alium stipitem in collo habentem affixum' (*LA*, LXXI, p. 317).[54] The focus of this section is, however, on the source of disease as opposed to injury, and a belief in a natural rather than a supernatural causation of disease is apparent throughout the majority of the texts of the corpus. It is recognised that disease, suffering (particularly in childbirth), and death are part of human existence as a consequence of the Fall: 'Ex vitio primi hominis omnis tentatio est et infirmitas. Septem ex culpa illius contraximus poenalitates, esuriem videlicet, sitim, frigus, calorem, lassitudinem, infirmitatem, mortem' (*DM*, IV/XXX, p. 199).[55] In addition, the *DM* expresses the ancient theory that the four humours of the human body, blood, gall, bile and phlegm, agree with the four elements, earth, water, air and fire, from which according to the *SE*, the physical being is formed (as quoted above).[56] Old age is associated with physical weakness, suffering and disease, and in the *DM* and the *LA* dying is usually coupled with bitter pain – regardless of the state of the soul – as the soul battles against its separation from the body: 'In

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[53] Saints: *LA*, XXVI, p. 125; *LA*, XXVII, p. 134; knights on crusade: *DM*, IV, XV, p. 186; priests: *DM*, III/XXIV, p. 140; monks: *DM*, I/XXXV, p. 44; *LA*, CXXIV, p. 563; church provost: *LA*, CXXIV, p. 564; prelates: *LA*, IX/LV, p. 209; friar: *LA*, LXIII, p. 286; nuns: *LA*, LXIII, p. 288; *LA*, LXIII, p.290; bishops : *LA*, CXXIV, p. 557; *LA*, CLXXXI, p. 843; kings: *SV*, CCXXXVII, p. 231; *KC*, 13683-85; queen: *KC*, v. 2754-5; userers: *DM*, II/XXXI, p. 104.

[54] Cf. battle: *EM*, 94, p. 309; *Parz.*, 38:4-5, p. 68; joust/duel: *SV*, LXXXV, p. 171; *Eng*, 2620-25; physical force: *SE*, 29, p. 75; *KC*, v. 15443; punishment: *EM*, 76, p. 294; *DM*, II/XXXV, p. 108; *LA*, CXXXI, p. 593; religious disobedience: *LA*, XLIX, p. 206; domestic violence: *SV*, CCXXII; torture: *LA*, XXXIX, p. 171; torture attempts; *KC*, v. 5565-66; bad food: *SV*, CLXIII, p. 202; *LA*, XLV, p. 188; deception: *SV*, CXCIII, p. 211; accident: *EM*, 211, p. 411; *DM*, X/LXVII, p. 262; animal attacks: *LA*, CII, p. 440; snake-bite: *LA*, CXXX, p. 582.

[55] Cf. *SE*, 2, p. 11; *EM*, 89, p. 30; *SV*, LIX, p. 159; 'putredo namque et vermis humanae est opprobrium conditionis' *LA*, CXIX, p. 511, cf. *LA*, CXIX, p. 526; birthpangs: *LA*, CXIX, p. 523.

[56] *DM*: XII/LVI, p. 359: 'Corpus constat ex quatuor complexionibus, id est sanguine, colera, melancolia, flecmate; quae cum quatuor elementis concordant. Sanguis concordat cum aere, colera cum igne, melancolia cum terra, flecma cum aqua. Est adhuc alia horum cum aetatibus et temporibus concordantia [...]'.

Claravelle ante hos undecim annos monachus quidam Henricus nomine defunctus est, vir grandaevus et sanctus, corpore quidem contractus et confracus, sed corde multum diffusus ac dilatatus. Multas hic habebat a Deo consolationes' (*DM*, I/XVI, p. 22).[57]

Various factors are held responsible for disease, including among others, poverty, hazardous material, specific weather conditions, contagion, lifestyle, and extreme emotions. A story in the *EM* connects ill health with an impoverished lifestyle, and blindness to working with manure: 'Ego continuis laboribus in fimo et vapore totus cecus factus sum. Aly hoc audientes nolebant narrare propter enormitatem sceleris uel alia de causa' (76, p. 294).[58] Both the *LA* and the *EM* associate sickness with an ingestion of poison such as hellebore, and the *DM* blames specific weather conditions such as the north wind for ill-health, and cold weather in particular for the aged.[59] The *EM* recognizes the contagious nature of particular diseases such as leprosy, and the *LA* links ill health or severe headaches to overexertion or long travels in hot weather.[60] Several texts such as *Parz*, the *KC*, and *Eng* portray sunstroke as a consequence of excessive heat, which can cause death on occasion: 'Swâ die wârn des velles dach, / in blanker varwe er daz sach: / daz ander leit von sunnen nôt' (*Parz*, 257:15-17).[61] According to the *LA* and the *DM*, excessive crying can, additional to causing the eyes to redden and swell, impair vision, cause blindness or indeed damage the brain.[62]

In the *DM*, melancholy is attributed to a disturbance of the mind, and madness to the passing of certain material into the brain: 'Magister Mauritius Parisiensis Episcopus ante mortem suam tam graviter infirmatus est, ut materia rapta in cerebrum, sensum ei subtraxerit' (IX/XLIII, p. 199).[63] Temporary or permanent madness can also be brought about by extreme emotions such as intolerable grief, extreme fear, or excessive anger, joy, lust or love.[64] Distress or shock can result in self-harm, cause one to faint or in extreme cases to die.[65] An excess of joy is reported in the *LA* to cause a chill and a contraction of nerves and muscles, leading to a partial paralysis.[66] A bad conscience together with a fear of divine retribution can also be the basis of ill health with even the burden of knowledge as regards the sins of another culminating in sickness: '[...] timens etiam quotidie iudicium Dei super se, intus torquebatur morsu conscientiae, et foris tabescebat in corpore' (*DM*, II/X, p. 75).[67] Constant suffering can lead to a depressed state while the continuous care of the sick in the *LA* or even the sustained sight of the ill in *Parz* results in weariness in spirit.[68] Several instances of love-sickness are detailed in *Parz*, affecting men and women. It is initiated by

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[57] Cf. *Parz*, 501:26-27; *KC*, 3957; agony of death: *DM*, VII/XXXII, p. 41.
[58] Poverty: *EM*, 180, p. 372.
[59] Poison: *LA*, CLXVI, p. 743; *EM*, 157, p. 351; weather conditions: *DM*, I/IV, p. 11 and VI/V, p. 347.
[60] 'Cui postea vxor eius intoxicata propinans lepra inficit', *EM*, 138, p. 340; hot weather : *LA*, XCIX, p. 428, and CXXXVIII, p. 619.
[61] Cf. *KC*, 16732-33; *Eng*, 4864-71.
[62] Cf. *DM*, II/XII, p. 81 and II/XX, p. 90; impaired eyesight: *LA*, CXLIX, p. 669; blindness: *LA*, CXVII, pp. 490-1.
[63] Cf. melancholy: *DM*, IV/XXXVIII, p. 206; madness: DM, V/XXXVII, p. 321 and XI/XLII, p 302.
[64] Grief: *DM*, I/XIX, p. 26; *LA*, CLXI, p. 714; fear: *DM*, IV/VI, p. 178; anger: *DM*, IV/XVI, p. 188; lust: *LA*, XCII, p. 397; love-sickness: *KC*, 1286-88; *Eng*, 2030-34.
[65] Self-harm: *Parz*, 252:30-253:5; *LA*, CLXX, p. 778; faint: *Parz*, 126:1-2; death: *Parz*, 128: 20-22; *Eng*, 6269-7.
[66] *LA*, LXVII, p. 301; cf. *LA*, CLXVIII, p. 757.
[67] Burden of knowledge: *DM*, III/XXXIII, p. 150.
[68] Depressed state: *KC*, 2665-70 and *Eng*, 5274-5277; care: *LA*, CLXXVIII, p. 807; sight: *Parz*, 242: 6-7.

the sight of the beloved or of something which one associates with or which reminds one of that person;[69] in addition to loss of reason, this condition results in paleness, absentmindedness, loss of appetite, temperamental behaviour or sleeplessness: 'sus begunde er sich verdenken, / unz daz er unversunnen hielt: / diu starke minne sîn dâ wielt, / sölhe nôt vuogt im sîn wîp' (283:16-19).[70] If suffering is particularly intense, it can lead to self-harm and if feelings remain unreciprocated or the relationship unconsummated, death can result.[71]

Ill health can originate from the harsh lifestyle of the penitent, monk, nun, hermit, or saint; this includes fasting on bread and water, constant prayer, penance, alms and flagellation, and results in the *DM* and the *LA* in weakness, fever, headache and stomach-ache, sickness and ultimately a short life: 'Tanta autem abstinentia, labore et vigiliis corpus suum attrivit, quod et gravissima et fere continua aegritudine languens conventum vix sequi posset' (*LA*, CXX, p. 533).[72] In the *DM*, the wearing of a hair-shirt results in vermin bites, scarring, and sores while the monastic lifestyle causes violent headaches, which can lead to a loss of reason, and death; as a consequence the work discourages excessive religious zeal: 'Qui cum factus fuisset monachus, ita districte se habuit, ita singularis fuit, ut ei Abbas timeret, et pro indiscreto fervore saepius argueret. Ille vero salutaribus monitis non acquiescens, in pertinacia sua perseveravit, sicque post aliquot annos defunctus est' (XII/XXIX, p. 340).[73] Self-flagellation results in bruising and is performed by saints, hermits or priests in order to resist temptation or as atonement: 'Nudato eius corpore ad lavandum, ita invenerunt dorsum eius plagis virgarum lividum, ut omnes mirarentur' (*DM*, I/XXXV, p. 44).[74] Self-mutilation or self-harm is also described and is carried out by nuns in order to prevent their removal from the convent for marriage purposes, by virgins or hermits in order to preserve their purity, by Mark the evangelist, in order to be judged unfit for the priesthood (as a gesture of humility), by a knight as self-punishment for wrong doing, and as a means of attempting suicide by those despairing of hope.[75]

Some superstitious views are also present in the corpus. A narrative in the *SV* asserts that the embraces of a husband can cause his pregnant wife to miscarry while physicians in the *LA* accurately predict that a hot-blooded widow will grow a beard should she not take a husband.[76] In *Parz*, a mixed racial relationship results in a bespeckled child with two-toned hair while the existence of malformed individuals is attributed to the behaviour of Adam's daughters, who

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[69] See *Parz*, 283:5-8 and 287:9-13.

[70] Temperamental behaviour: *Parz*, 365:11-21; self-harm: *Parz*, 301:10-12; loss of health: *Parz*, 136:5-8; Eng, 2170-87; paleness: *Parz*, 810:29-30.

[71] *Parz*, 643:9-13; *Eng*, 2308-09 and 2403-09.

[72] Cf. *LA*, CV, p. 445; *EM*, 19, p. 247 ; monk : *DM*, IV/XLIX, pp. 215-6 and VIII/XIX, p. 97; saint : *EM*, 80, p. 298; *EM*, 177, p. 369; nun: *DM*, IX/XL, p. 196; hermit : *Parz*., 452 :27-28.

[73] Hair-shirt: *DM*, IV/CIII, p. 260; however, wearing soft garments is considered a crime in S. Martin's monastery: *LA*, CLXVI, p. 743; loss of reason: *DM*, IV/XLV, p. 213.

[74] 'Flagellation as a form of self-punishment or reparation had support from church leaders at its beginning but the growing excesses and the effects of its public performance led to their condemning it in the middle of the thirteenth century,' Frank Bottomley, *Attitudes to the Body in Western Christendom* (London: Lepus Books, 1979), p. 126.

[75] Cf. *KC*, 5057-60 and : 'die hant er in daz fiur stiez, / von der stete er si niene liez, / er nesprach nie oh noh wê, [...] unz diu hant gar abe bran [...] mîn hant ist mir worden mainaide, von rehte wart iz ir ze laide'; virgin: *EM*, 3, p. 231; nuns: *EM*, 20, p. 248; *SV*, LVII, p. 158; Mark: *LA*, LIX, p. 265; attempted suicide: *EM*, 106, p. 318.

[76] *SV*, CCXXVI, p. 225; *SV*, CCXXIX, p. 226; hot-bloodedness: *LA*, LXXXIX, p. 378.

disregarded warning when pregnant to stay away from particular plants capable of disfiguring future generations.[77] In the *LA*, severe stomach pains are generated by a snake slipping down into a man's belly as he lies asleep with his mouth open, and the bubonic plague breeds through the stench of rotting bodies of serpents, dragons, or locusts, through the poisonous breath of a dragon, or its sperm which is dropped into wells and flowing water. One particular dragon shoots its dung at people, which burns on contact.[78] Additional to such demonic creatures, sorcerers possess the capability to inflict suffering, causing paralysis, insanity, muteness, or blindness, as well as altering facial features with the use of unguent.[79]

3.4 Prophylactic, Diagnostic, and Therapeutic Measures

In addition to the presence of natural causes of disease, prophylactic, diagnostic, and therapeutic measures also emerge in the corpus. The *DM* highlights the importance of an adequate monastic diet to maintain good health and accuses those who do not eat enough peas and lentils of sinning as they grow weak and infirm and are unable to perform their duties (IV/LXXVII, p. 246). The inclusion of coarse black bread in the daily diet proves particularly vital as those who eat less than half a loaf become so weak that their senses fail and they die (IV/LXXXI, p. 249). In addition to dietary considerations, the prophylactic treatment of bloodletting is practised by abbots, clerks, monks, and priests while the secular habit of bathing and anointing with precious ointment by those who live in hot regions is cited in the *LA* as a means of protection against the sun.[80] Several diagnostic factors are also present such as measuring the pulse rate as a means of predicting the onset of dying, and examining hair texture as an indicator of poor health: 'Bene consideramus in capillis vestris, eo quod inflati sint' (*DM*, VI/VII, p. 358).[81]

A belief in the effectiveness of medication is expressed in several of the works with the presence of religious maxims testament to a faith in secular medicine.[82] The *DM* highlights the potential effectiveness of medicine in restoring the humours to equilibrium in an account, whose aim it is to emphasize the even greater efficaciousness of divine mercy:

> Quantum ad massam, multum modica est pillula, sed quantum ad efficaciam, virtus illius maxima; omnes corporis venas percurrit, humores solvit et eiicit, infirmum ad sanitatem convertit. Si tanta virtus consistit in perceptione unius corporalis pillulae, quare mirari debes, maiorem esse, et ideo maiorem, quia spiritualem, in visione unius veniae (I/XXI, p. 28).

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[77] Bespeckled Child: *Parz*, 518:15-20; malformed individuals: *Parz*, 57: 15-18.
[78] Snakes: *LA*, CXLIII, p. 638; dragons: *LA*, XLVI, p. 190; locusts: LA, CLXXXI, p. 838; dung: *LA*, CV, p. 444.
[79] *LA*, CXL, pp. 622-3 ; *LA*, CLIX, p. 708; change appearance: *LA*, CLXX, p. 783 ; *KC*, 3972.
[80] Bloodletting: *DM*, II/XXI, p. 90 and XI/II, p. 269; anointment: *LA*, XCVI, p. 408.
[81] Measurement of pulse: *DM*, VI/V, p. 355; *LA*, XXVI, pp. 125-26.
[82] Cf. *LA*, CLXXX, p. 818: 'Sicut parva medicina saepe a magno languore liberat, sic gratiarum actio in parvis donis magnorum efficitur auctrix donorum'.

Although some therapies are ineffective as healing is not in accordance with divine will (cf. *LA*, CXXXI, p. 593), injuries are successfully treated in some narratives. These generally consist of simple surgical treatments to remove foreign bodies, such as thorns, nails, or needles from the flesh, or trapped bones from the throat.[83] Poisonous bites are cut out with a razor, while lance wounds are bathed and treated with salves, sores are cleansed with fine linen, injured arms are placed in slings, and head injuries bound: 'bî dem er manegen ritter vant, / die ir hende hiengen in diu bant, / unt den ir houbet wâren verbunden' (*Parz*, 20:13-15).[84] Minor injuries such as nosebleeds are self-treated as blood is simply washed away (*Parz*, 272:1-3), and heat proves a comfort for some, like Anfortas in *Parz*, who is wrapped up warmly and placed near a fire (231:1-5). Some conditions such as broken bones prove difficult or impossible to heal while those with mortal wounds in *Parz* are simply laid in open windows so that the cool air might bring some relief: 'si heten jâmer unde guft. / in diu venster gein dem luft / was gebettet mangem wunden man, / swenn er den arzât gewan, / daz er doch mohte niht genesen' (*Parz*, 19:25-29).[85] After death corpses are embalmed before burial as a means of preservation.[86]

A change of air is thought to benefit the ill, while rare fruits, 'Minne', and particularly the laurel tree are reputed to possess healing properties: 'swer rehte wirt innen / frumer wîbe minne, / ist er siech, er wirt gesund, / ist er alt, er wirt junc' (*KC*, 4609-4612).[87] Nourishment is provided to revive the weak, meat is included in the diet of sick monks to enable them to recover their strength, while medicinal lozenges are given to revive the dying so that they may receive extreme Unction.[88] Wine is taken by some of the sick in order to restore strength while the Saracens excuse their ill and infirm from fasting.[89] A large block of ice placed under the painful feet of a bishop brings relief (*LA*, CLXIII, p. 73), while water refreshes the dying or restores those, who had been hung to die: 'Qui ante quoddam patibulum transiens, et hominem recenter in eo appensum adhuc palpitare cernens, misericordia motus, laqueum gladio incidit, atque allata aqua refocillavit' (*DM*, VI/XXIV, p. 377).[90] Love-sickness is swiftly cured in the *SV* through the stench of the remains of the beloved (CCXLV, p. 26) and Josephus heals Titus of a partial paralysis by scientifically deducing its cause upon ascertaining the moment of its emergence. It occurs at the election of his father, Vespasian, thus originating in an excess of joy and as Josephus believes that opposites are cured by opposites, a slave obnoxious to Titus is brought before him, successfully curing his condition (*LA*, LXVII, p. 301).[91]

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[83] Removal of foreign bodies: *SV*, CLXXXV, p. 208; *SV*, CXCIII, p. 211; trapped bone: *DM*, X/LXVI, p. 261.
[84] Bites: *DM*, X/LXVII, p. 262; sores: *LA*, CXXXIV, p. 599; sling: *Parz*., 393:27-30; wounds: *Parz*., 165: 13-14; *Eng*, 4970-75.
[85] Broken bones: *Parz*., 307:28-30.
[86] See *Parz*., 51:12 and 249:16.
[87] Fresh air: *DM*, I/XXIII, p. 29 and III/VIII, p. 121; rare fruits: *DM*, IV/XV, p. 186; laurel tree: *LA*, CXVII, p. 488: 'Hujusmodi autem arboris efficacia est, quia calculum frangit, surditati subvenit, fulmen non metuit'.
[88] *SV*, CLX, p. 201; meat: *DM*, X/VIII and X/IX, p. 223; lozenges: *DM*, VI/V, p. 355.
[89] 'Nam ibi vinum nemo biberat, nisi quem infirmitas coegisset', *LA*, CLXVI, p. 743; *LA*, CXLIX, p. 669; *LA*, CXLIX, p. 671; the Saracens do not, however, permit wine: *LA*, CLXXXI, p. 830.
[90] Restore the dying: *DM*, XI/III, p. 270-1.
[91] Psychological therapy is also employed by a priest to cure lame and deformed individuals who gather at the shrine of a saint to be healed; they are cured when they learn that the greatest cripple must be burned and his ashes sprinkled upon the others in order to procure a cure: *SV*, CCLIV, p. 241.

Superstitious therapies are evident on occasion although we do not always learn the source of the recommendation; these include the reputed healing powers of magic words, the use of snakes to suck the poison from septic battle wounds, and the employment of chopped-up puppies to restore sanity.[92] Further unconventional cures include the use of a crucifix by a priest to beat a woman in order to bring her to her senses, and the recommendation by 'peritissimi medici' that a new-born baby boy avoid the sight of the sun or the moon for the first ten years of his life in order to avoid blindness.[93] Surgery is occasionally recommended by physicians or considered by patients but generally as a last resort due to its inherent dangers: 'In Sicilia apud Agustam cum puella quaedam, quae vitio lapidis laborabat, incidi deberet, mater ejus pro instanti periculo filiam suam Deo et beato Dominico commendavit' (*LA*, CXIII, p. 481).[94] Finally, the procedure of cauterisation is carried out in the *LA* to counteract impaired eyesight (CXLIX, p. 669).

3.5 Physicians and their Consultation

The consultation of physicians by the sick indicates a general confidence or hope in their abilities to cure or to alleviate suffering; in the corpus, both sacred characters, such as saints, bishops, canons and priests, and secular characters, such as kings, and knights, turn to medics in their quest for a cure.[95] They are often treated or cared for by medical personnel, such as nurses, hospital chaplains, and infirmarers in hospitals and monastic infirmaries.[96] The first reaction of both Heinrich in *AH* and Dietrich in *Eng* after the shock of discovering that they are leprous is to consult a physician and as both are wealthy noblemen, they can afford the best available medical care. Heinrich has some confidence in medicine, as he believes that the course of the disease is variable and is, in many cases, curable, an aspect, which reflects the medieval belief that leprosy, if caught at an early stage, could be healed.[97] This assumption is also present in *Eng* in the judgement of Engelhard that Dietrich remains leprous – despite his immense wealth – because he did not immediately consult physicians and take medication: 'swer niht den niuwen siechtagen / zem êrsten dan beginnet jagen / und in dâ lât eralten, / der muoz sîn immer walten' (5855-5858). Dietrich, however, has consulted many physicians, who are all unable to cure him: 'vil manic arzât wart besant, / der im gehelfen kunde niht. / er was ân alle zuoversiht / daz er genesen möhte / und im kein helfe entöhte' (*Eng* 5200-5204).

While Dietrich appears to get treatment at home, Heinrich travels in order to gain the best medical advice, arriving first at Montpellier, where he is informed that his condition is incurable, and then at the more renowned Salerno to seek a second opinion from 'der wîsen arzâte list' of 'den

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[92] Magic words: *LA*, CLIII, p. 683; snakes: *DM*, X/LXX, p. 264; puppies: *DM*, I/XIV, p. 20.
[93] Crucifix: *SV*, CCLXIX, p. 251; avoidance of sun and moon: *LA*, CLXXX, p. 821.
[94] Cf. *LA*, CXXIV, p. 559 and CXXIV, p. 562.
[95] Cf. *LA*, LXVII, p. 299; *SV*, CCXXXVII, p. 231; priest: *DM*, IV/CI, p. 271. I do not distinguish between different types of doctors in this work. For further information on this aspect see Haferlach, pp.199-200.
[96] Nurse: *DM*, VI/XXXVII, p. 389; chaplain: *DM*, II/X, p. 13; infirmarian: *DM* XI/XVIII, p. 287; hospitals: *DM*, II/X, p. 13; *Parz.*, 522:10-13; monastic infirmaries: *DM*, VII/XIII, p. 16; apothecary: *SV*, CXCI, p. 210.
[97] 'Ein wênic vreute er sich doch / von einem trôste dannoch; / wan im wart dicke geseit / daz diu selbe siecheit / wære vil mislich / und etelîchiu genislich. / des wart vil maniger slahte / sîn gedinge und sîn ahte', *AH*, 163-170.

besten meister', where he is informed that although there is a cure, it is unattainable (*AH*, 196-202). The choice and sequence of these medical schools reflects their historical importance during the Middle Ages and according to Eis, the existence of a potential cure at Salerno indicates its precedence over Montpellier.[98] The inability of physicians to heal Heinrich is interpreted by Koller (36) as evidence of a prevailing antagonism between God and secular physicians, which he maintains is typical for legendary discourse. It is, however, the Salernitan physician who attempts to direct Heinrich onto a spiritual path by advising him that God is his only hope of a cure. This is the most important message in the work and the fact that it is uttered by the physician indicates that he is an ally as opposed to a rival of God (*AH*, 203-4). It is only after this religious direction that the physician elaborates on the superstitious method of healing leprosy with the blood of a virgin; although this is suggested as an entirely realistic option in the work, it is not representative of Salernitan medicine during this period as both the Hippocratic oath, and the fifth Commandment forbidding the killing of humans beings are disregarded.[99] The medical historical accuracy of this cure is irrelevant; what is of significance is its function as a counterpoint to God.[100] Given that the physician thought it impossible that Heinrich would find a sacrificial victim, he is duly shocked when Heinrich returns with 'diu reine maget'.[101] He reacts compassionately towards the girl, taking her aside to ascertain whether she has been forced into this decision (1064-1075). When convinced that this is not the case, he presumes that the girl is unaware of the implications of her decision and so describes in detail the humiliating and painful procedure she will have to endure (1085-97). He stresses his 'michel angest' in performing the procedure and the danger that even if she regrets it by 'eins hâres breit', the treatment will be ineffective.[102] Such humane behaviour on behalf of the physician is not 'überraschend'[103] as he has proved himself to be both honest and Christian-minded.[104] It is only when he is fully convinced by the girl's resolve that he agrees to perform the procedure, indicating complete confidence in its effectiveness in curing leprosy: 'ich mache iuch schiere gesunt' (1175).

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[98] This aspect indicates that Hartmann wished to set his story in an historically accurate background, see: Gerhard Eis, 'Salernitanisches und Unsalernitanisches im ›Armen Heinrich‹ des Hartmann von Aue', in *Hartmann von Aue: Wege der Forschung*, ed. by Hugo Kuhn and Christoph Cormeau (Darmstadt: WBG, 1973), pp. 135-50 (p. 135). Salerno was better known among Germans as a result of the popularity of its didactic poem 'De conservanda bona valetudine', ibid., p. 137.

[99] The blood cure is symbolic: 'Der Quell alles Lebens im Leibe ist das Blut, und so ist dem Aberglaube das einzige Heilmittel des Aussatzes das Blut eines unschuldigen Kindes', Wilhelm Wackernagel, *Der Arme Heinrich Herrn Hartmanns von Aue und zwei jüngere Prosalegenden verwandten Inhaltes*, rev. and ed. by Ernst Stadler (Basel: [n.pub.], 1911), p. 217. Koller, p. 37, finds the specification of a virgin odd and interprets it as evidence of 'eine kritische Stellungnahme zur Minneheilung' but as Wackernagel highlights, it is the purity, i.e. innocence, of the blood that is imperative and not the sex of the individual concerned. See Eis, 'Salernitanisches', p. 147, on the unrealistic nature of the cure for medicine at this time.

[100] Haferlach, p. 209; cf. Brody, p. 152: 'The blood cure plays a part in literature because it is symbolically significant, not because poets sought to depict actual medical pactices'.

[101] See *AH*, 196-202 and 228-29.

[102] Several aspects here are historically unrealistic: 'Die Nacktheit des Mädchens und dazu das Fehlen des Schamgefühls in der Szene widersprechen also der historischen Wirklichkeit', Eis, 'Salernitanisches', p. 144.

[103] See Koller, p. 37.

[104] The physician appears honest as he suggests no useless therapies, particularly as Heinrich has specified that money is no object, a circumstance, which an unscrupulous physician might have abused. His compassion is particularly pronounced when contrasted with an exemplum version in *EM* where the doctor proceeds in a clinical manner, without attempting to discourage the girl: 'Qui gaudens duxit illam ad medicum, qui preparauit uasa ad hoc, quod sagwinem eliceret de virgine', *EM*, 6, p. 234.

The operating room of the physician is described as being well stocked with good medicine (1185) and although his instruments lie sharpened, he compassionately sharpens the knife further in order to decrease the sufferings of the child (1215-20). Hartmann ambiguously states that the physician uses this knife for similar operations, which McConnell interprets as a sign that the physician is 'an experienced cult figure, one of the initiated, who has performed similar sacrifices in the past'.[105] But if this were so, the physician would not present the requirements of the cure – a willing victim – as a virtual impossibility nor would he be so cautious with the girl before commencing the procedure which he gladly and immediately ceases upon hearing of Heinrich's change of heart: 'daz hôrte vil gerne / der meister von Salerne / und volgete im zehant' (1280). The stress on the willingness of the sacrificial victim suggests that this procedure is practically unattainable and that the knife is used instead for general surgery. It is, however, curious that the physician fails to reflect at any point on the morality of his actions, which are, in fact, condemned by no one in the text: 'Die Opferannahme bleibt in der Darstellung Hartmanns ohne jegliche theologisch-ethische Implikation'.[106] Eis bases his argument that the work is not a legend partly on the fact that the physician, 'der für gutes Honorar kaltsinnig mordet' is not divinely punished in a similar vein to the torturers of the saints.[107] However, he overlooks the fact that a similar procedure involving the killing of two innocent children is stipulated by God in *Eng*: 'dâ von wil got daz er verschüte / durch dich sîner kinde bluot / daz er vil willeclichen tuot, / ob dû dir selben heiles ganst, / wan dû genesen niht enkanst / ê sîner zweier kinde leben / für dich ze pfande wirt gegeben' (5460-5466).[108] Additionally, this motif is, according to Wackernagel, 'ein oft wiederkehrender Zug' consisting of two paradigms: 1. the divine stipulation of the death of a loved one as a test of faith, and 2. the stipulation by physicians, heathen doctors or priests, which operates as a test of mercy or 'milte' on behalf of the lepers, to assess whether they accept their suffering rather than permit the death of the innocent.[109] As the latter is evident in *AH*, the focal point of the narrative is not the perceived immorality of the physician but the reaction of the protagonist, Heinrich.

Several physicians are depicted in the *KC*, in a manner, which according to Koller is 'recht abträglich'; this view is based on three references where medicine and the efforts of physicians prove ineffective, and on two episodes concerning Nero and Galen, '[...] in denen die "arzâte" nicht gut wegkommen' (25-26). The three references consist of the account of Tiberius who suffers from worms in his head, Constantine who suffers from leprosy, and Astrolobius who is possessed by the Devil: 'mîn dinch enist langer nehain frum, / nehain arzât nekan mir niht gerâten noch getuon' (*KC*,

[105] Winder McConnell, '*Sacrificium* in Hartmann von Aue's Der arme Heinrich', *NeuphilMitt*, 84 (1983), 261-268 (p. 265).
[106] Kurt Ruh, 'Hartmanns ‚Armer Heinrich': Erzählmodell und theologische Implikation', in *Mediævalia litteraria: Festschrift für Helmut de Boor zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ursula Henning and Herbert Kolb (München: Beck, 1971), pp. 315-29 (p. 324); cf. McConnell, p. 263.
[107] 'Der „Arzt" hätte mindestens geblendet werden müssen, um den von der Predigt geforderten exemplarischen Ausgleich zu demonstieren', Eis, 'Salernitanisches', p. 149. Cf. McConnell (264-5), who overlooks the multiple accounts of martyrs and *Eng* in his surprise at the reaction of the parents: '[...] but once again the reader feels obliged to query how even simple peasants can actually fail to see the discrepancy between Christian theology and pre-Christian ritual, how they could possible believe that the Holy Ghost would condone ritual sacrifice of the sort advocated here'.
[108] Cf. Wackernagel, p. 229: 'Es ist das recht ein Beleg, wie arglos der Aberglaube an die Heilkraft des Blutes hingenommen wurde, dass Gott und seine Engel selbst solche Dinge befehlen müssen'.
[109] Wackernagel, p. 228-33.

13171-2).[110] However, despite the incurability of these conditions by secular means, they fulfil a divine purpose and are subsequently miraculously healed (see Chapters 4 and 5).[111] The failure of physicians to heal is therefore depicted in order to confirm the irremediable nature of the illness; this aspect underlines the wonder and increases the greatness of the ensuing miracle rather than indicating that physicians are inherently incompetent or useless in procuring healing. Furthermore, this secular failure to heal emerges as a standard feature in several narratives including *AH*, *Eng*, *Parz*, *Silvester*, the *KC*'s *Crescentia* and some legends in the *LA*: '[...] nam vena fracta in inferioribus partibus anterius sine cessatione sanguinem emittebat, quod a nullo medico aliquod sibi remedium poterat adhiberi' (*LA*, LXIII, p. 289).[112] 'Ein typischer Bestandteil der meisten dieser Erzählungen ist es, daß die Kranken vergeblich die Hilfe der Ärzte suchen und so Gewißheit über ihre Lage, ihre Unheilbarkeit erlangen.'[113] In such instances, the illness incorporates a religious purpose: 'cum autem parentes ejus domum eam reduxissent et eam fomentis et balneis recrearent, nolens eam Deus ulterius humana suspicione foedari' (*LA*, CXXXI, p. 594). Nevertheless, the outcome for the ill varies as it is dependent upon the function of the sickness and the reaction of the afflicted. Some, such as Herod, will never be divinely healed, as suffering constitutes a perpetual punishment (cf. *LA*, XI, pp. 67-68).

Also central to Koller's argument that physicians are poorly portrayed in the *KC* is the account of Nero, where he claims the tyrant's commands to dissect the womb of his mother and to attempt to generate his pregnancy are complied with by 'den gleichen weltlichen Ärzten': 'Sicherlich dient diese Szene vor allem der negativen Charakterisierung Neros, doch fällt dabei auch etwas für die weltlichen Ärzte ab, die sich mit solchem Teufelswerk beschäftigen' (26). There is, however, no evidence that the physicians execute both these orders as the dissector of Nero's mother remains unspecified:

> Aines tages iz gescach.
> vil manic furste vor im saz:
> er hiez in allen gâhen,
> sîne muoter vor in allen vâhen,
> er hiez ir den pûch ûf snîden (4105-4109)

Moreover, it is only after this dissection that Nero seeks out the best physicians in order to perform his pregnancy attempt: 'er hiez im gewinnen drâte / wîse arzâte, / er sprah, er newoltes nehain rât haben, / er wolte selbe kint tragen' (4115-18). We do not therefore know whether physicians carried out the murder of Nero's mother but it was definitely not those compelled to comply with the second command. These physicians are referred to as 'wîse arzâte' (4116) and are at no point

[110] Cf. 7814-16 (Constantine): 'der siehtuom was alsô fraissam: / nehain werltlîch man / nemaht im frum sîn'; also 7850-52 'nû daz im nie kein arzentuom / noch keiner hande zouberlist / gehelfen kunde der genist'; 696-8 (Typerius): 'nehain erzenîe was frum: / im nekunde niemen niht getuon / daz im frum wære'.
[111] Tiberius is healed by Veronica's picture of Christ, Constantine by St Silvester, and Astrolobius by Eusebus.
[112] Cf. *KC*, 12419-23; *Silv*, 400-408 and 902-04; *LA*, LXIII, p.288; *LA*, CXLV, p. 646.
[113] Kaiser, p. 32.

described negatively, an aspect, which contrasts sharply with the characterization of Nero: 'Der was der aller wirste man / der von muoter in dise werlt ie bekom' (4085-6).[114] Koller omits both this aspect and the efforts by the physicians to dissuade Nero from his desire to bear a child through accentuating the pain that this will involve: 'wir furhten ave, dû habest ettelîche nôt. / dû muost arbait toln' (4124-8). Their efforts, however, prove ineffective as Nero remains resolute and threatens to kill them if he suffers.[115] It is only then, in fear for their lives –'die arzâte hêten manigen angestlîchen gedanch' (4120-35) – that the physicians devise an emergency plan, involving the concoction of a 'vil wunderlîchiu tranch' with the capacity to cause the internal growth of a worm in order to produce the impression of pregnancy. Overall, I believe this narrative casts physicians in a humane light by portraying their fear when faced with the impossible demands of a tyrant, in addition to highlighting their scientific knowledge and abilities in their swift solution to Nero's demands. I find no evidence suggesting disparagement of this profession.[116]

The *LA* also contains an account of Nero which supports my interpretation of a neutral or indeed complimentary portrayal of physicians in the *KC*. In this narrative the physicians are commanded to kill Nero's mother but fearlessly refuse to do so, exhibiting both a Christian attitude and an adherence to medical obligations: 'jura negant et fas prohibet, ut filius matrem necet, quae ipsum cum dolore peperit et cum tanto labore et sollicitudine enutrivit' (LXXXIX, p. 376). Nero – 'nefaria mentis vesania ductus' – oddly appears to accept this and demands instead to be made pregnant in order to see how much pain his mother endured in labour; this order is again refused by the physicians since it is contrary to nature and reason: 'Non est possibile, quod naturae contrarium est, nec est facile, quod ration non est consentaneum' (LXXXIX, p. 376). As Nero now threatens the physicians with death, they devise a strategy which involves Nero unknowingly ingesting a frog in a potion and adhering to a diet conducive to its growth.[117] This procedure results in a swollen stomach but causes intolerable pain for Nero who demands that the delivery be prematurely induced; upon being supplied with a further potion, he ejects the frog and is persuaded by the physicians that the frog – 'visu terribilem, humoribus infectam et sanguine [...] cruentatam' – is a deformed foetus on account of his inability to wait the full term. Despite the similarities with the *KC* account, differences are evident as the morality of the physicians in the *LA* is ambiguous; despite their earlier Christian position, they appear to show no remorse or indeed sympathy for the pain that Nero consequently suffers. It is not mentioned, as in the *KC*, whether they inform Nero in advance that the procedure will be painful but surely, regardless of Nero's wickedness, a Christian physician should not purposefully and unnecessarily cause him suffering or endanger his life? Or is such behaviour acceptable in the face of a torturous death? As Jacobus considers these events to be ficticious, no explanation is forthcoming.

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[114] Also 4124: 'ain arzât vil wîse'; cf. Nero, 4130: 'der grimmige hêrre'.
[115] 'Geskihet mir dehain nôt, / daz ist iwer allr tôt: / in dem fiure brinnet ir ze tôde, / dâ mit hai ih iu des allen lônen', 4131-4134.
[116] The first doctor referred to in the *KC* is Christ: 'dô sprâchen Rômære, / daz er ain guot arzat waere' (1857).
[117] 'nisi me feceritis impraegnari et parere, omnes vos faciam crudeli morte interire.'

The final account employed by Koller to support his thesis is that of Galen, who is mistakenly represented as Kaiser Gallienus in the *KC*.[118] The text refers to Galen as the wisest doctor in Rome and praises his medical achievements – 'der was der wîste arzat / der ze Rôme ie geborn wart. / durh sîne michel wîshait / sô laid er dike arbait' (7454-57) – but additionally describes him as an extremely cruel ruler and merciless persecutor of Christians some of whom he blinds and amputates for his medical experiments:[119]

> er versuohte sîn erzenîe,
> er hiez in allen zesnîden
> die vuoze unt die hende.
> er hiez si in alle wîs scenden,
> baidiu âder und lit
> er rehuop aller êrist den sit,
> daz man die liute stumbelet bî den ougen.
> er newolte sih es ê niht gelouben
> unz er aller sîner erzenîe ze ende kom. (7464-72)[120]

Such acts are interpreted by Koller as proof of 'die christliche Opposition gegen die ärztlichen Tätigkeiten der Heiden',[121] but it is Galen's brutal reign and terrible cruelty – particularly against Christians – which is outlined in this narrative rather than derision for his capabilities as a physician; these are in fact praised, in addition to those of another 'wîzer arzât'[122] who quickly establishes that the river Tiber has been poisoned (by Gallienus) and takes immediate and effective action, thereby saving lives: 'als er den smac verstuont, / duo was im vil wol kunt, / daz iz von dem wazzer komen was. / vil sciere verbôt er daz / allen Rômæren, / daz si die Tîver verbæren' (7565-71). In summary, the narratives cited by Koller as substantiation of a critical stance in the *KC* against the abilities of secular physicians do not stand up to scrutiny as their knowledge is in fact praised in several of these accounts, even when they are cast as immoral e.g. Galen. Koller claims that this denigration of their abilities serves to underline the superior ones of the saints but the failure of secular healers simply confirms the untreatable nature of the condition in order to increase the significance of the miracle and the reputation of the saint.[123] Overall, I can find neither

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[118] Ernst Friedrich Ohly, *Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik: Untersuchungen über Quellen und Aufbau der Dichtung* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1968), p. 161.

[119] He forces a servant who tries to poison him to drink the poison instead (7510-13) and he wreaks revenge on Rome by poisoning the river Tiber, resulting in the deaths of thirteen thousand Romans (7554-57).The Romans considered his deeds 'ain tievellîch râche' (7592) and he is murdered while fleeing to Syria, having been sentenced to death by the Roman people.

[120] Cf. 7458-9: 'die cristen hazzet er sêre: / den was er ain grimmiger hêrre'.

[121] A note of sarcasm in the ability of heathen physicians to heal is, however, detectable in the *LA* (C, p. 434) in the retort of two Christian women when they reduce idols to dust: 'ite et vocate medicos, ut curent Deos vestros'.

[122] 'der was gelêrt vil wol / [...] / Der arzât was ain listiger man', 7564-72.

[123] 'Zu wessen Gunsten ein Vergleich zwischen der Tätigkeit der christlichen Heiligen und der weltlichen Ärzte, wie sie etwa in der "Kaiserchronik" dargestellt werden, ausfällt, ist klar', Koller, p. 26.

evidence of a disparaging attitude towards physicians in the *KC* nor hostility towards heathen healers.

In *Parz*, Anfortas – der wirt jâmers rîch (230:30) – consults a physician upon being pierced in the groin by a spear; the physician examines him and removes the metallic point of the spear and splinters of bamboo shaft embedded in the wound: '[...] in die wunden greif eins arztes hant, / unz er des spers îsen vant: / der trunzûn was roerîn, / ein teil in den wunden sîn: / diu gewan der arzet beidiu wider' (480:5-9). The wound, however, rapidly festers and despite the consultation of numerous medical books and attempts of all known therapies against snake bites, all efforts remain fruitless until the conclusion is reached that medicine is ineffective because it is not in accordance with divine will: 'der keinz gehelfen kunde: got selbe uns des verbunde' (481:5-17). This realisation appears to herald the end of the physician's endeavours as the narrative reference varies from the third person singular 'der arzet' and 'man' to the first person plural 'wir': 'At this point, the medical specialists apparently submit to divine will and abandon the case; at least we hear no more about them'.[124] This medical failure is again viewed by Koller as evidence of hostility towards secular healing, which he considers typical for Christian literature.[125] The physician's efforts, however, are concisely narrated (in contrast with the supernatural efforts of the Grail community) and are a further illustration of the common trait in miracle narratives, which indicate the immedicable nature of the condition: 'Die Größe des Wunders soll geschildert werden. Dazu dient die Angabe über die lange Dauer der Krankheit, das vergebliche Bemühen der Ärzte und die plötzliche Heilung'.[126]

Spiritual figures, such as saints, bishops, clerks and crusaders, consult physicians in the *LA*, *DM*, and *EM*; some, such as Bishop Germanus follow instruction in visiting a spa while others permit themselves to be treated by pagan physicians (cf. *DM*, IV/XV, p. 186).[127] St Augustine is visited solely by his physician and those bringing food during his final days as he concentrates on his spiritual preparations for death; the purpose of the physician's visits is presumably to alleviate his pain so that he can devote himself more fully to his spirituality: '[...] et ut Deo vacaret liberius et ejus intentio a nullo impediri posset, ante X dies sui exitus nullum ad se ingredi praecepit, nisi vel cum medicus ingrederetur vel cum sibi refectio portaretur' (*LA*, CXXIV, p. 559). St Paula is also attended to by physicians when suffering a violent fever; although they advise that she drink a little thin wine rather than water for fear of bringing on dropsy, she refuses to do so even when urged by the bishop Epiphanius (*LA*, XXIX, p. 139). Although St Francis does not consult a medic, he follows the advice of his friars and personally applies a remedial treatment for his impaired eyesight, a consequence of excessive weeping. This therapy involves cauterising the area from the

[124] Arthur Groos, 'Treating the Fisher King (Parzival, Book IX)', in *German Narrative Literature of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Studies Presented to Roy Wisbey on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Volker Honemann and others (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), pp. 275-304 (p. 278).

[125] 'Die Opposition zwischen christlicher und weltlicher Heilung, die wir in christlicher Literatur schon gefunden haben, kommt auch im Parzival zum Ausdruck als die Heilung des Amfortas erfolgt ohne jedes realistische Heilmittel', p. 78.

[126] Fenner, p. 65.

[127] While sitting in the waters Germanus sees the face of the dead deacon Paschasius who was divinely banished there on account of causing disunity in the church. He asks Germanus to pray for him in order to redeem him. Although the trip to the spa is incidental in the account, it indicates the acceptance of medics by church figures: *EM*, 75, p. 293.

ear to the eyebrow with an heated iron surgical instrument; as the saint initially prepares himself spiritually through prayer and a sign of the cross over the instrument, he consequently experiences no pain during the procedure: 'mi frater ignis, esto mihi in hac hora propitius et curialis; precor dominum, qui te creavit, ut tuum mihi calorem temperet' (*LA*, CXLIX, p. 669).

Religious-minded physicians are also present in the corpus: 'Vocatus est medicus eius, vir bonus et discretus, et non solum in physica, sed etiam in theologia non mediocriter literatus' (*DM*, I/XXVII, p. 33). Such figures distinguish between illnesses which are 'natural' and those which are 'supernatural', i.e. sent by God for a particular purpose, and do not attempt to treat the latter medically. The physician called upon by the ailing landgrave Ludwig specifically interprets his suffering as a chastisement and advises him that his confidence in medicine is in this instance misplaced: 'Domine, si venit dies mortis vestrae, non vos poterit cura mea morti subtrahere; si vero moriturusnon estis de infirmitate ista, superflua erit medicina mea'.[128] He recommends a spiritual therapy comprehending penitence and good works,[129] which is in the first instance accepted by Ludwig: 'De cetero medicus esto animae meae, quia per tuam medicinalem linguam Deus liberavit me a maximo errore'.[130] These physicians constitute a new paradigm as they differ from the archetypal biblical physician described by the OT Sirach; there is no mention of personal spiritual preparation prior to treatment, and physicians now occasionally refuse to treat patients whose conditions they view as divine in source. They incorporate a role as spiritual advisor by identifying such a condition, clarifying its meaning to the sufferer, and recommending religious remedies. In such instances a cure is ultimately dependant on the spiritual reaction of the afflicted; if the patient proves incapable of change or stubbornly refuse to do so, the attempts of physicians to treat illness religiously fail.[131]

In the corpus monks, priests and saints also operate as physicians: 'Hic annis circiter triginta cum fratribus infirmis tam devotum quam sedulum exhibuisset obsequium, ipse quoque diversa corporis inaequalitate correptus est, et in magnis laboribus supervivens, annis quasi viginti, longum trahebat martyrium' (*DM*, XI/VI, p. 274). The *LA* refers to St Luke as a practitioner of medicine (CLVI, p. 692) and St Cosmas and St Damien as skilled physicians, imbued with the Holy Spirit, who refuse to accept payment for healing the sick: 'Hic arte medicinae edocti tantam a spiritu sancto gatiam acceperunt, ut omnes languores non solum ab hominibus, sed etiam a jumentis curarent, gratis omnia tribuentes'.[132] St Elisabeth sets up a house for pilgrims and the poor, and personally looks after their needs, especially in times of sickness (*LA*, CLXVIII, p. 757). She seeks out the sick, visiting them in their own homes, and later sets up a hospital at Marburg,

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[128] The landgrave is worldly in outlook and has complete faith in the capabilities of mankind: 'Ut, vides, infirmus su valde; adhibe curam, ut possim convalescere [...] Si mihi non fuerit adhibta curae diligentia et diaeta proposita, potero tam a me ipso quam ab aliis imperitis negligi, et ante tempus mori', *DM*, VI/XXVII, p. 33.

[129] Ibid.: 'Sine his anima moritur, sine his ad saitatem, quae est in futura vita, nemo pervenit'.

[130] He does not, however, mend the error of his ways and dies a sinner: pp. 33-34.

[131] Cf. *DM*, XII/V, p. 320 where a physician tries to spiritually advise a knight dying of heart failure to take back his wife and to pardon a knight he had thrown into prison; he refuses, dies and goes to hell.

[132] Damian was 'domini manus fuit in medicinali curatione', *LA*, CXLIII, p. 637. Damien does, however, accept payment on one occasion in order to 'devotioni satisfaciens offerentis, et ne nomen domini videretur sperere'. Cosmas initially refuses to be buried with him after death until an angel explains the actions of Damien to him.

where she carries out the humblest of tasks in treating the sick, such as bathing, applying salves and binding sores.[133] She combines religious and medical therapies, spiritually preparing herself to heal through regular abstinence, meagre diet, and flagellation, and preparing the sick for healing through compulsory confession and Holy Communion; those who refuse to comply are beaten into consent: 'Ipsos autem infirmos ad confessionem et communicationem inducens vetulam quandam penitus renuentem verbere castigatam induxit' (763). Through such actions, St Elisabeth incorporates several aspects proposed in Sirach 38 in relation to healing. This similarity is particularly evident in her lack of differentiation between those who suffer from natural sickness and those from supernatural ones; all sick are possible sinners and as illness can operate as a divine punishment for sin, all must confess as a precautionary measure in order to ensure the effectiveness of the succeeding treatment. Supplementary to these figures, several saints integrate medicine into their miraculous healings, and this aspect will be dealt with in further detail in Chapter 4.

Contrary to Koller's assertion that physicians are generally portrayed in a poor light in Christian literature, there are very few examples of immoral or incompetent physicians present in the selected corpus. The *DM*, as a source of edification for religious, highlights issues of relevance to this group; one narrative expresses criticism of a monk-physician, who is deemed to be too secular in his neglect of monastic duties for his enthusiasm of medical ones: 'Fuit in ordine nostro quidam physicus, magis habitu quam actu monachus, occasione medicinae per provincias discurrens, et vix unquam nisi in praecipius festivitatibus ad monasterium revertens' (VII/XLVII, p. 67). He experiences a vision of Mary placing electuary into the mouth of each monk in his monastery except him, as she presumes that as he is so reliant on secular medicine, he has no need of spiritual medicine.[134] The monk, duly enlightened and chastised, immediately ceases his practice of medicine in order to devote himself fully to his monastic duties and is rewarded by a further vision, in which he too is given the superior medicine, electuary by Mary: 'Quia te emendasti, tuis medicamentis mea praeferens, ecce de meo electuario sicut ceteris tibi impartior'. An anti-medical attitude towards practising religious is detectable here as there is no mention of the monk's Christian compassion for the ailing, which could be implied in his diligent devotion to them. Furthermore, rather than attaining a balance between his religious and medical duties, the monk renounces his medical knowledge – a divine gift – and devotes himself completely to an impoverished life in his monastery: 'omnia carnis commoda tanquam stercora reputaret'. It is, however, possible to successfully combine the two roles as a priest-physician as Peter achieves this by building both a chapel and a hospital in honour of St Mary Magdalene (*DM*, IX/LVI, p. 210).

The *DM* warns against the danger of immoral treatments in an account where a priest unwittingly consults a physician who is possessed by the Devil; the controversial medieval therapy of sexual intercourse is prescribed as a remedy for the unspecified condition of the priest, who foolishly complies, resulting in a compounding of his condition and death several days later: 'Cum

[133] Cf. p 763 : 'Quandam etiam mulierem horribiliter leprosam saepe abluens in lectulo collocavit ulcera tergens et ligans, medicamenta adhibens unguesque praecidens, ejus etiam pedibus prostrata corrigias calceamentorum solvens'.
[134] Ibid.: 'Tu de meo electuario non indiges, quia medicus es, et plurimas tibi impendis consolationes'.

enim graviter infirmaretur, dictum est ei a medico, imo per medicum a diabolo, quod convalescere non posset, nisi uteretur muliere. Ille spe vitae praesentis, immemor futurae, feminam cognovit, nec tamen ei profuit, imo magis obfuit, quia post paucos dies defunctus est' (VIII/CI, pp. 271-2). A further example of the potential danger of medical treatment outside the monastery is contained in the *LA*, which describes an aged, infirm monk, who goes to Egypt to receive medical attention so as not to be a burden to his brothers. This decision is against the wishes of his abbot, who fears that he will fall into fornication; this comes to pass, as the monk recovers and ravishes a young virgin who had piously taken care of him (XLXXVII, p. 806).

In contrast to the Bible, negative characteristics such as greed, incompetence, cruelty, or jealousy, of some physicians are accentuated in some narratives. In the *DM* a priest who suffers violent pains in his head consults a celebrated physician, asking him in the name of Christ to give him some advice; rather than displaying Christian compassion, the physician demands 3 Marks and refuses to treat the priest as he only possesses 1.50: 'Pro tantillo nolo laborare' (IV/XCVIII, p. 267).[135] An uncharitable attitude among practitioners is also expressed in the *EM*'s 'Pulcrum de leproso curato' as physicians continue to treat Albertus for as long as he has money.[136] A further physician claims fourteen years later that he could cure Albertus if he could afford the fees: 'Si aurum haberet iste pauper, ego ipsum curarem'. The physician is not Christian-minded as despite Albertus' destitution, he does not offer to treat him for free; it is only when Albertus promises the money that the physician proceeds to examine him.[137] Incompetence is accentuated in the *SV* where the treatment of a facial black mark by a physician results in the removal of skin (CCXI, p. 220), while as mentioned previously, cruelty is attributed to Galen in the *KC*, where he as Kaiser Gallienus, is the cruel ruler and persecutor of Christians, who he uses for his medical experiments. Finally, jealousy is ascribed to physicians of Montpellier, who resent the popularity and superior healing powers of Mary; they sarcastically inform the sick to go to the Church of St Mary in order to be cured but those who do are swiftly healed, confirming the superiority of divinity over secular healers (*DM*, VII/XXIV, p. 34).

Apart from physicians, other characters, particularly in *Parz*, portray in-depth medical knowledge: 'It would seem that Wolfram's scientific knowledge is up-to-date on astrology, epidemiology, and pharmacy as well as surgery'.[138] When the physician ceases his treatment of Anfortas, Trevrizent and the people of the Grail assume responsibility and attempt supernatural or legendary cures, including the search for healing herbs in the Rivers of Paradise – Geon, Fison, Euphrat and Tigris – the application of a legendary plant, the blood of a pelican, the heart of a unicorn and the precious stone that grows under its horn, and finally the healing herb, which flows

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[135] The priest commits his pain to Christ and is swiftly cured while the physician is inflicted with the pain as a punishment for his incompassion and greed.

[136] This is an exemplum version of *AH*: 'Et medicina omnia, que habuit, consumpsit. Sed cum ei pecunia defecisset, simul amici et plures medicorum euanuerunt', 6, p. 234; cf. *LA*, CXLIII, p. 637, where Cosmas and Damien heal a woman who has spent all her money unsuccessfully consulting physicians.

[137] 'Tandem uenit medicus, qui dixit: Si aurum haberet iste pauper, ego ipsum curarem', *EM*, 6, p. 234.

[138] Arthur Groos, 'Treating the Grail King: Astrology and Medicine in Book XVI of Wofram's "Parzival"', *Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft* (76) 1992, 74-86 (p. 83); cf. Haage, 'Parzival', p. 176.

from the blood of a slaughtered dragon.[139] When they realise the futility of healing efforts, the community concentrates on measures to relieve Anfortas' suffering, using pain-relieving substances such as ointments, theriac-containing salves and the smoke from aloe wood albeit to no avail: 'wir strichen an die wunden / swâ mit wir senften kunden, / die guoten salben nardas, / unt swaz gedrîakelt was, / unt den rouch von lign alôê: / im waset ze allen zîten wê' (484: 13-18). Certain planetary and meteorological conditions exacerbate the suffering of Anfortas to such a degree that the metallic spear, responsible for the injury, has to be pushed into the wound so that this newly-inflicted pain temporarily numbs the greater pain of the wound; in particularly severe instances the spear is dipped into asbestos and either laid upon the wound or bored into it. Attempts are made to cover the stench of the wound with crushed cardamom, cloves, and nutmeg, which are scattering across the floor; meanwhile precious stones which induce a feeling of well-being, bestow good luck or medicinal benefits are placed around the bed of Anfortas.

In *Parz*, women frequently assume the role of healer: 'Woman for him [Wolfram] is not the conventional, often shadowy und usually passive figure of the songs of the Minnesänger, but a human being who fulfils a role in society'.[140] Cundrie has mastered 'swaz von erzenîe mac geschehn' (579:26) and transmits her skills to queen Arnive who is described as 'diu alte küniginne wîs' (578:4).[141] Arnive attends to Gawan, assisted by four medically skilled maidens, and has confidence in her healing capabilities and medications: 'ob sîn kampf ist sô gedign / daz er niht ist ze verhe wunt, / ich mache in schiere wol gesunt' (578:24-6). Gawan is wrapped in a silk blanket prior to treatment in order to save him embarrassment and his wounds are cleansed with infection-preventing 'dictamnus albus', warm wine, and blue taffeta, before being skilfully bound (628:3-4). Effective pain relieving ointment is applied to his head injuries, which was initially compounded by Cundry in Munsalväsche to treat the pain of Anfortas. Although effective in treating Gawan, the ointment only succeeds in keeping Anfortas alive as it is not in accordance with divine will that he be healed (579, 26). After treatment, a sleeping herb is placed in Gawan's mouth, which proves effective although it has discernible side effects (581:3-5).[142] Women also provide comfort and bestow honour on injured warriors by stroking wounds or bruises with their hands, or kissing and moistening them with tears.[143]

Knights and pages are also described occasionally as medically knowledgeable (cf. 690:9-15). Orgeluse refers to Gawan as 'wuntarzât' (516:30) and Haferlach (202) believes he was active in this role. Personal experience enables Gawan to diagnose and treat Parzival's condition of love-

[139] See: *Parz*., 481:19-28; 483:2-4. The rivers are mentioned in Gn 1.28-31 and 3.18-22; this attempt stems 'from the belief that there was nothing evil before the Fall, and that poison and disease are consequences of Adam and Eve's transgression', Groos, p. 294. Also the 'redemptive power of triuwe and reine' may be implied in the figures of the pelican and unicorn, ibid., p. 293.

[140] Marion E. Gibbs, 'The Role of Woman in Wolfram's Parzival', *GLL*, 21 (1967-8), 296-308; Cf. the simple techniques of two young maidens: *Parz*., 575:20-30 and 576:1-19; some saints in the *LA* have their wounds ministered by women in prison, e.g., CXXXIV, p. 600.

[141] Medieval knights would have been assisted by noble ladies or woman in their families as physicians were often not available, see Dube, pp. 45-46.

[142] The power of love is also attributed to the swift recovery of Gawan: 622:28-30.

[143] Cf. 88: 13-22: 'dô begreif im diu gehiure / sîne quaschiure / mit ir linden handen wîz: / an den lac der gotes vliz. / dô was im gamesieret / und sêre zequaschieret / hiufel, kinne, und an der nasen. / er hete er küneginne basen / diu dise êre an im begienc / daz si in mit handen ze ir gevienc'; also 167:5-7; 396:27-30; 692:16-8.

sickness (301:9-12 and 22-30) while his knowledge of wounds enables him to treat the internal haemorrhage of the knight Urjans through releasing the pressure of blood from the heart by means of a make-shift draining-pipe.[144] Religious and magical measures are combined as Gawan cites a wound blessing over this injury before finally invoking God to protect the knight and the lady (507:21-24). Finally, Parzival is also medically knowledgeable; when he frees a besieged city, he forbids the starving citizens to gorge on the renewed food supplies, insisting on rationing it out in small regular amounts. He does so because he realises that sudden large amounts of food would overload their digestive systems: 'von êrst die spîse cleine / teilte er mit sîn selbes hant. / er sazt die werden die er dâ vant. / er wolde niht ir laeren magen / übercrüpfe lâzen tragen: / er gab in rehter mâze teil. / Si wurden sînes râtes geil. / Hin ze naht schuof er in mêr, / der unlôse niht ze hêr' (201:10-18).[145]

3.6 The Rejection of Physicians and Secular Medicine

Not all sick in the corpus consult a physician or accept sound medical advice or treatment; some sanctified figures reject such services not out of a lack of faith in physicians or medicine but because they wish to suffer or to die speedily in order to be united with God. St Giles refuses medical attention for his serious wound caused accidentally by an arrow, as he perceives the suffering to be spiritually beneficial: '[...] sed ipse nec medicinam adhibere voluit et munera contemnens ad ipsa etiam non respexit, quin potius sciens virtutem in infirmitate perfici, dominum exoravit, ne, quamdin viveret, sanitati pristinae redderetur' (*LA*, CXXX, p. 583). St Paula refuses physicians' advice to take a little wine in order to aid convalescence – despite the recommendation of this measure in the NT – as she wishes to die speedily to be united with God.[146] St James the dismembered refuses the medical attention offered by his torturers, as this would involve accepting their false gods; he relishes instead the prospect of new flesh which the Lord will provide: 'carne nova me dominus induet, quam vestra vulnera maculare nequibunt'.[147] St Elisabeth devotes her life to the care of the sick but does not appear to personally avail of medical attention when brought low with a fever.[148] Similarly, St Silvester never employs medication for personal use: 'daz waiz wol von himel mîn trehtîn, / daz ich arzât niene bin, / noh werltlîcher erzenîe nie gephlach / unz an disen hiutign tach' (*KC*, 7892-95). When seriously ill, St Basil consults his dear friend, a highly skilled Jewish practitioner, but rather than availing of his medical skills, Basil uses the opportunity

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[144] See 506:14; 505:22-23 and 506:10-19; for further details on this operation see: W. Edmund Farrar, 'Parzival's Pericardial Puncture', *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 92 (1980), p. 640; Bernhard D. Haage, 'Urjans Heilung (PZ. 506, 5-19) nach der ‚Chirurgia' des Abū L-Qāsim Halaf Ibn Al-'Abbās Az-Zahrāwī', *ZfdP* 104 (1985), 357-67; ibid., 'Methodisches zur Interpretation von Urjans' Heilung (Parzival 505, 21-506, 19)', *ZfdP*, 111, (1992), 387-92.

[145] Cf. 576:16-8.

[146] 'Incidit in gravissimam valetudinem, immo quod optabat, invenit, ut nos desereret et domino plenius jungeretur', XXIX, p. 139.

[147] He refuses to be persuaded by aquaintances: 'o dilectssime quondam noster, profitere Deum tantum coram consule, ut vivere valeas; licet enim abscisae sunt manus tuae, sunt tamen peritissimi medici, qui tuis doloribus valeant subvenire', *LA*, CLXXIV, pp. 800-2.

[148] *LA*, CLXVIII, p. 764; cf. 'exaudivit dominus vocem meam, quia et omnia temporalia ut stercora reputo', *LA*, CLXVIII, p. 760.

to convert him to Christianity (*LA*, XXVI, pp. 125-126). Finally, some lay figures reject surgery due to the inherent risk of death involved, choosing instead to invoke the aid of particular saints.[149]

3.7 Advocation of Neglect of the Body

> Uber iare so helfin wir dem lîbe mit ezzin unde mit trinchenne unde uolgin uns sêlbin allis unsern můtwillen unde wellin des niht wizzen; so wir deme lîbe ie baz mit uârin, so er uns îe ze merôrin suntin gelâitit, so er îe lôsir ist unde wirsir ist. So ir den lîp uil wole gazet unde getrenchet, so schundet er ivch sâ ze bôsin werchin, ze bosin wortin, ze hohmůte, ze aller slâhte upichêit. (*SE*, 18, p. 45)

Some works such as the *SE* advocate a neglect of the body and a rejection of the world and all its ills. As a collection of sermons, this work is homiletic in nature and focuses on spirituality; life on earth is temporary in contrast with the eternal soul.[150] The physical being contains inherent moral weakness, which can be detrimental to the spiritual health of the soul: 'In den suntæren ist div brode des uleissces. Div brodecheit des uleissces dwinget des mennesscen mŏt ze hazze, ze vbermŏt, ze unreinecheit, ze rŏbe, ze brande, ze divue, ze morde, ze hŏre, zuntriwen, ze zorne, ze aller slahte bosheit' (50, pp. 121-122).[151] Physical urges must be overcome for the sake of the soul with a need for the flesh to be strengthened through spiritually beneficial actions such as harsh fasting (particularly from meat), and long watches.[152] Nevertheless, the body requires good food in measured portions with the *SE*, like Sirach, warning against overindulgence in food and drink.[153] However, in contrast to Sirach, such behaviour constitutes sin in the *SE* and is highlighted out of concern for spiritual rather than physical health: '[...] sâm derbit ubirâzze unde ubirtrunchenheit ûnser edele sêle [...]. Wan alle, die immer gesehen wellent die himelischen Ierusalem, die můzzin ir vlêisch ê brîteln uon suntichlichen gîrdin, die daz vlêisch uil gerne hânt' (16, p. 40).[154] The Devil exerts power over the sinner who overindulges in food and drink but is powerless against those who fast.[155]

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[149] 'Quidam puer cum vitio lapidis premeretur et de consilio medicorum incidi deberet, mater pueri mortis sibi timens periculum beatum Augustinum devote in sui filii subsidium invocavit', CXXIV, p. 562.

[150] Cf. 49, p. 117: 'swer dise werlt minnet, der minnet ein unstatez dinc'; 18, p. 46: 'dirre lîp schîere zergêt'. On the dangers of the world: see 19, 47-8.

[151] Cf. 41, pp. 98-9: 'Die denne belibent mit hŏre unde darân uunden werdent, den hilfet si nihtes, den gît ŏch ir sun, unser herre, nimmer neheine genâde'.

[152] Cf. 9, p. 27: 'Er bitet vns dvrh vnser selber sælicheit, daz wir vnsern lip dwingen vnde vnser brodez flaizch von vnrehte, von vppekeit, von bosen gedanchen, von vbeln werken'; 17, p. 44: 'Mit den zahern sol man uâstin, so div sele mit sêrigin zahern gewitzit werde, daz ŏch der brode lîp, der die sunti da tůt, mit uâsten gechestigit werde'; such actions replicate the behaviour of the saints: cf. 49, p. 117.

[153] Cf. 15, p. 36: 'Der mennisk ist sel vnde lip. Der lip bedarf des liplichen ezzens, div sele des gaistlichen. Wir sin in disem ellende vnde bedvrfen gůter phrůnde ze vnserre hineverte'; also 18, p. 45.

[154] Cf. *Pura confessio*, p. 4. 'Ich begihe dem almahtigim got, daz ich mich versundet han [...] mit ubrâzze, mit ubertrvnchenheit [...] daz riwet mich'; 1, p.10: 'Vermîdet vberâzze, trvncheheit, ander bosheit in disem kvrzim zîte, want er ein minnâre ist allir reine vnde alir kivsche, dem ir wartit'. Cf. *DM*, IV/LXXIII, p. 240.

[155] Cf. 18, p. 46: 'Ir sult ŏch wizzin, daz uberâzze unde trunchenheit des mannis lîp beswarint unde ime rehte gedanke benemint unde daz der lêidige uiant sâ deste mern gewalt hât uber die, die er ditze wâize. Da auir uaste ist, da ist aller slahte reinecheit unde allir slahte kuscheit unde div gotis forhte, da hat der tiefil deheinen gewalt'; also: 25, p. 66.

The *SE* is particularly critical of Christians who celebrate religious feast days through excessive food and drink; such behaviour angers Christ and one should follow His example, marking such days 'mit maniger unsenfte ir libes, mit uastin, mit wachin, mit kuslichem lebin, mit diemůte, mit allir slahte gůte, unde soltin ŏch unsirin lip dewingin uon schantlichen werchin' (33, p. 82).[156] Similar attitudes to food among the religious are discernible in the *LA*, where it is mentioned that St Peter the martyr eats very little in order to subdue his body and thus protect himself from sin.[157] Although St Augustine fears the slight pleasure he occasionally experiences in eating, he realises that he must take food for the sake of his health (CXXIV, p. 556); he praises those who long for death (p. 557) but also values good health: 'sive de cibo et potu sive de balneis caeteraque corporis voluptate nihil interroges; tantum ab ea peto, quantum in valetudinis spem conferri potest' (p. 566). Some saints practice abstinence in the extreme, which leaves them physically weakened while others fast excessively in order to produce a state of ecstasy (CXX, p. 533).[158] Only one medicinal-type substance consisting of the employment of blessed oil to anoint the sick is mentioned in the *SE*; however, rather than constituting a means of healing, its purpose aids the attainment of indulgence and grace for the soul: 'Hiute wirt daz ôl gesegint, da man die siechin mit ôlet. Da uon gewinnent si antilaz ir sundin unde gnâdi ir sele' (20, p. 49).

3.8 Metaphoric use of the Concept of Physician, Medicine, and Sickness

> Si partem corporis mei haberem infirmam, nunquam absciderem eam certe, sed facerem eam sanare (*EM*, 207, p. 409).

The frequent use of medical metaphors in the *SE* and *DM* implies both an acceptance of secular medicine and a belief in its effectiveness with the recurring reference to Jesus as the physician – 'der himelisch arzât'[159] – transmitting a positive image of physicians: 'In medico tria fuerunt, scilict sapientia, quae radicem morbi cognovit, bonitas, quae medicamenta adhibuit, potentia, quae ipsum tam subito mutare potuit' (*LA*, CXL, p. 627).[160] Other spiritual figures including a pope and confessors are compared to wise physicians, while in the *KC*, Silvester talks about himself as a spiritual doctor: 'sô bin ich der arzât, / der dir daz gotes wort vor saget' (7928-29).[161] Certain diseases, such as leprosy, eczema, wounds, or poison, are employed in the *EM*, *DM*, and *LA* as

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[156] Cf. 49, pp. 116-7, and 67, p. 153.
[157] LXIII, p. 279 : '[...] et quia servus delicate nutritus proteruit in dominum, carnem suam assidua cibi et potus parcitate restrinxit'.
[158] Weakened State, *LA*, CLXVIII, p. 755: 'Sibi quoque tatam abstinentiam et rigorem imponebat, ut corpus suum vigiliis, disciplinis et jejuniis maceraret'; some saints claim to be fed by angels: CXXIII, p. 541.
[159] *SE*, 1, p. 8; cf. *KC*, 12481: 'mîn trehtîn ist der arzât'; *DM*, VII/XXIV, p. 34; 'Quia salvator, medicus est, quia salutare, medicina est'; *LA*, CXL, p. 627: 'Inveni medicum, qui in coelis habitat et in terris spargit medicamente'.
[160] Cf. *SE*, 43, p. 105.
[161] Pope: *DM*, II/XI, p. 77; confessors, *DM*, III/XXIV, p. 141: 'Cuius pedibus iuvenis prostratus, fecit de peccato confessionem, retulit visionem, suscepit poenitentiam. Sicque per prudentiam medici denudatum ac sanatum est vulnus stolidi aegroti'.

metaphors for sin[162] or reference is made to spiritual blindness, deafness, lameness and muteness.[163] The therapeutic actions of Christ in saving sinners are occasionally described in surgical terms as wounds are bound, a caustic applied and all rottenness eradicated:

> primo enim Christus ipsum vinculis ligavit, secundo cauterium ipsum impressit, tertio omnem putredinem emendavit. [...] ligatus sum fidei clavis et bonis compedibus caritatis, aufer, Jesu, meorum putredines peccatorum, dum habes vinculis caritatis ligatum, seca, quodcunque inveneris vitiosum. (*LA*, CXL, p. 627)

Certain spiritual teachings and measures are described as medicine such as the commandments, confession, grace, penance, pilgrimage, preaching and the Gospel of Luke with such analogies aiding the clarification and comprehension of theology to a medieval audience: 'Omne mandatum tuum sicut cauterium impressum tenebo et si urit cauterium mandati, tamen putrefacta carnis exurit, ne ad virus tollet vitium'.[164]

Summary

> [...] sumilichin div gnâde, daz si die siechin gesunt machint (*SE*, 29, p. 74).

A wide range of natural causative factors of suffering emerge in the chosen corpus; the ancient humoural theory is expressed in addition to various elements believed to influence a state of health; these include old age, poverty, occupational hazards, contagion, overexertion – particularly in hot weather – and a harsh monastic lifestyle. There is recognition that psychosomatic factors such as extreme emotions or inner conflict can cause physical illness although implausible causes are also identified such as the belief in demonic-type creatures and sorcerers as agents of disease. Prophylactic elements are evident and include the provision of an adequate diet and regular bloodletting; diagnostic measures comprehend measurement of the pulse and analysis of hair while therapy generally consists of simple surgical treatments for injuries. Similar to the OT, the healing abilities of physicians and medicine are viewed as a divine gift, bestowed upon humanity to alleviate suffering. Consequently, religious characters, including monks, priests, and saints, operate

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[162] Eczema and leprosy: *DM*, III/XLIII, p. 163; leprosy: *EM*, 37, p. 261; *SV*, CCLIX, p. 244; blindness: *EM*, 188, p. 389; *SE*, 1, p. 6; poison or disease: *DM*, IV/XXIV, p. 195; *DM*, V/XVIII, p. 296. Leprosy does not always imply moral corruption as Christ occasionally assumes the form of a leper to test the compassion of religious: 'Tanta est humilitas in Christo, ut aliquando sub figuris infirmorum, aliquando quod amplius est, species leprosorum assumens, nobis appareat,' *DM*, VIII/XXIX, p. 104; cf. *EM*, 36, p. 260 and 101, p. 314; *DM*, VIII/XXXI, p.105. Lepers also appear in dreams to impart moral messages: *SV*, CLV, p. 198.

[163] Cf. *SE*, 1, p.7: 'Nv habet ir vernomen, wie Adam tôre wart, halz, blint vnte stvmme. In dei selbin lastir viel alliz manchvnne, ê daz der heilige Christ in dise werlt chôme'; *SE*, 17, p. 41: 'wir arme suntare blint'.

[164] Cf. *DM*, II/VI, p. 69: 'Periculosum est, quia sicut febris acuta se habet ad mortem, ita mortale peccatum ad gehennam'; *LA*, XIII, p. 82: 'tertio in flagellatione, et haec fuit nostrae redemptionis meritum, quia livore ejus sanati sumus'; also *LA*, V, p. 37. Cf. penance: '[...] est enim medicina maxima sanitatis', *LA*, LVII, p. 257; confession: *DM*, III/XIV, p. 129; grace: *LA*, LIV, p. 243; pilgrimage: *LA*, CXL, p. 627; preaching: *DM*, I/III, p. 9; *LA*, CXX, p. 528; Luke's gospel depicts the three divine medicines, those that cure i.e. penance, those that preserve, i.e. the avoidance of sin, and those that improve, i.e. the observance of the counsels: *LA*, CLVI, p. 697.

as physicians and a variety of secular and religious figures consult physicians or use medicine when ill: 'Beatus igitur Laurentius christianos die ac nocte diligenter quaesivit et uncuique, prout opus fuerat, ministravit' (*LA*, CXVII, p. 490). A spiritual message is not sought in each bout of sickness as one can be naturally ill and take secular steps in order to procure a cure; recourse to medicine and its practitioners expresses confidence in such sources.

Most physicians depicted in the corpus remain nameless with no criticism of their profession expressed in the vast majority of these narratives (even when the practitioners are pagan) or of those consulting physicians when ill. Positive traits are associated with physicians on occasion such as in the *KC*, where their intellect and knowledge of pharmaceuticals results in the production of effective potions and poisons (although these are not utilised to restore health, which is a physician's primary purpose) while the quality of compassion is evident in the *AH*. In contrast to the Bible, some criticism is present; the *DM* stresses the importance of spirituality over secularity for physician-monks, and the immorality of some medical treatments, while a couple of narratives in other works connect negative traits such as greed, incompetence and jealousy with this profession; these are, however, isolated exceptions to the rule. Overall, there is little or no substantiation of a prevailing antagonism by the Church against the medical profession or evidence to suggest that the Church discouraged the consultation of such figures. Indeed the opposite in the form of active support for physicians is occasionally imparted, such as one in the *LA* where the physician Ursicinus is tried, tortured and condemned to die for his Christian beliefs; during his ordeal he is encouraged to be firm in his conviction by Vitalis, who praises his care of the sick and assures him of his divine reward: 'noli frater Ursicine medice, qui alios curare consuevisti, te ipsum aeterna morte occidere, et qui ad palmam per multas passiones venisti, noli coronam amittere tibi a Deo paratam' (LXI, p. 272).

A new paradigm of physician is evident in some works in the manifestation of religious-minded practitioners, who distinguish between natural and supernatural disorders and prescribe spiritual therapy in the case of the latter. Rather than the ill invoking divine forgiveness and assistance before consulting physicians as proposed by Sirach, the ill are on occasion forced to do so by St Elisabeth before commencement of secular healing procedures. With the exception of the saint-physicians who combine religious and medical measures to restore health, there are few successful healings brought about by secular physicians. Their failure to cure largely emerges in narratives where suffering incorporates a divine purpose; in such instances, the response of the sufferer is the focus of the narrative rather than an implied criticism of the medical profession. Some conditions prove incurable or healing is withheld by God as it is not in accordance with His will and this secular failure to heal can confirm and underline the untreatable nature of the condition in order to increase the wonder of its forthcoming miraculous cure: 'Die Funktion des Motivs ist jedesmal dieselbe: das Versagen der ärztlichen Kunst bildet stets den Auftakt für das besondere Schicksal des Helden. Damit ist jener Ausnahmezustand eingetreten, in dem sich das Außergewöhnliche dieser Geschichte ereignen wird und in welchen Raum für das Wunderbare

geschaffen it'.[165] Physicians and medicine are rejected on occasion by some religious figures in the corpus; this is not due to a distrust or lack of faith in such services but on account of an ardent desire to suffer in order to attain spiritual benefit or wish to die speedily in order to be united with God. The *SE* is the only work in the corpus which does not incorporate any portrayals of secular physicians or medicine; it focuses on spirituality and advocates a neglect of the physical being in order to overcome its inherent moral weaknesses. To this end, it discourages overconsumption and advocates the spiritual benefits of fasting.

Although Kaiser maintains that legends lack any criticism of physicians on account of its insignificance to a genre, which does not exercise social criticism, legends do often reprove or condemn certain social practices, particularly in suffering-centred narratives (see Chapter five). While the *KC* omits any opprobrium of physicians or secular medicine, it denounces sorcerers such as Simon the magician by describing him as an enemy of God: 'der gotes widerwarte' (2573).[166] Such heathen figures are easily outwitted by the saints and are occasionally punished or killed as a consequence of divine justice: 'In nomine domini non moriemini, sed a serpentibus lacerati dolorum vestrorum mugitus dabitis' (*LA*, CLIX, p. 709).[167] There is therefore clear evidence of an anti-magical and anti-magician stance within this genre but little substantiation of Christian hostility towards medicine; this suggests a compatible relationship between religion and medicine rather than a competitive one. Overall in the corpus, medicine and the skills of physicians are deemed necessary to treat naturally occurring illness with their acceptance or approval by the Church indicated through a prolific employment of medical metaphors as a means of clarifying theology to medieval Christians.

[165] Kaiser, p. 36; cf. Haferlach, p. 209: 'In Legenden und Bibeldichtungen ist die funktionale Bedeutung von Ärzten besonders offentsichtlich. Diese werden benötigt, um anhand von erfolglosen medizinischen und paramedizinischen Therapieversuchen die Grenzen des Weltlichen aufzuzeigen und den "Arzt" Gott dann als allein erfolgreichen Wunderheiler einzusetzen'.

[166] Cf. 'des tievels man', 2477; 'des vâlandes man', 2511. Simon believes that he is the most powerful god: 'von menniske bin ih niht geborn. / himel unt erde nemegen mih niht gehaben, / die engele sulen mich unter den handen tragen. / ih pin aller gote hêrre', 2514-17.

[167] Cf. *LA*, CLIX, pp. 708-9.



Fig. 1.
Die Heilung des Besessenen von Geresa

From Hitda – Codex from Meschede (ca. 1020)
Hessische Landes- and Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt

4. THE PRESENCE OF A HEALING-CENTRED PARADIGM OF SUFFERING IN THE BIBLE AND IN THE MEDIEVAL CORPUS

> The Bible contains many passages where a definite relation between sin and disease is supposed or even deemed to be obvious. Disease then is a consequence of sin. Disease or death is the punishment for a sin committed, consisting of transgression of the divine commandments.[1]

In the OT, a firm relationship exists between the concept of good health and obedience to divine laws and principles. This is embodied in the Old Covenant, which establishes a reciprocal relationship between God and the Israelites through the figures of Abraham, Moses, and David.[2] Under the terms of this agreement, God will love, bless and multiply His people in return for their obedience and respect, thereby making their actions directly responsible for their health. Consequently individual or collective disobedience can result in ill-health as a punitive measure by God: 'dicens si audieris vocem Domini Dei tui et quod rectum est coram eo feceris et oboedieris mandatis eius custodierisque omnia praecepta illius cunctum languorem quem posui in Aegypto non inducam super te ego enim Dominus sanator tuus' (Ex 15.26).[3] In the opinion of some scholars, God inflicts suffering as a punishment in the OT to such an extent that the existence of unmotivated illness or innocent suffering is denied: 'Für den JHWH-gläubigen Israeliten soll die Vorstellung von der Krankheit als einer unpersönlichen Schicksalsfügung ausgeschlossen sein. Hier ist Krankheit immer schon religiös motiviert und steht von daher im Grundschema einer *Sünde–Strafe–Korrelation*'.[4] According to this interpretation, all OT sickness is inflicted purposefully and punitively by God with this intent particularly apparent in the disease of leprosy.[5] But while people do suffer as a consequence of sin in the OT, and children are very occasionally afflicted for the sins of their forefathers, neither is sufficiently widespread to deduce from each instance of suffering that it is divinely inflicted as retribution. An existence or transference of guilt can therefore not be assumed in each OT suffering narrative: 'But it cannot be inferred from the sin

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[1] Baruch, 'Sin and Disease', p. 295.

[2] The OT uses several names for God, including El, Elohim, YHWH and Shaddai. Theos is used in the NT. For ease of reference, I have used the word God throughout this thesis. For further information see Hastings, ed., 'God', in *Dict*ionary, pp. 333-38.

[3] Cf. Prv 3.7-8: 'ne sis sapiens apud temet ipsum time Dominum et recede a malo / sanitas quippe erit umbilico tuo et inrigatio ossuum tuorum'; Dt 30.15-16. A large family, a good wife, sturdy children and a long life were considered divine blessings.

[4] In der Smitten, p. 108; cf. Ebstein, p. 74: 'Nicht nur die die Völker verheerenden Seuchen, sondern alle den einzelnen heimsuchenden Krankheiten wurden [im AT] als die Schickungen bez. Strafen Jahwes angesehen, daneben wird auch verschiedenen Gelegenheitsursachen eine größere Bedeutung eingeräumt'.

[5] Ebstein, p. 83, includes the leprosy of Naaman in this conclusion: 'Was aber die Ursache des Aussatzes betrifft, so wird er so oft als göttliche Strafe bezeichnet, wodurch Jahwe seinen Zorn zu erkennen gab, dass nicht daran gezweifelt werden kann, dass – natürlich abgesehen von der Übertragbarkeit des Aussatzes durch Ansteckung – diese Krankheit, wie die anderen auch, als von Jahwe kommend und durch seinen Willen heilend oder zum Verderben führend beurteilt werden muss'.

that the 'poetic justice' followed, nor inferred from the suffering that a corresponding iniquity entailed it'.[6]

This OT principle of divine retribution is also identified by some scholars in the NT: 'Also in the New Testament we repeatedly meet with the relationship between iniquity, disease and/or death'.[7] Divine wrath is, however, virtually absent from the NT as the role of Jesus involves saving rather than disciplining the world and He accordingly does not inflict a single punitive episode of suffering: 'non enim misit Deus Filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum' (Io 3.17). A variety of conditions, including demonic possession, are present in the NT, largely without reference to aetiology, and this element has led some researchers such as Fenner, to reason that all NT sickness is supernatural in origin, stemming either from God or the Devil and his demons,[8] while others such as Greeven, and Seybold and Müller conclude that all NT suffering is demonic in source despite the presence of significant differences between the *modus operandi* in the healing of physical sickness and demonic possession: 'Aber trotz dieser Unterschiede ist doch festzustellen, daß der Glaube, hinter der Krankheit stecke ein Dämon, im NT grundsätzlich alle Krankheiten umfaßt'.[9]

Belief in a supernatural origin to all NT sickness leads some to conclude that sickness in the NT is a continued manifestation of the OT doctrine of wrath: 'Sie erscheint als göttliche Vergeltung, als Strafe für menschliche Sünde, was sowohl jüdischem Denken entspricht [...] wie auch in der griechisch-römischen Welt galt'.[10] Such an interpretation fails to recognise the advent of a new relationship with divinity in the NT, based on choice rather than on a fear of retribution: 'What happens in the NT is that this non-retributive understanding of man's relation to God becomes dominant. Retributive concepts are almost displaced because of the nature of the Christian Gospel. It is a gospel which proclaims Christ as the one through whom people are invited into

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[6] H. H. Rowley, *Submission in Suffering and Other Essays on Eastern Thought* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1951), p. 3. This is, however, assumed by some such as in der Smitten, p. 116: 'Als tiefste Ursache der Krankheit wird [im AT] eine schwere Schuld des Kranken angenommen'.

[7] Baruch, 'Sin and Disease', p. 299. Trüb, p. 13: 'Die Anschauungen über die Krankheit als Sündenfolge geht nach dem Neuen Testament auf Christus, den Arzt des Körpers und der Seele, zurück, der den kranken Sünder durch das Wort oder durch seine Hand heilte'; also Eryl Davies, *The Wrath of God: The Biblical Doctrine of Wrath, Final Judgement and Hell* (Glamorgan: Evangelical, 1984). Stephen H. Travis, *Christ and the Judgment of God: Divine Retribution in the New Testament* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1986), p. 167 supplies a more balanced view: 'But what is remarkable is how infrequently such ideas [of retribution] occur [in the NT], in view of their prominence in the Jewish world'. So does Friedrich Winzler, 'Sinn und Erfahrung: Probleme und Wege der Krankenseelsorge', in *Theologie und Wirklichkeit: Festschrift für Wolfgang Trill zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hans Walter Schütte and Friedrich Wintzer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), p. 223.

[8] 'Die Krankheit erscheint vielmehr durch höhere Macht verursacht und wird entweder auf Gott selbst oder auf die Dämonen oder den Teufel zurückgeführt [...] so sind die Dämonen als Krankheitserreger auch bei denjenigen Krankheitsfällen des N.T. zu supponieren, bei denen sie nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt werden', Fenner, pp. 21 and 24-5.

[9] Greeven, p. 14; cf. Seybold and Müller, p. 127: 'In den Exorzimen bewohnt der Dämon den Kranken, entsprechend muß der Exorzist ihn austreiben, so daß er ausfährt. In den Therapien hat der Dämon die Krankheit nur von außen verursacht. Er braucht deshalb nicht ausgetrieben zu werden, die Heilung der Krankheit erfolgt auf dem Wege der Kraftübertragung, die die vom Dämon bewirkte »Schwäche« aufhebt'; also Wm. Menzies Alexander, *Demonic Possession in the New Testament: its Relations Historical, Medical, and Theological* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1902), p. 6: 'He [Jesus] specially regarded sickness as the result of demonic influence, and this mode of view was applied in a very general way to all sicknesses; S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament*, 2nd edn (Osloae: Aedibus, 1966), p. 18, attributes the conditions of muteness and blindness (from birth) to demons.

[10] Greeven, p. 13: 'Kann Krankheit auch nicht immer als Folge der Sünde am Einzelleben nachgewiesen werden, so wird ein erleuchtetes Auge es dennoch wohl hie und da erkennen können'; one can find examples of 20th century scholars warning doctors of this cause: 'Der Arzt soll wissen, daß er nicht mit Fleisch und Blut zu kämpfen hat, sondern mit Mächten der Finsternis', Greeven, p. 20.

relationship with God [...]. And the experience of those who refuse to respond to this gospel is not an experience of retributive punishment, but is the negation of all that is offered in Christ'.[11] Furthermore, most NT suffering narratives do not contain any indication of divine causality or reference to guilt or atonement in the context of healing as would support the thesis that sickness in the NT is supernatural in origin and a punishment for sin. The majority of illnesses in the NT are, in fact, portrayed in a neutral manner, and exhibit no characteristics or symptoms which could suggest any causality other than a natural one: 'Unless one's conclusions are simply the final articulation of one's own presuppositions, one cannot, without violence to the texts in question, infer either demonic involvement or a immediate divine causality'.[12] Even with such supernatural conditions as demonic possession, there is no hint of sin or guilt or any implication that the condition was deserved. Instead, in contrast to the OT, the Devil and his demons appear to attack randomly and independently of God and it is these evil beings rather than their victims that Jesus directly addresses in the performance of exorcisms.

Despite the existence of a correlation between sickness and sin in the Middle Ages, this understanding of causality is not widespread in medieval commentary or literature. An inaccurate assumption that this motif is dominant in the Bible leads some, such as Doob or Brody, to conclude that it is equally prevalent in the Middle Ages: '[...] the Bible continually attributes disease to sin [...] with such precedents, it is not surprising that medieval commentators often interpret specific diseases as the product of appropriate sins'.[13] Consequently, it is maintained that sin is frequently depicted as the cause of illness in medieval literature: 'Sin in general was responsible for disease in general'.[14] It is argued that this is particularly relevant in the case of the visible and incurable disease of leprosy: 'Yet more than any other disease leprosy illustrates an association which was fundamental in the history of healing: the association of disease with sin. [...] It was common to regard leprosy as God's punishment for sexual excess'.[15] With the rigid understanding that all biblical sickness is a consequence of sin, alternative reasoning for the existence of suffering is disregarded: 'Properly speaking, chance and accident do not play any role in this trend of ideas'.[16]

All these interpretations focus on one function of transcendentally imposed sickness, that of punishment for sin, in what I identify as the suffering-centred paradigm and overlook several fundamental aspects of suffering during this period. Firstly, they ignore the fact that, initially absent from the world created by God, suffering and death came into existence on account of original sin: 'The presence of sickness and disease are indications of a world that has been

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[11] Travis, p. 168; also Hermann Häring, *Das Problem des Bösen in der Theologie*, Grundzüge, 62 (Darmstadt: WBG, 1985), p. 35.

[12] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease and Disease Causality', p. 2951.

[13] Doob, p. 2, incorrectly refers here to the works of Hrabanus Maurus, as does Dube, p. 242, which were dealt with in chapter 2. Cf. Brody, p. 108; Koller, p. 18.

[14] Peter Meister, *The Healing Female in the German Courtly Romance* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1990), p. 24.

[15] Richard Palmer, 'The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Modern Europe', in *The Church and Healing*, ed. by W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), pp. 79-99 (pp. 82-83). Palmer, p. 83, also extends this interpretation to other conditions: 'Plague and indeed all epidemic diseases were also seen as the flail of God's wrath'. Also Brody, p. 157: 'This [moral] failure underlies the significance of leprosy at nearly every appearance of it in literature'; Arno Borst, *Lebensformen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1999), p. 598; Kaiser [in *Silv* and *KC*], p. 117.

[16] Baruch, 'Sin and Disease', p. 97.

dislocated by sin. When the cosmos is recreated, all that is imperfect will be made perfect'.[17] Consequently, humanity is mortal and susceptible to disease and injury as part of the established order, a fact recognised in the Bible: 'The NT views disease as one of the many aspects of material (as distinct from moral) evil that resulted from the Fall'.[18] Furthermore, humanity's possession of reason and free will results in suffering or death on occasion.[19] Secondly, they largely overlook alternative religiously-motivated reasons for the onset of sickness contained within the suffering-centred paradigm, such as chastisement (disciplinary rather than retributive in nature) or a test of faith (see Chapter 5) and finally neglect another side to this motif from the OT right through to the Middle Ages, which I identify as the healing-centred paradigm.

The focus of this chapter is the healing-centred paradigm of suffering. It is present in the OT, the NT, and in most works of the chosen medieval corpus and differs fundamentally from the suffering-centred paradigm as narratives embodying this lay little stress on the reason behind the emergence of suffering. They tend to be short in length, involve a variety of conditions including leprosy, and unlike the suffering-centred model, usually omit the cause of the condition, i.e. natural or supernatural, except for the condition of possession, which is depicted as demonic in source. In general this paradigm supplies little description of the depicted disorder or the pain it causes, thus making diagnosis difficult or indeed impossible: 'factum est autem post verba haec aegrotavit filius mulieris matris familiae et erat languor fortis nimis ita ut non remaneret in eo halitus' (III Rg 17.17).[20] This lack of detail does not constitute evidence of the existence of sin or a divine origin as maintained for example by in der Smitten (120): 'Krankheit gilt als Folge der Sünde und hat die letzte Ursache im gestörten Verhältnis des Kranken zu seinem Gott. Daher sind auch die Symptome wenig ausführlich geschildert, so daß man schwerlich auf eine bestimmte Krankheit zu schließen vermag'.[21] In fact, the morality of the sufferer is rarely mentioned and then only in a positive manner with even a state of demonic possession bearing no theological implication as regards the morality of the victim. Moreover actions of contrition or remorse, which could suggest a state of sin, are completely absent in this paradigm and cannot, as some suggest, be assumed: 'As iniquity seems to precede disease, so remission of sins precedes healing of disease'.[22] These facts strongly imply that victims of suffering in healing-centred narratives are undeserving of such pain

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[17] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease and Disease Causality', p. 2943; the existence of innocent suffering is identified by John Bowker, *Problems of Suffering in Religions of the World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), p. 9: '[...] prophets continually complained of the sufferings brought on the innocent by the oppression of the wicked, and psalmists in their hours of pain and sorrow repeatedly protested their innocence. When, therefore, the book of Job maintained that there is innocent suffering in the world, it was not propounding any new doctrine, but only enunciating afresh what experienced has always proclaimed, and what had only been obscured by a false theological deduction from the justice of God'.

[18] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease and Disease Causality', p. 2945; also Seybold and Müller, p. 74: 'Zwar ist im Zusammenhang der Schuld-Strafe-Erzählung vom sogenannten Sündenfall nicht von Krankheit die Rede; wohl aber von fluchähnlichen Belastungen und Erschwernissen, die fortan die menschliche Existenz kennzeichnen: Geburtsschmerzen für die Frau, mühselige Quälereien bei der Beschaffung des Lebensunterhalts für den Mann, gottgewollte Lebensminderung. Eben da finden die Alltagsleiden ihre Begründung'; also Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 61; Häring, *Problem*, p. 29.

[19] Cf. in the OT the suicide of Razi (II Mcc 14.16); Cain's murder of Abel (Gn 4.8), Neduchadnezzar's blinding of King Zedekiah (Ier 52.11) and the martyrdom of Eleazar by pagans (II Mcc 6.30).

[20] Cf. Hezekiah (IV Rg 20.1): 'in diebus illis aegrotavit Ezechias usque ad mortem'; also IV Rg 4.18-20.

[21] Cf. Seybold and Müller, p. 18: 'Erkrankungen wurden als Schläge oder Anfälle von höherer Gewalt in Analogie zu körperlichen Verletzungen angesehen. Andere Ätiologien haben sich im Alten Testament nicht niedergeschlagen'.

[22] Baruch, 'Sin and Disease', p. 299.

and that its function is not punitive. Instead emphasis rests – as the name of this paradigm indicates – on the healing of the affliction which is miraculous in nature. In contrast to the suffering-centred paradigm, the pain experienced has no purpose for the victim; its meaning lies in its miraculous healing, an act which can demonstrate among others divine power, the authority of prophets, or the coming of the kingdom of God.

4.1 The Healing-Centred Paradigm in the Old Testament

> Sickness and healing are never approached in the Bible from the medical or scientific point of view, but always from the religious point of view, that is to say, from the viewpoint of the particular relationship which they create or make apparent between the sick person and God. It is not the nature of the sickness, its development or its treatment, which receives attention, but the fact itself envisaged as an event significant of man's destiny or condition within the general perspective of the history of salvation.[23]

Several examples of the healing-centred paradigm of sickness exist in the OT, and although the motive for healing is usually not explicitly stated, it can generally be inferred from the narrative. Several involve women suffering inexplicable barrenness. During the establishment of the everlasting covenant with Abram, God initiates the healing of Abram's infertile wife Sarai through the promise of a son: 'et benedicam ei et ex illa dabo tibi filium cui benedicturus sum eritque in nationes et reges populorum orientur ex eo' (Gn 17.16). Belief in divine power is unnecessary here as Sarai laughs in disbelief at the possibility of birth to an elderly pair (Gn 18.11-12) but the omnipotence of God is clearly demonstrated to the Israelites when Sarai gives birth to Isaac. This miraculous birth symbolises divine commitment to the perpetual covenant and may also indicate the later importance of Isaac as leader of the Israelites. A similar motivation is evident in the preternatural birth of Samson to the barren wife of Manoah as this event underlines the divine authority invested in Samson to commence, as a nazirite, the rescue of Israel from her forty years of Philistine captivity. In a variation on the motif, the angel who announces the forthcoming birth stipulates health measures involving the avoidance of wine or fermented liquor and unclean food in order to ensure the birth of a healthy child (Idc 13.3-5).

Although God occasionally initiates healing, this event is usually set in motion by the prayers or requests of the faithful, to which God responds, e.g. the infertility suffered by Hannah, and two relations of Abraham and Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel, is miraculously cured upon invocation of divine assistance. Rebekah, the wife of Isaac, is rewarded with the conception of twins, Esau and Jacob, when Isaac prays to Yahweh on her behalf (Gn 25.21) while Rachel, the wife of Jacob, is blessed with a son Joseph (Gn 30.22-24), and Hannah, the wife of Elkanah, bears

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[23] H. Roux, 'Sickness', in *A Companion to the Bible*, ed. by J. von Allmen (New York: [n. pub.], 1958), p. 402; also Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 64: '[...] illness in the Old Testament is viewed in its moral and spiritual dimensions rather than in its physical nature'.

a son, Samuel (I Sm 1.5-20), when God responds to their prayers. No explanation is given as to why Rachel and Hannah pray directly to God while Isaac intercedes for Rebekah but both methods prove successful despite considerable differences as regards the swiftness of divine response; Rachel and Hannah wait an unspecified but significant period before their requests are granted while God seems to react promptly to the prayers of Isaac: 'deprecatusque est Dominum pro uxore sua eo quod esset sterilis qui exaudivit eum et dedit conceptum Rebeccae (Gn 25.21). There is no indication that barrenness constitutes a punishment for sin in these narratives; God assures fertility and longevity to the Israelites in exchange for adherence to His law and the fact that these women ultimately conceive without the performance of atonement measures clearly indicates their guiltless state.[24] Furthermore, the children born emerge as important figures in the history of Israel as Jacob and Joseph become spiritual leaders, and Samuel a prophet (I Sm 3.1-14). Curiously, it is the first three generations of the descendents of Abraham and Sarah who suffer barrenness before being blessed with sons, an aspect, which reinforces divine commitment to the perpetual covenant with Israel: 'benedicam tibi et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas caeli et velut harenam quae et in litore maris [...]' (Gn 22.17). Such miracles also demonstrate the compassion and mercy of God towards those who beseech His assistance: 'In den verschiedenen Schichten, in denen das Unfruchtbarkeitsmotiv in den Vätersagen vorkommt, ist es implizit oder explizit mit der Erkenntnis verbunden, daß es der persönlich erfahrene Gott ist, der als Sippengott für Schutz und Segen zuständig ist'.[25]

The religious actions of King Hezekiah of Judah upon falling ill with an incurable and fatal boil also express trust in God as he responds in faith by praying and crying directly to God for the restoration of his health in recognition of his steadfast life: 'qui convertit faciem suam ad parietem et oravit Dominum dicens / obsecro Domine memento quomodo ambulaverim coram te in veritate et in corde perfecto et quod placitum est coram te fecerim flevit itaque Ezechias fletu magno' (IV Rg 20.2-3).[26] The absence of atonement procedures together with the employment of direct prayer indicates the neutral nature of the suffering and God mediates healing through Isaiah on account of the prayers and tears of Hezekiah (IV Rg 20.5-6). The role of Isaiah as mediator confirms his identity as a prophet as God performs this as a means of 'validating and supporting the leaders and spokesmen of his choice'.[27] This aspect is also evident in Exodus, where God grants Moses the ability, inter alia, to make his hand leprous and healthy again at will in response to his uncertainty as to whether the Israelites will believe or indeed listen to him as a leader: '[...] non credent mihi neque audient vocem meam sed dicent non apparuit tibi Dominus' (Ex 4.1).[28] This sign convinces the Israelites of the truth of the message of Moses, confirming divine presence and validating the commission of Moses to lead the Israelites out of Egypt: 'locutusque est Aaron omnia verba quae

[24] Fertility as a divine blessing: Gn 1.28; 9.1; 12.2; 17.6; 26.4; 28.3; 48.3; Dt 1.10; 10.22; 26.5; 30.9; longevity: Ex 20.12; Dt 5.16; 6.2; 30.20; 32.46-47; II Rg 3.14; Ps 21.4; 34.12-14; 91.16; Pv 3.1-2; 9.10-11; 10.27; Is 65.20.
[25] Seybold and Müller, p. 71.
[26] Although his death is prophesied by the prophet Isaiah, it is not a punishment but simply divine will.
[27] Alister, p. 4.
[28] This ability is not, as maintained by Ebstein, p. 83, a test by Moses of God's strength: 'Es war dies eine, wenn man so sagen darf, der Kraftproben Jahwes, um Mose, der daran nicht recht glauben sollte, seine Macht zu zeigen'.

dixeat Dominus ad Mosen et fecit signa coram populo / et credidit populus audieruntque quod visitasset Dominus filios Israhel et quod respexisset adflictionem eorum et proni adoraverunt' (Ex 4.30-1). Curiously, this personal infliction of leprosy does not require any purification ritual or exclude Moses from the high office as leader; after this event he is treated with respect rather than the disparagement or social exclusion one might expect towards lepers: 'Körperliche Gebrechen wurden als Makel angesehen und disqualifizieren den damit Behafteten vom Zugang zu höheren Ämtern (Lev 21,16-24; 2 Sam 4,4; 14,25) [...] Als ein von Gott Gezeichneter und Verstoßener verdient er [der Aussätzige] keine Solidarität'.[29]

Some OT healings are instigated on behalf of others by prophets invoking divine mercy through prayer. Elijah begs Yahweh to restore the son of a widow in recognition of the widow's kindness in providing accommodation for him (Elijah). This is the only OT healing-centred narrative where the stereotypical view of sickness as a consequence of sin is voiced, as the widow interprets her son's illness and death as a divine punishment for her own sins rather than those of her son: 'dixit ergo ad Heliam quid mihi et tibi vir Dei ingressus es ad me ut rememorarentur iniquitates meae et interficeres filium meum' (III Rg 17.18). Sin is not, however, the cause of death as Elijah cries out to God in incomprehension and frustration at this event: 'et clamavit ad Dominum ex dixit Domine Deus meus etiamne viduam apud quam ego utcumque sustentor adflixisti ut interficeres filium eius' (III Rg 17.20). His prayers that the child be restored are answered as the boy is revived and this miracle convinces the widow of Elijah's role as an inspired proclaimer of the will of God (III Rg 17.24). Elisha also initiates healing out of gratitude, in this instance towards the Shunamite woman who looks after him when he passes through that town. As she and her elderly husband are childless, Elisha blesses them with a son, in a narrative which oddly does not mention the invocation of divine assistance. Instead, in a similar vein to the prophecy given by God to Sarai, Elisha announces to the woman that she will give birth within a year. Although few individuals request the intercession of a prophet in order to procure healing within the OT healing-centred narratives, this Shunamite woman seeks out Elisha when her son suddenly dies; she does not need to inform him that her son is dead as the prophet perceives the bitterness in her heart: '[...] et accessit Giezi ut amoveret eam et ait homo Dei dimitte illam anima enim eius in amaritudine est et Dominus celavit me et non indicavit mihi' (IV Rg 4.27). Rather than requesting his assistance, the women expresses her disappointment with Elisha[30] but he is undisturbed by this as he swiftly orders his servant Gehazi to take his staff and lay it upon the dead child in order to revive him. Gehazi fails in his efforts, perhaps because – like the disciples in the NT – he lacks faith, or omits prayer. Alternatively, he could be spiritually impure as he later becomes leprous as a punishment for sin (IV Rg 4.31).[31] The boy is successfully revived by Elisha, who commences the procedure by privately praying to God (IV Rg 4.33).

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[29] In der Smitten, p. 115.

[30] 'quae dixit illi numquid petivi filium a domino meo numquid non dixi tibi ne inludas me' IV Rg 4.28.

[31] In the NT the apostles also fail to heal, in this instance a demoniac who is subsequently cured by Jesus. Jesus cites a lack of prayer as the reason for failure in one account.

Belief in God is not a prerequisite to a cure as faith in the healing abilities of a prophet can also suffice. Naaman, a moral and valiant gentile, suffers from the epitome of deserved suffering, leprosy, without any indication that its function is punitive: 'Naaman princeps militiae regis Syriae erat vir magnus apud dominum suum et honoratus per illum enim dedit Dominus salutem Syriae erat autem vir fortis et dives sed leprosus' (IV Rg 5.1).[32] Upon learning of Elisha's capacity to cure, he travels to his house, where he is instructed by a servant of the prophet to bathe in the rivers of Jordan.[33] Naaman initially rejects this therapy as he expected an overtly religious procedure involving the invocation of divine assistance and a laying on of hands by the prophet: 'iratus Naaman recedebat dicens putabam quod egrederetur ad me et stans invocaret nomen Domini Dei sui et tangeret manu sua locum leprae et curaret me' (IV Rg 5.11). His reaction suggests the existence of a set healing pattern among healers during this period, particularly as certain elements of this sequence also emerge in OT– and in particular, in NT healing narratives. When finally persuaded to trust the wisdom of Elisha, Naaman is rewarded for his faith in complying with instruction as his leprous skin – in a similar vein to *AH* – is cured and restored to that of a young child (IV Rg 5.13). Despite his lack of religious belief and initial focus on the method rather than on the meaning of the cure, Naaman's trust in the knowledge of the prophet initiates healing and as a consequence, religious conversion: '[...] vere scio quod non sit Deus in universa terra nisi tantum in Israhel [...]' (IV Rg 5.15).

A variety of conditions are healed in the OT healing-centred narratives without indication of causality or implication of sin, leading to the assumption that these disorders occurred naturally. Although no detail is supplied on the physical pain experienced, psychological and social effects of suffering emerge in the accounts of Sarai, Rebekah and Hannah as these women are treated disrespectfully and taunted cruelly on account of their barrenness and consequently experience feelings of shame, jealousy, and frustration: 'cernens autem Rahel quod infecunda esset invidit sorori et ait marito suo da mihi liberos alioquin moriar / cui iratus respondit Iacob num pro Deo ego sum qui privavit te fructu ventris tui' (Gn 30:1-2). Various healing methods are evident in this OT paradigm as God occasionally cures directly and invisibly or mediates healing through the prophets. Despite the apparent autonomy of Elisha in the accounts of Naaman and the Shunamite woman, prophets do not appear to possess the power to heal in a similar capacity to the NT apostles, as divine assistance is generally invoked through prayer in order to mediate healing to the ill. Physicians do not seem to be consulted by sufferers in their attempts to procure healing in these OT narratives but prophets combine medical substances and therapies with religious measures in an assimilation which implies acceptance rather than rejection of secular medicine: 'Even though in the Old Testament, God is represented as the only healer and God's people are to refrain from

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[32] In the OT, Moses, Miriam, Naaman, Gehazi and King Azariah are all said to suffer from *sara'at*, which is generally translated as leprosy but is a general term for a variety of skin diseases: see John Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing: A Medical and Theological Commentary* (Edinburgh: Handsel, 1998), pp. 47-8.

[33] This aspect highlights the establishment of a healing reputation by certain prophets through their performance of miracles: '[...] utinam fuisset dominus meus ad prophetam qui est in Samaria profecto curasset eum a lepra quam habet', IV Rg 5.3.

resorting to magical or pagan healing practices, the use of natural or medicinal means is not only precluded but even employed in ostensibly miraculous healings'.[34] Isaiah applies a fig poultice to the boil of Hezekial to mediate healing,[35] while Elijah and Elisha pray and perform artificial cardio-respiratory resuscitation in reviving the dead; some minor differences are apparent in the latter as Elisha lies three times upon the victim before praying, while Elijah initially prays before lying seven times upon the victim.[36]

> ingressusque clusit ostium super se et puerum et oravit ad Dominum / et ascendit et incubuit super puerum posuitque os suum super os eius et oculos suos super oculos eius et manus suas super manus eius et incurvavit se super eum et calefacta est caro pueri / at ille reversus deambulavit in domo semel huc et illuc et ascendit et incubuit super eum et oscitavit puer septies aperuitque oculos' (IV Rg 4.33-35)[37]

This integration of medical practices or substances does not substantiate their effectiveness, as healing in these narratives is miraculous in nature and a divine response to the prayers of a prophet through whom the cure is mediated: 'Wherever mention is made of a "cure" in the positive sense of the term, what is meant is a *vis medicatrix naturae* deriving from divine power'.[38] Some healings appear to omit prayer and in the case of Naaman do not necessarily require the presence of the prophet Elisha. Mediated healings through the prophets are the forerunners to those attained by the disciples in the NT and by the saints in the medieval corpus. Even after death, the most prolific mediatory prophet Elisha continues this role as his bones restore a man flung down into his tomb by those in fear of bands of Moabites; the fact that the man is revived upon coming into contact with the bones draws further parallels with the cult of saints and indicates the blessedness and power of such figures even after death.

4.2 The Healing-Centred Paradigm in the New Testament

> Spiritus Domini super me propter quod unxit me evangelizare pauperibus misit me / praedicare captivis remissionem et caecis visum dimittere confractos in remissionem praedicare annum Domini acceptum et diem retributionis (Lc 4.18-19)

Jesus assumes the role of divine healer in the NT, curing repeatedly during a three-year ministry in Palestine, which in fulfilment of the Hebrew prophecy of Isaiah, confirms and actively

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[34] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 68.
[35] 'dixitque Esaias adferte massam ficorum quam cum adtulissent et posuissent super ulcus eius curatus est', IV Rg 20.7.
[36] D. S. Allister, *Sickness and Healing in the Church*, Latimer Studies, 2 (Oxford: Latimer House, 1981), p. 6, maintains that Elisha employed "sympathetic magic" rather than artificial resuscitation in this account but this would not be divinely permitted and would surely result in the failure to heal.
[37] Cf. III Rg 17.21: 'et expandit se atque mensus est super puerum tribus vicibus clamavitque ad Dominum et ait Domine Deus meus revertatur oro anima pueri huius in viscera eius'.
[38] Rosner, p. 8. Cf. 'exaudivit Dominus vocem Heliae et reversa est anima pueri intra eum et revixit', III Rg 17.22.

demonstrates the identity of Jesus as the Messiah.[39] The fact that Jesus – as the Son of God – inherently possesses the power to heal differentiates Him from the OT prophets, who purely mediate miracles in accordance with divine will: 'In noch höherem Maße als die Propheten „repräsentiert" Jesus seinen Gott in dieser Welt, insofern er von dem Kreis seiner Gläubigen nicht als ein, sondern als der Prophet und als mehr denn ein Prophet angeschaut wird'.[40] Further to illustrating the divinity of Jesus, healing miracles satisfy a human need and operate within the framework of eschatology as a sign of the coming of the kingdom of God: '[...] diese Heilung und Heilungswunder überhaupt sind nicht um ihrer selbst willen wichtig, sondern sie sind Zeichen für den Anbruch der Gottesherrschaft, die eine Weltenwende bedeutet, nämlich die Welt zum Heile in weitester Bedeutung führen soll'.[41] Healing therefore is neither performed for its own sake nor does it simply mean a restoration to physical health for those afflicted but has much broader implications: 'The concept of the body is not an absolute good. It is merely an aspect of a much broader concept of well-being that results from the reconciliation of man with God, which may be said to have moral, spiritual, and physical implications'.[42] Its functions within the NT healing-centred paradigm will be analysed in this section.

Although Jesus performs the vast majority of healing miracles in the NT, this mission is also carried out on a smaller scale by other figures, initially the twelve apostles, who are given the power (*dunamis*) and authority (*exousia*) by Jesus to go to the people of Israel, to preach both the good news and the importance of repentance, and to heal the sick:[43]

> Et convocatis duodecim discipulis suis dedit illis potestatem spirituum inmundorum ut eicerent eos et curarent omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem / [...] / Hos duodecim misit Iesus praecipiens eis et dicens in viam gentium ne abieritis et in civitates Samaritanorum ne intraveritis / sed potius ite ad oves quae perierunt domus Israhel / Euntes autem praedicate dicentes quia adpropinquavit regnum caelorum / infirmos curate mortuos suscitate leprosos mundate daemones eicite gratis accepistis gratis date (Mt 10.1-8)[44]

Such cures validate the healers as disciples of Jesus and are performed in the NT by Peter, Paul (on occasion with Barnabus), Philip, and Stephen. Similar to the OT prophets, the apostles are divinely selected but unlike the prophets, they possess the ability to heal, although they repeatedly stress the power of Jesus behind such events: 'In healing the disciples were confronting the power of evil and needed the power of God to oppose it and overcome it'.[45] An intent of such acts is 'to attest the

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[39] Cf. Is 35.4-6 and 61.1; Mt 11.2-6; Mt 8.16-17; Is 53.4; Io 10.37-38; Act 2.22; Lc 7.18-23; Io 20.30 and 21.25.
[40] Hempel, p. 289. I disagree with Eitrem, p. 64, that Jesus is reliant upon God to perform these acts.
[41] Fichtner, p.5; also Ferngren, 'Early Christianity', p. 3: 'They [miracles] represent the external aspect of salvation, the physical manifestation of a new spiritual order'; Clark Kee, p. 80.
[42] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease Causality', p. 2943.
[43] Cf. Mt 10.1; Mc 3.14-15. Other healers: Lc 10.1-17; Act 6.5; Act 9.10-18 and 22.12-16; Iac 5.14-15.
[44] Mc 6.7-12 and Lc 9.1-5; cf. call to repent: Mt 3.2; Mc 1.4; Mc 1.15.
[45] Wilkinson, p. 263.

Apostles' credentials as representatives of their risen Lord, and to witness to God's special presence in the early church'.[46] They cure 'as a consequence and an indication of their faith'.[47]

In line with this paradigm, ailments healed tend to be unspecific or lack detailed description; the actual illness is unimportant, of significance is its healing and accordingly, miracle stories occupy a central position in all four gospels. Within the NT narratives, two main categories are evident: those which describe in some detail the healing of an individual (or in exceptional cases of two or ten people), and those which refer briefly to the healing of a large group (see appendix 4 for overview).[48] In the individual accounts, Jesus cures a wide variety of conditions including deafness (together with a speech impediment), blindness, leprosy, dropsy, paralysis, fever, haemorrhage, a withered limb, a severed ear, demonic possession and death while the apostles heal similar conditions including lameness, paralysis, fever and dysentery, demonic possession, and death. In the group healings by Jesus or the apostles ailments are largely unspecified although demonic possession, paralysis, and lameness are mentioned on occasion. Despite the claims of some scholars that '[...] the medicine of the New Testament is mainly that of possession by evil spirits', most NT miracles involve physical conditions.[49] Many of these ailments were medically incurable at that time and indeed many remain so in modern times.[50]

On the whole NT miracle narratives omit the cause of illness, as emphasis rests on its existence and function: 'Indeed it may be said that throughout the NT [...] disease is viewed primarily in the light of its purpose and meaning, and not generally with regard to its etiology or causality'.[51] Nevertheless, the existence of suffering is at times attributed to the abilities of demons to possess individuals. Although the Devil is manifestly inferior to God in the OT, appearing only on three occasions in His service, in the NT he appears to act autonomously with personal intent and possesses a considerably increased capacity to impose suffering: 'induite vos arma Dei ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli / quia non est nobis concluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus (Eph 6.11-12).[52] In instances of demonic possession, there is never any evidence that its victims are selected on account of sin or guilt; in substantiation of their innocence, no atoning or penitential

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[46] Ferngren and Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity', p. 2961. Cf. Helmut Merkel, 'Krankheit und Leid aus der Sicht des Neuen Testaments', in *Krankheit und Leid in der Sicht der Religionen*, ed. by Manfred Oeming, Erziehungs- und Kulturwissenschaften, 13 (Osnabrück: Universität Osnabrück, 1994), pp. 29-44, (pp. 42-43): '[...] the apostles, like Jesus, were believed by the Christian community to have their ministry accompanied by signs that served to confirm their apostolic credentials as authoritative agents of God (see 2 Cor. 12:12)'.

[47] Wilkinson, p. 156.

[48] Wilkinson, p. 65.

[49] Abraham Wasserstein and Charles Joseph Singer, 'Medicine', in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), pp. 660-64 (p. 660). As previously mentioned (Fn 7) demons are only responsible for demonic possession and not, as is occasionally maintained, most or indeed all sickness in the NT.

[50] Wilkinson, p. 73.

[51] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease Causality', p. 2948.

[52] Some maintain that the Devil in the OT is an opponent of God but as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this is not the case. See H. W. M. De Jorg, 'Demonic Disease in Sophronias' Thammata', *Janus*, 50 (1961), 1-8 (p. 2): 'The devil originates in the OT, he is an opponent of God and a hater of mankind, always bent on making mischief'; also A. C. Champneys, 'The Character of the Devil in the Middle Ages', in *Witchcraft in the Ancient World and the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1992), II, pp. 136-152 (p. 136). For an accurate overview see Hermann Häring, 'Teufel', in *Wörterbuch des Christentums*, ed. by Volker Drehsen and others (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1988), pp. 1231-34 (pp. 1231-32).

procedures are incorporated into exorcisms. Instead such attacks appear random.[53] Bowker (52) attributes the altered character and activities of demonic beings to an 'increasing tendency to see dualism as a most natural explanation of the existence of evil and suffering' although no absolute dualism can exist between the divine and diabolic realms as God is superior and will be victorious in the end.[54] The continuous success of Jesus from the onset of His ministry in expelling these powers underlines this superiority and indicates the final defeat of evil and the ultimate redemptive purpose of God: 'Gott beginnt seine dem Bösen unterworfene Schöpfung zurückzugewinnen: die Welt geht Ihre "Entdämonisierung" entgegen'.[55]

The purpose of Jesus' ministry does not entail relieving the suffering of all as a rationale is usually apparent behind NT miracles: 'it is evident that Jesus was selective in his healings and that the gospels are selective in recording them'.[56] Jesus surprisingly rarely initiates healing, confirming that 'the healing of the sick, the exorcism of demons and the raising of the dead were not the primary purpose or task of his earthly ministry'.[57] Miracles are carried out primarily in the context of teaching as illustration or as demonstration of power and authority, such as the three healings performed on the Sabbath in front of the Pharisees in an attempt to teach them that it is both compassionate and lawful to heal on this holy day.[58] Such efforts fail nonetheless as the Pharisees and the high priests condemn the miracles as a violation of the Jewish and Pharisaic rule regarding the day of rest (Lc 13.14).[59] The apostles also initiate healing as clarification of their preaching with miracles operating as signs (*signa*) in support of teaching and demonstration of divine glory: 'multo igitur tempore demorati sunt fiducialiter agentes in Domino testimonium perhibente verbo gratiae suae dante signa et prodigia fieri per manus eorum' (Act 14.3). Paul stresses the importance of faith in his healing of a crippled man, and a paralysed man (Act 3.1-10 and 9.32-35) as this element proves imperative in bringing about a cure; both accounts specify the significant duration of the condition (40 and 8 years respectively), as a means of underlining its miraculous nature: 'et in fide nominis eius hunc quem videtis et nostis confirmavit nomen eius et fides quae per eum est dedit integram sanitatem istam in conspectu omnium vestrum' (Act 3.16-17).[60] Like some miracles of Jesus which convince the Jews or gentiles of His divine status, these healings prove instrumental

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[53] See Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease Causality', pp. 2947-48 and Menzies Alexander, p. 7 and 172. Vivian Nutton believes that demons 'attacked the madmen of the New Testament' but the victims are mad as a result of the possession. and not prior to it: 'Murders and Miracles: Lay Attitudes to Medicine in Classical Antiquity', in *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*, ed. by Roy Porter (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), p. 47.

[54] No dualism exists between the powers of good and evil in the OT, as only God has the power and authority to bestow blessings and inflict sufferings: see Manfred Oeming, '"Mein Herz ist durchbohrt in meinem Innern" (Ps 109,22). Krankheit und Leid in alttestamentlicher Sicht', in *Krankheit und Leid in der Sicht der Religionen*, ed. by Manfred Oeming, Erziehungs- und Kulturwissenschaften, 13 (Osnabrück: Universität Osnabrück, 1994), pp. 5-28 (p. 12), and Bowker, pp 9-10.

[55] Merkel, p. 29. Cf. Martin Hengel, *Christus und die Macht: Die Macht Christi und die Ohnmacht der Christen. Zur Problematik einer »Politischen Theologie« in der Geschichte der Kirche* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1974), p. 21: 'Die Krankheiten und Dämonenaustreibungen versteht er [Jesus] als endzeitlichen Sieg über die Mächte des Bösen [...]'; Menzies Alexander, p. 187: 'Miracles that curtail the dominion of Satan are proofs that a new era has dawned'.

[56] Browning, p. 165. However, some texts, particularly concerning the apostles' miracles are too brief to decipher a stimulus: cf. Act 2.43; 5.12; 6.8; 14.3.

[57] Wilkinson, p. 91.

[58] Lc 13.11-17; Lc 14.1-6; Lc 6.6-11 (Mc 3.1-6). References in brackets are parallel accounts.

[59] He points out that they would untie their ox or donkey to take them out for watering on the Sabbath but yet not untie the sick from suffering on the same day.

[60] 'hic audivit Paulum loquentem qui intuitus eum et videns quia haberet fidem ut salvus fieret', Act 14.8.

in spreading the word of God,[61] and prove effective in converting many to Christianity: 'They [miracles] are always a demonstration of the fact that Jesus is the Messiah. Their purpose is to be signs, to lead people to faith in Christ'.[62]

Several miracles are a response to the questions or actions of others and similarly fulfil an educating or enlightening role. Jesus answers John the Baptist's enquiry as to whether He is the expected one by healing the sick and proclaiming the good news as confirmation of this identity and fulfilment of the Hebrew prophecy of Isaiah: '[...] tu es qui venturus es an alium expectamus / et respondens Iesus ait illis euntes renuntiate Iohanni quae auditis et videtis / caeci vident claudi ambulant leprosi mundantur surdi audiunt mortui resurgunt pauperes evangelizantur' (Mt 11.3-5).[63] In a further account, Jesus imparts spiritual knowledge to the disciples by rejecting their interpretation – in line with OT doctrine – that a man is blind from birth on account of personal or hereditary sin. He outlines the alternative and positive evaluation, that the man is blind in order that divine power might be revealed in him in its healing: '[...] neque hic peccavit neque parentes eius sed ut manifestetur opera Dei in illo (Io 9.3).[64] Jesus also heals in order to rectify the action of one of His defenders, when he severs the right ear of the high priest's servant in a attempt to protect Jesus after the betrayal of Judas. His actions, involving halting the attack and restoring the ear of the servant, imply a condemnation of violence (Lc 22.49-51).

Through performing miracles, Jesus earns a reputation as a successful thaumaturge and consequently, the ill seek Him out in the hope of procuring healing: 'et abiit opinio eius in totam Syriam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes variis languoribus et tormentis conprehensos et qui daemonia habebant et lunaticos et paralyticos et curavit eos' (Mt 4.23). In the overwhelming majority of instances interaction is instigated by the sick or those representing their cause as they express faith in Jesus – predominantly as a healer rather than as the Son of God – through actions that imply a strong trust or knowledge in His healing ability. Certain narrative schemata are often discernible, including the arrival of Jesus, the plea for assistance, the healing, the declaration of health and the reaction of the crowd. In individual narratives, Jesus is frequently approached directly as the sick request healing, beg for mercy, bow low before Him, or touch His garments.[65] In instances where they are too weak to do so personally, relatives (e.g. father, mother, or sisters), a master, messenger or unidentified persons petition Jesus on their behalf by shouting, kneeling or placing the sick before Him, or requesting a visit to the invalid.[66] In group healings crowds follow

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[61] Jesus instructs some of the cured to tell others of the wonders and compassion of God'[...] vade in domum tuam ad tuos et adnuntia illis quanta tibi Dominus fecerit et misertus sit tui' Mc 5.19. Cf. Lc 8.39; Lc 7.21-22. However, in some instances, He requests silence, albeit in vain: Mt 9.30.

[62] Allister, p. 11. Cf. Act 4.4: 'multi autem eorum qui audierant verbum crediderunt et factus est numerus virorum quinque milia'; also 9.35. This aspect is also apparent in other miracles of the apostles: Act 5.12-5; 9.35; 9.42. Cf. Mt 9.8 and 9.33. Miracles do not succeed in convincing all, as some react in fear to the events they witness, while others e.g. the Pharisees, refuse to believe: see Io 9.39.

[63] Cf. Mt 8.16-17.

[64] Faith on the part of the man is also required in the form of compliance with the instructions of Jesus.

[65] See for example : Mt 9.27; Lc 17.13; Lc 5.12; Mc 5.27; Mc 10.47; Mc 1.24; Mc 5.6 . Confidence in Jesus can automatically release healing energy as in Mt 9.21-22 where a woman is cured of a blood flow by touching His cloak in hope.

[66] Relatives: Io 4.47; Io 11.3; Mc 5.23; master: Mt 8.5; unidentified: Mc 7.32; Mc 8.22; Mt 9.32.

and gather around Jesus in the hope of being cured (e.g. Mt 14.35). In a similar vein, the apostles also become known as healers, which leads people to search them out, lay their sick before them, or gather around them in expectation of a cure (cf. Act 5.15; 5.16; 28.9).

Faith is often a prerequisite to a cure and Jesus occasionally seeks confirmation of belief in His healing ability; when the sick or their representatives answer affirmatively, healing occurs: '[...] creditis quia possum hoc facere vobis [...]' (Mt 9.28). If faith is absent, Jesus will not heal, as is evident in Nazareth where people reject Jesus on account of their personal knowledge of His familial background, which causes them to question the origin of His powers: '[...] non est propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua et in domo sua / et non fecit ibi virtutes multas propter incredulitatem illorum' (Mt 13.57-58). However, most people express such firm conviction that Jesus is at times astounded by its extent.[67] This can be the overriding aspect in a decision to cure, as Jesus reconsiders his refusal to heal the daughter of a Canaanite woman because of the extraordinary faith of the mother: '[...] o mulier magna est fides tua fiat tibi sicut vis et sanata est filia illius ex illa hora' (Mt 15.28). By curing a gentile, Jesus extends divine mercy to all peoples: 'Erst recht verschwinden in Jesu Predigt alle national-theokratischen Züge [...]. Heiden und Samaritaner werden dem verstockten Gottesvolk als Beispiele echter Umkehr und Liebe vor Augen gestellt'.[68] Additional to an indispensable faith in the capability of the healer, faith must correspondingly be present in the healer, as on one occasion the disciples fail to cure an epileptic demoniac as a consequence of their insufficient faith: '[...] quare nos non potuimus eicere illum / [...] propter incredulitatem vestram amen quippe dico vobis si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis dicetis monti huic transi hinc et transibit et nihil inpossibile erit vobis' (Mt 17. 18-19).

In contrast to the OT, there are few laments, complaints and protestations against suffering in the NT, largely because expressions of faith often succeed in the miracle narratives in invoking healing. As a consequence, the ill frequently gather in expectation around Jesus: 'Der kranke Mensch bleibt nicht mehr in hoffnungsloser Passivität, sondern erwacht zu neuer Lebendigkeit, wenn Jesus als Wundertäter naht'.[69] While Jesus responds to such demonstrations, His compassion towards those who suffer is also discernible in some narratives: 'Et venit ad eum leprosus deprecans eum et genu flexo dixit si vis potes me mundare / Iesus autem misertus eius extendit manum suam et tangens eum ait illi volo mundare' (Mc 1.40-41).[70] As the possessed are incapable of requesting assistance, they are brought before Jesus by concerned family or friends,[71] or through the actions of the possessing demon, who calls out to Jesus (cf. Mc 1.21-28), or falls at His feet (Mt 8.28-34). In such instances the demons reveal Jesus to be the Son of God, an element Menzies Alexander (150) views as 'the classical criterion of genuine demonic possession'.[72] Jesus responds to the approaches of demons authoritatively, addressing them directly and expelling them with the

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[67] Cf. Mt 8.10: '[...] amen dico vobis non inveni tantam fidem in Israhel'.
[68] Hengel, p. 17.
[69] Seybold and Müller, p. 168.
[70] Also Mt 20.33-34; Lc 7.13-14. There is no mention of the apostles being motivated by compassion but the pleas for assistance evident in the miracles of Jesus are frequently absent from their miracle accounts.
[71] See Mt 9.32-34; Mt 12.22-24: Mt 8.16-17.
[72] 'dicens quid nobis Iesu Nazarene venisti perdere nos scio qui sis Sanctus Dei', Mc 1.24.

use of a single imperative.[73] Legions of demons are expulsed in this manner in an demonstration of the coming of the Kingdom of God.[74]

Religious belief in Jesus as the Son of God is conveyed in some narratives; Martha, the sister of Lazarus, possesses such faith (Mt 8.1-4; Mt 29.29-34) although this is not the deciding factor in healing as Lazarus, similar to the man born blind, is cured as a glorification of God and His Son. In a manner reminiscent of OT healings, Jesus commences by praying aloud to God, not out of necessity but in order to encourage belief in those witnessing the miracle: '[...] Pater gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me / ego autem sciebam quia semper me audis sed propter populum qui circumstat dixi ut credant quia tu me misisti' (Io 11.41-2). Lazarus is restored after he has lain in the tomb for three days in order to convince people of the possibility of the Resurrection and of life after death: 'tunc ergo dixit eis Iesus manifeste Lazarus mortuus est / et gaudeo propter vos ut credatis quoniam nn eram ibi sed eamus ad eum' (Io 11.14-5). People require signs of divine power in order to believe and this is the reason why Jesus restores the son of a royal official at Cana: '[...] nisi signa et prodigia videritis non credis' (Io 4.48). Finally, a different motivation is evident in the healing of the father of Publius by the apostles; he suffers from fever and dysentery as is cured – in a manner reminiscent of the OT – in recognition of and gratitude for hospitality (Act 28.7-8).

The miracles of the apostles fail occasionally to convert people to Christianity as some such as the priests, captain of the Temple and the Sadducees refuse to believe (Act 4.1-3). Others misinterpret the healing such as the crowd witnessing the miraculous cure of a crippled man by Paul; they conclude that Paul and Barnabus are the gods Hermes and Zeus respectively and refuse to accept the true message, namely the power of divinity and the need to reject idolatry. Paul is ultimately stoned and dragged outside the town (Act 14.14-19) but as highlighted by Jesus, such suffering and persecution can be a consequence of the mission.[75] Jesus' acceptance of the Crucifixion leads to victory over death as His sacrifice restores the relationship with God destroyed by sin: 'John sees the suffering of Jesus as the decisive and all-important act in relation to *all* suffering, since Jesus knew beforehand that his relationship with God would not exempt him from suffering, and yet he did not 'lose' God in the experience of it'.[76] The health of the righteous is, however, protected occasionally as Paul remains unharmed when bitten by a deadly snake: 'et ille quidem excutiens bestiam in ignem nihil mali passus est / at illi existimabant eum in tumorem convertendum et subito casurum et mori diu autem illis sperantibus et videntibus nihil mali in eo fieri convertentes se dicebant eum esse deum' (Act 28.5-6). This aspect of invincibility constitutes a sign in the NT and re-emerges in the Middle Ages, particularly in the legends of the saints.[77]

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[73] See Eitrem, pp. 31-33.

[74] The greater the number, violence, and length of tenancy of demons possessing a patient, the more serious the illness and the more thrillingly expressive the expulsion of the fiend', Eitrem, p. 39 (and p.7).

[75] 'Videte autem vosmet ipsos tradent enim vos conciliis et in synagogis vapulabitis et ante praesides et reges stabitis propter me in testimonium illis', Mc 13.9.

[76] Bowker, p. 60; cf. Hengel, p. 20: 'Das Selbstopfer Jesu ist sein eigentlicher "Dienst"; im äußersten "Machtverzicht" erschließ sich das Heil für alle Menschen'.

[77] Cf. Mc 16.17-8: 'signa autem eos qui crediderint haec sequentur in nomine meo daemonia eicient linguis loquentur novis / serpentes tollent et si mortiferum quid biberint non eos nocebit super aegrotos manus inponent et bene habebunt'.

Various healing methods are incorporated by Jesus, and His disciples at times, as illnesses are cured through touch, command words, or medicinal-type substances such as spittle mixed with clay on occasion.[78] No set healing procedural pattern is evident as therapies are combined or used interchangeably although the use of command does emerge frequently in the exorcism of demons.[79] The procedure itself is not of essence but rather the power of divinity combined usually with the trust of the sufferer: 'The centre of interest in these narratives has to do with participation in covenant community, not in medical skills'.[80] Jesus applies touch (occasionally with command) directly to localised conditions, e.g., blindness, and generally to the hand, the body, or the bier of the sufferer in non-localised conditions, e.g., leprosy, fever, or death.[81] This action appears to transfer therapeutic energy between Jesus and the infirm: 'Dahinter steht die Vorstellung einer dem Wundertäter eignenden Kraft, die als eine Art Fluidum von ihm ausgeht and sich auf alles, was er berührt, überträgt'.[82] Among other NT healers, only Paul cures in a similar fashion (cf. Act 28.8 and 20.9-10). The healer need not touch the ill in order that energy be released as Jesus heals those in the immediate vicinity (cf. Mt 15.30) and those at a distance.[83] Similar to the OT, power can be transferred, e.g., by Paul, to material objects such as the handkerchiefs or aprons, which retain this energy and cure the ill upon contact (Act 19.11-2): 'He had, in popular esteem, become a store of healing virtue, which required only a material vehicle to render it effective to the afflicted at a distance'.[84] Additionally, power can be released by the touch of the sick in response to their receptiveness and belief: 'dicebat enim quia si vel vestimentum eius tetigero salva ero / et confestim siccatu est fons sanguinis eius et sensit corpore quod sanata esset a plaga' (Mc 5.28-9).[85] The use of command heals material and psychological illness as Jesus cures a withered hand, leprosy, and raises the dead through this means[86] and Peter heals paralysis, lameness and raises the dead in the name of Christ.[87] Paul occasionally supplements command with prayer or by physically aiding the ill to rise or cures the lame upon ascertaining that they possess sufficient faith (Act 14.8-10).

Jesus effectively and easily exorcises demons through command, clearly demonstrating His superior power over the demonic realm while others such as Paul exorcise in His name (cf. Act 16.16-18): 'et comminatus est ei Iesus dicens obmutesce et exi de homine / et discerpens eum spiritus inmundus et exclamans voce magna exivit ab eo'.[88] It is not necessary to be divinely

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[78] Jesus: Lc 14.4: Mt 9.33; Mt 12.22-4; Lc 5.15; Mt 21.14. Apostles: Act 8.6-7; Act 28.9; Act 2.43; Act 5.12.
[79] On different methods of healing possession, cf. Mt 15.2-28; Mc 7.24-30; Mt 8.16-7, Mc 1.32-3; Act 19.11-2.
[80] Clark Kee, p. 78.
[81] The hand of divinity is potent both in the infliction of suffering in the OT and in its relief in the NT: 'The hand is the symbol of will and activity, power and authority', Eitrem, p. 41. Localised: Mt 9.27-30; Mt 20.29-34; Mt 9.35; non-localised: Mt 8.14-5; Mt 8.1-4; Lc 7.14.
[82] Seybold and Müller, p. 131.
[83] Cf. Mt 15.22-28; Mt 8.5-13; Io 4.46-53.
[84] Menzies Alexander, p. 100. This aspect is reminiscent of the curative powers of the bones of Elias in the OT.
[85] Cf. Lc 6.17-9 and Mt 14.35-6.
[86] See Mt 12.10-3; Lc 17.11-9; Io 11.35-44. The lepers are cured on their way to the priest, having obeyed the command of Jesus: 'Diese Aufforderung ist wohl als Glaubensprobe gedacht', Seybold and Müller, p. 120.
[87] 'et ait illi Petrus Aeneas sanat te Iesus Christus surge et sterne tibi et continuo surrexit', Act 9.34. Act 3.1-8; Act 9.37-41.
[88] Cf. Mc 1.25-6; Mt 8. 28-32; Mt 17.14-18; Mt 8.16-7.

chosen in order to do so as Jesus actively encourages a man who successfully employs this method to continue: 'Iesus autem ait nolite prohibere eum nemo est enim qui faciat virtutem in nomine meo et possit cito male loqui de me / qui enim non est adversum vos pro vobis est' (Mc 9.38-9). This indicates that curing potency is contained within the name of Jesus but despite the claim of Fenner (86), it is not always effective due to its reliance upon other factors such as belief: 'Auch das N.T. setzt voraus, daß die Nennung des heiligen Namens als solchen genügt, um die Dämonen zu bannen, auch wenn der Exorzist dem Träger dieses Namens innerlich völlig fern steht'. This element is clearly seen in the failure of some Jews to do so as on account of their lack of belief, they are attacked by the expulsed demon, who proclaims that he knows Jesus and Paul but not them:

> temptaverunt autem quidam et de circumeuntibus iudaeis exorcistis invocare super eos qui habebant spiritus malos nomen Domini Iesu dicentes adiuro vos per Iesum quem Paulus praedicat / [...] / respondens autem spiritus nequam dixit eis Iesum novi et Paulum scio vos autem qui estis / et insiliens homo in eos in quo erat daemonium pessimum et dominatus amborum invaluit contra eos ita ut nudi et vulnerati effugerent de domo illa (Act 19.13-16).

This event fills witnesses with awe and results in a reverence for the name of Jesus and a conversion to Christianity.

The integration of medicinal-type substances by Jesus into healings implies an acceptance rather than rejection of medicine. The main substance utilised is spittle,[89] which is used in the cure of a deaf man with a speech impediment, and a blind man. In the case of the deaf man, Jesus places His fingers in his ears before touching his tongue with spittle,[90] while with the blind man, he places spittle on his eyes, before laying His hands on him; unusually, in this instance recovery is gradual, necessitating a second laying on of hands:

> et adprehendens manum caeci eduxit eum extra vicum et expuens in oculos eius inpositis manibus suis interrogavit eum si aliquid videret / et aspiciens ait video homines velut arbores ambulantes deinde iterum inposuit manus super oculos eius et coepit videre et restitutus est ita ut videret clare omnia (Mc 8.23-25)

Spittle is combined with clay in the cure of another blind man (Io 9.1-7), whose sight is restored upon complying with the instruction to cleanse it off in the pool of Siloam (meaning 'one who has been sent'). It is evident from these examples that no set healing pattern exists in the NT for specific conditions as the essential component remains the healing energy, which Jesus imparts to the ill: '[...] Jesus [bleibt] der übermächtige Wundertäter, dessen Heilung jedes normale ärztliche

[89] Like blood, this was believed to be therapeutically effective in folk medicine: Seybold and Müller, p. 133.
[90] He also looks up to Heaven and sighs, saying 'be open', Mc 7.32-35.

Handeln überragt. Wieder ist es in ihm wohnende Kraft, die auf den Kranken übergeht und die Heilung bewirkt'.[91] The complete absence of penitential actions in these procedures clearly indicates the guiltless state of the sufferers; where stipulations are given, these are generally in line with Levitical rites (the lepers) or function as a means of testing faith (the blind man). The disciples rarely integrate medicine with religious procedures; only one account mentions their use of oil to cure the sick (Mc 6.12-13).

Unlike the Gospels and Acts, the Epistles contain no healing-centred narratives. Here healing is said to be practised by some Christians through the gift of the Holy Spirit, taking place only within the community (I Cor 12.9; 28 and 30) and for the common good (I Peter 4.10). According to James, in the event of sickness, Christians should call the elders of the church, who will cure them by praying over them and anointing them with olive oil in the name of the Lord: 'infirmatur quis in vobis inducat presbyteros ecclesiae et orent super eum unguentes eum aleo in nomine Domini / et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum et adlevabit eum Dominus et si in peccatis sit dimittentur ei' (Iac 5.14-15).[92] There is no mention of confession in this context as anointment together with intercession through the prayers of the elders suffices to invoke healing, if it is in accordance with divine will. Significantly, as it is the elders who pray and not the sick, it is their faith rather than that of the sick which counts, 'although faith of some kind is implied in their calling the elders in the first place'.[93] This bears some similarity to a system in the Gospels and the Acts where the faith of concerned family, relatives, or friends, expressed through requests to Jesus or the apostles, attains healing for the sick they represent. Unusually, the Epistles contain no account of a cure through prayer, despite highlighting that some elders possessed a gift of healing. In addition, the Epistles describes certain righteous individuals who are sick yet remain unhealed, including the apostle Paul (see Chapter five), and three of his colleagues or companions: Epaphroditus (Philippians 2.25-30), Timothy (1 Tim 5.23), and Trophimus (2 Tim 4.20). In the case of Epaphroditus and Trophimus, the illness is left to run its course with both men eventually recovering, while in the case of Timothy, Paul suggests that he [Timothy] take a little wine for the sake of his stomach and health. There is no attempt to heal these men by charismatic means nor is any explanation given as to why the gift of healing is not employed to cure them. Significantly, there is no indication that these men were sinful or in some manner deserving of suffering. Instead pain is simply a fact of existence as complete health is unattainable in this life: 'What is clear from epistles is that Christian faith and experience provide no immunity against disease'.[94]

Despite the arrival of the messianic age and the occurrence of miracles bearing witness to the presence of God's kingdom, the powers of Satan will not be overcome until the Day of Christ, when all will be judged, and punished or rewarded accordingly; the divine triumph over evil in all

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[91] Seybold and Müller, p. 134.
[92] It is, however, unclear as to whether this concerns spiritual or physical healing; the earliest references to this text (Origen, *Homiliae in Leviticum* 2.4; and John Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio* 3.6) make no connection to physical healing. See Ferngren and Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity', p. 2961.
[93] Wilkinson, p. 247.
[94] Wilkinson, p. 194.

its forms (e.g. sickness, demonic possession, and death) will then be final: 'Christians live in a world that continues to suffer under the curse of sin, which manifests itself in sickness and death. They should expect to experience suffering and affliction, not so much as a consequence of personal sin but because they inhabit a world that is not fully redeemed. Hence not all illness will be healed'.[95] Healing does not seem to play a major role in the early Church as anointing of the sick does not become common Christian practise until the fourth or fifth century.[96] A belief in supernatural healing is also actively encouraged during this period with Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom and Athanasius aiding such efforts through their writings.[97] It is firstly during this period that Christianity emerges as a religion of healing, with such activity usually associated with ascetics, 'a new spiritual elite who were venerated for their self-denial and their ability to perform miracles, often of a sensational nature, which were celebrated in popular legend'. Miracles re-emerge in connection with the martyrs and the saints, and will be dealt with in the next section.

Summary

This section highlights the existence of a healing-centred paradigm of sickness in the Bible, contradicting the belief that Biblical suffering is continuously a consequence of sin. The ill represented in OT and NT healing-centred narratives are undeserving of the pain they experience; they are innocent and yet they suffer. Through narrative analysis, the function of such suffering is revealed. The sickness has no express purpose for the victim as its meaning lies in its miraculous healing. The condition itself is therefore unimportant and details are frequently omitted, except in reference to a long duration, which serves to makes its cure all the more miraculous. Several examples exist in the OT, where some of the sick, e.g., Sarai, are healed of infertility in demonstration of the limitless powers of God and His commitment to the everlasting covenant, while others are cured upon successfully invoking divine compassion and assistance through prayer. Such requests express faith both in the ability of God to heal and in His compassionate nature to respond and relieve suffering. Although God can cure directly, He occasionally mediates this through the prophets in confirmation of their role and validation of their message. These figures can instigate miracles by invoking divine mercy through heartfelt prayer, while the ill, e.g., Naaman, need only trust in their ability in order to be cured. Prayer is combined on occasion by the prophets with varied therapeutic and seemingly arbitrary procedures such as artificial cardio-respiratory resuscitation, bathing, or the use of figs. Overall the OT healing-centred paradigm reveals the extent of divine control over human destiny and events and underlines the concern and

[95] See Ferngren and Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity', p. 2962; B. Gärtner, 'Suffer', in *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, trans. by Colin Brown, III (Exeter: Paternoster, 1971, [repr. 1978]), pp. 719-26, (p. 724).
[96] Ferngen, 'Early Christianity', p. 5.
[97] Ibid., p. 12.

compassion of God towards those suffering. It additionally outlines effective means of invoking divine mercy in the event of sickness, e.g., through prayer and heartfelt grief.

In the NT, a selection of the multiple miracles performed by Jesus during a three year mission in Palestine are recorded in the Gospels, which confirm His identity as the Messiah in fulfilment of the OT prophesy of Isaiah. Although not stressed within the NT paradigm, such activity also signals the commencement of the Kingdom of God and the ultimate victory over the demonic realm. The healing of physical and psychological ailments by Jesus and the apostles heralds the onset of a renewed relationship between God and humanity. They serve to demonstrate divine power and authority or to illustrate preaching and teaching, usually in situations where the Gospel is being preached for the first time.[98] Jesus compassionately performs some miracles in response to the sight of the suffering while He performs others in reaction to the questions or actions of others. The overwhelming majority of His miracles are, however, a response to expressions of faith – usually in Jesus as a thaumaturge but also as the Son of God – by sufferers or their representatives through pleading gestures or requests. Health is generally restored immediately except in instances where instructions must initially be carried out. All those who request healing, even the gentiles, are cured, with the usual prerequisite that a conviction of the ability of Jesus to relieve suffering is held. There is no implication that suffering, even demonic possession, is deserved or inflicted as a consequence of transgression and the interpretation that sufferers are innocent is supported by a complete absence of penitential actions. The apostles perform far fewer miracles than Jesus and, as with the OT prophets, this activity confirms the divine authority invested in them and the validity of their preaching. Faith often proves essential in attaining a cure and miracles can lead to mass conversion to Christianity. Various healing methods are integrated into miracles. Jesus and the apostles employ touch or command and Jesus also uses medicinal-type substances such as spittle and clay; such means are combined or used interchangeably to the effect that no set healing pattern emerges. What brings about healing is the therapeutic energy flowing from the healers, which is often released in response to exhibitions of faith. In contrast with the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, Epistles contains no example of the healing-centred paradigm although James instructs Christians to contact the elders of the Church when ill, so that they may heal them through prayer and anointing with oil. No evidence exists in the NT that this procedure was carried out and several characters remain unhealed in this book, which might mean that healing was not an important activity in the early Church.

[98] See Ferngren and Amundsen, 'Medicine and Christianity', p. 2961 'He [Jesus] emphasizes not healing, but the proclamation of God's kingdom and his own identity as God's messiah, to which his own miracles bear witness'. Also Clark Kee, p. 86; Allister, p. 11; Wilkinson, p. 94.

4.3 The Healing-Centred Paradigm in the Medieval Corpus

The healing-centred paradigm is present in several texts of the medieval corpus, including the *DM*, *EM*, *SV*, *KC* and *SE*, although most examples are in the *LA*. Similar to its biblical counterpart, the medieval paradigm tends to be brief, offering scant detail on people and places. The sick are usually described by sex, occupation, social class or creed; first names are given in some instances, particularly in the case of important figures such as kings or emperors. Where a geographical location is given, it tends to be unspecific, with a country, region, or city being cited. As the healed are frequently secular, their inclusion addresses the needs of the listeners and serves to increase religious conviction. There is no evidence that any of the conditions in this paradigm in the medieval corpus are divinely inflicted as a punishment for sin, which challenges the opinion of some scholars such as Schindler: 'Die christliche Pathologie hat zu beweisen, daß alle Krankheit aus der Sünde, oder dem Unglauben, oder, was Eins ist, aus dem Teufel kommt, und daß alles Heil, auch das heilende, nur Sache des Glaubens ist'.[99] The cause of suffering is rarely given and those included in the corpus involve the swallowing of a reptile as a cause of stomach pain, a worm with two heads as a cause of convulsions, and the onset of demonic possession either through a curse, or through food and drink.[100] Such details on the sick and the cause of their suffering are frequently omitted from the narrative, deemed unessential in its focus on the healer.

The multiple miracle accounts always contain the name of the healer and usually the successful method of invocation in order to support the devotion of the saint, increase the reputation of local shrines and ultimately ensure the continued success of the cult of saints.[101] These narratives highlight the blessedness of these figures and their role in transmitting healing to the sick,[102] in addition to reinforcing the biblical message of divine love and concern. Similar to the OT prophets, the saints and other sacred figures are divinely selected as mediators of healing (cf. *LA*, CXLIII, p. 637), and are authenticated and glorified through such acts.[103] According to the *DM*, criteria for divine selection include a love of God and a scorn for all things secular (X/VI, p. 222) and a variety of effective healers and intermediaries emerge in the corpus.[104] Additional to the

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[99] Heinrich Bruno Schindler, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte* (Breslau: Korn, 1858; repr. 1969), p. 169: also Trüb, p. 13; Ferdinand Barth, 'Legenden als Lehrdichtung: Beobachtungen zu den Märtyrerlegenden in der <Legenda aurea>', in *Europäische Lehrdichtung: Festschrift für Walter Naumann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hans Gerd Rötzer and Herbert Walz (Darmstadt: WBG, 1981), p. 71.

[100] Cf. *LA*: CXLIII, p. 63; CLXVIII, pp. 766-767; LCIII, p. 280; *DM*: V/XXVI, p. 309; *SV*, CXXX, p. 189. Als Eingangs- und Ausgangsweg des Dämons galt der Mund, und wenn man gähnte, konnte leicht ein böser Geist hineinfahren', Lutz Röhrich, 'Krankheitsdämonen', in *Volksmedizin: Probleme und Forschungsgeschichte*, ed. by Elfriede Grabner (Darmstadt:WBG, 1967), pp. 283-88 (p. 283).

[101] Augustine clearly distinguishes between devotion to these figures and adoration of God, see *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, 10 (*C.S.E.L.*, XLVIII, 828).

[102] Reames, p. 65; Konrad Kunze, 'Jacobus a Voragine', in *VL*, ed. by Kurt Ruh and others, IV, 2nd. edn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983), col. 446-466 (col. 455).

[103] See Reames, p. 47.

[104] As canonisation was first introduced by Pope Alexander III in 1171, many of the saints in the corpus, especially the *LA*, attained this status through tradition, see Ulrich Wyss, 'Legenda', in *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, ed. by Volker Mertens and Ulrich Müller (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1984), pp. 40-60, p. 41.

miracles of Jesus and the apostles,[105] the *LA* portrays biblical figures, such as John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene, saints, martyrs, holy men, new religious converts and popes; among the most prolific are St Peter the martyr, St Elizabeth, St Apollinaris, and St Stephen the first martyr.[106] In contrast, most miracles in the *DM* and *EM* are attained through the Virgin Mary, the most powerful intercessionary figure in the Church: 'Es gibt eine Hierarchie der Fürbitte: die Jungfrau Maria, die mächtigste, kann von Gott jedes beliebige Wunder erlangen; auch die großen Heiligen haben große Kraft, bei Gott vorstellig zu werden'.[107] Religious figures such as deans, abbots, monks, lay-brothers, clerks and holy men are also prominent in the *DM*, while the *KC* depicts mainly the activities of Jesus although those of some saints and the Kaiser Heinrich are also detailed.[108] These figures can be invoked to intercede with God in times of sickness and difficulty, and possess a greater chance of success than the petitions of the less virtuous. They are approachable and easily accessible by all, both rich and poor, and fulfil a need in medieval society: 'Der Heilige stellt die Verbindung zwischen Himmel und Erde her [...]. Er ist [...] ein Mensch erfolgreicher Fürbitte, eine Säule der Kirche, ein Vorbild für die Gläubigen'.[109] As miracles were expected as evidence of sanctity, a striking range of variations on the basic paradigm are presented in the corpus, although the mediators often appear prototypical in their replication of miracles.

A wide variety of conditions are miraculously healed and frequently correspond, particularly in the *EM*, *SV*, and *SE*, to those in NT healing-centred narratives, such as possession, madness, blindness and paralysis, leprosy, lameness, fevers, barrenness, muteness and the restoration of the dead.[110] In the *LA*, the restoration of the dead is the most frequent miracle performed although this act is absent from the paradigm present in the *DM*. The *LA*, the *DM*, and to a lesser extent the *KC* greatly expand the variety of illnesses healed; the *LA* details cancer, elephantiasis, dropsy, large growths, miscarriage, gout, quartan fever, ruptured veins, goitre, kidney disorders, stones, infected limbs, headaches, toothaches, violent fits, abscesses, malignant ulcers, snakebites, tumours, haemorrhage and injuries resulting from torture or accident among ailments healed; the *DM* headaches, fistulas, eczema, tumours, injured limbs, mutilation (due to religious persecution), unsightly growths, labour-pains, phobias and shock;[111] and the *KC* dropsy and gout. In line with this paradigm, the ailment is generally only briefly mentioned although some

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[105] Some correspond to NT narratives (cf. XCVI, pp. 408-409 ; LXXXIX, p.367; XC, p. 380-381) although the overwhelming majority do not (cf. IX, pp. 57-60; XLVI, pp. 187-188; XLIV, pp. 179-181).

[106] For a selection of mediators, see II, pp. 15-6; XXXVII, p. 611; CLIV, p. 687; CX, p. 457; XXXIX, pp. 171-2.

[107] Jacques Le Goff, 'Der Mensch des Mittelalters', in *Der Mensch des Mittelalters*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff, 3rd edn (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1998), pp. 7-45 (p. 38). See *DM*, VII/XXIII and VII/ XXIV, pp. 31-4; *EM*, 60, pp. 279-80 and 83, pp. 301-2. For details on the social status of saints see Le Goff, p. 34.

[108] *DM*: VI/VI, pp. 356-7; VII/XVI, pp. 17-8; VIII/LXXXII, p. 150. Only a few biblical figures or saints are mentioned: see VIII/LIII, pp. 125-6; VIII/LXXIV, pp. 142-3; VIII/LXXXI, p. 149. *KC*: 1780-5; 1846-52; 1812-25; 4047-54; 16248-53. Other works mention a hermit (*SV*, CV, p. 178), and saints (*SE*, 8, p. 26 and 10, p. 29).

[109] Le Goff, 'Mensch', p. 33; also Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981), p. 41: 'The saint was a good patronus: he was the patronus whose intercessions were successful, whose wealth was at the disposal of all, whose potentia was exercised without violence and to whom loyalty could be shown without constraint'. Also Christian Walter, 'Prozess und Wahrheitsfindung in der Legenda Aurea' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kiel, 1977), p. 16.

[110] See Gabor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: the Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, trans. by Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990), pp. 96-97.

[111] Child-birth: *DM*, VIII/LXXVI, pp. 144-145; phobia: VII/XXIX, pp. 38-39; shock: VIII/LXXV, pp. 43-144.

exceptions exist, where a detailed description is given in order to make its healing all the more spectacular: 'Anno domini MCCLIX in civitate Apostella fuit quidam vir nomine Benedictus, qui tibias inflatas habebat in modum utrium, ventrem tumentem instar praegnantis, faciem prae nimio tumore horribilem, totumque corpus inflatum, ita ut monstrum aliquod videretur' (*LA*, LXIII, p. 291).[112]

In a similar vein to the NT, the Devil and his demons emerge frequently in the corpus, reflecting the belief in and fear of supernatural evil, with the *DM* laying particular emphasis on their dangers. Some large differences emerge, however, between the portrayal of the demonic in the Bible and in the corpus, as the Devil, in contrast to the Bible, obtains a physical appearance in the Middle Ages: 'Im Volksglauben gewinnt das nach christlicher Lehre körperlose Geistwesen [der Teufel] konkrete Züge'.[113] Demons, though incorporeal, assume an endless variety of forms, manifesting as children, women, dragons and serpents in the *LA* and additionally, as cats, hogs, toads, bears, oxen, angels and priests in the *DM*, as saints, nuns, Ethiopians, and scholars in the *SV*, and as preachers in the *EM*.[114] They assume corporeality in order to deceive, stir up trouble, tempt people into sin, or catch sinners; such deception is nevertheless easily discerned by religious figures who receive this gift from God (*DM*, V/V, p. 281). The abilities of demons are greatly enhanced in the Middle Ages as they fly in the air seeking out victims (SE, 15, p. 36), and communicate with humans, being summoned at will (*EM*, 120, p. 327). They prove extremely powerful as one demon is capable of torturing thousands of men (*DM*, V/VIII, p. 289).[115] Their presence is evident in demonic possession, which is still their most inflicted condition, although they additionally physically attack both men and women, dealing mortal blows on occasion.[116] In the *LA*, women constitute the majority of their victims, and are tormented both by possession and by demons in the form of incubi.[117]

Technically, the Devil and his demons can only act in accordance with divine wishes (*DM*, V/LV, p. 338): 'Die römisch-katholische Lehre hält unter Hinweis auf die Zeugnisse des Neuen Testaments „an der Möglichkeit der Besessenheit" fest, bedingt durch einen von Gott zugelassenen

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[112] Cf. 'Legitur quoque, quod quidam habebat filium morbo elephantino correptum, ita ut jam pilis cadentibus cutis intumesceret atque increscentem famem occultare non posset [...]', *LA*, XLIX, p. 210.

[113] Leander Petzoldt, *Dämonenfurcht und Gottvertrauen: Zur Geschichte und Erforschung unserer Volkssagen* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1989), p 103; also Helmut Hundsbichler, 'Der Dämon im Bildzeugnis des Mittelalters', in *Der Dämon und sein Bild: Berichte und Referate des dritten und vierten Symposions zur Volkserzählung Brunnenburg / Südtirol 1986 / 87*, Beiträge zur Europäischen Ethnologie und Folklore, 2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1989), pp. 1-18 (p. 8).

[114] 'Auffallend sind die zahlreichen weiblichen Dämonengestalten, die häufig in erotische Beziehung zu den Menschen treten', Petzoldt, p. 100. For more on demons as dragons and serpents see Werner Röcke, 'Zeitwende und apokalyptische Ängste in der Literatur des Spätmittelalters' in *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, N.F. 7 (2000), 11-29. Their form depends on whether Christians are to be scared or tempted, see Peter Dinzelbacher, 'Die Realität des Teufels im Mittelalter', in *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487*, ed. by Peter Segl, Bayreuther Historische Kolloquien, 2 (Köln: Böhlau, 1988), pp. 151-76 (p. 163).

[115] Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University, 1984), p. 161, attributes this change to 'Cathar dualism, monastic revival of the tale of the desert fathers and a general tendency to solidify religious figures'.

[116] Not all are genuine as some fake possession for worldly gain: *DM*, V/XII, p. 292. Physical attacks: *DM* : VII/XV, p. 18; III/VIII, p. 121; *EM*: 16, p. 244. Although the Devil claims that he can inflict deafness and lameness, there is no evidence of this in the corpus. As with the NT, demonic influence is not involved in all illness as maintained by Andre Goddu, 'The Failure of Exorcism in the Middle Ages', in *Possession and Exorcism*, ed. by Brian P. Levack, VIIII (New York: Garland, 1992), pp. 540-57 (p. 542).

[117] In the *LA*, gender is unspecified in 25% of the cases of possession, males account for 21%, while females account for 54%. Such female susceptibility has negative connotations, see Dinzelbacher, p. 155.

Einfluß des Teufels über den menschlichen Leib in Form einer inneren Besitzergreifung des Menschen (Insessio, Possessio)'.[118] However, like the NT possession accounts, demons appear to act randomly in this paradigm in the corpus, attacking people (and occasionally animals) at will.[119] The demonic realm appears to follow its own agenda, with its love of mischief, hatred of the pious and desire to destroy them (*EM*, 186, p. 384).[120] Von Siebenthal (47) among others maintains that 'Die Dämonen verhängen unter Zulassung Gottes über die Sünder die Krankheit. Dieser Glaube ist der vorherrschende', yet in such narratives, there is never an indication that suffering is deserved.[121] Moreover, a possessed individual can be in a state of grace as demons do not occupy the soul but rather empty cavities such as the bowels (*DM*, V/XXV, p. 309). A deviation from the NT is apparent in the relative self-control those possessed have in their ability to perform particular religious measures or to seek assistance, elements which imply a partial possession and the ability for self-help: 'Quis dicere audeat, quinque annorum infantulam baptizatam non habere caritatem? De qua idem daemon dicebat : Me egresso, nunquam aliud post hanc vitam sentiet purgatorium. Obsessi peccata sua confitentur, orant et communicant' (*DM*, V/XXVI, p. 309).[122] The expulsion of demons is, in contrast with the Bible, occasionally violent and gory, particularly in the *LA* which portrays a penchant for such detail. Despite the danger of demons, they have inherent weaknesses and can be dispelled by church bells, crosses, holy water, mass, prayer and the name of Jesus Christ;[123] even pagans are protected through the sign of the cross. Demons can also experience pain and certain saints and angels occasionally bind and inflict physical pain upon them through beatings (cf. *KC*, 10716-20). Surprisingly, despite such self-protective measures, many are possessed in the corpus, as demons prove relentless, persistent, and patient in their attempts, occasionally waiting years for someone to forget their prayers in order to attack (*EM*, 87, p.304). Divinity is inherently superior to the demonic and it is mostly the saints in the corpus – as a consequence of their virtues and sanctity – who prove invincible against such powers, (although God can on occasion permit demons to harm individuals as a test (see Chapter 5)):

> Dum aliquando abbas Macharius in palude ad cellam suam praeteriret, occurrit ei dyabolus cum falce messoria et volens eum cum falce percutere non potuit. Et dixit ei: multam violentiam patior a te Macari, quia non possum praevalere adversum te. Ecce enim quidquid tu facis et ego facio, jejunas tu et ego penitus non comedo, vigilas tu et ego modo

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[118] Trüb, p. 73. H. L. Pass, 'Demons and Spirits (Christian)', *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by James Hastings, IV (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926-76 [repr. 1994-2003]), pp. 578-83 (p. 580) claims that according to Augustine, *de Trin.* iii., 21, *de Civ. Dei*, xi, 23.2, God employs demons for the 'chastisement of the wicked, for the punishment of the good for their faults, or even for the purpose of testing men'. He does not, however, explain his interpretation of 'chastisement' or ';punishment'.

[119] Cf. *LA*, LXXXV, p. 356: 'Idem quoque refert ibidem, quod quidam juvenis in villa Victoriana, quae ab Ypporegio triginta milliaribus distat, cum in quodam flumine equum lavaret, continuo dyabolus eum vexavit et in flumen tamquam mortuum projecit'.

[120] Champneys, p. 145.

[121] Cf. *DM*, X/XI, p. 225. Also Doob p. 17.

[122] Cf. *LA*, LXIII, p. 287, where a possessed women brings herself to a church and begs to be healed.

[123] 'Inter alia, quae confessus est, dixit, quia tunc maxime a christianis elongatur, quando misterium dominici corporis agebatur et quando orationes et praedicationes fiebant', *LA*, XLIII, p. 177.

> non dormio. Unum est solummodo, in quo me superas. [...] humilitas tua, per quam non praevaleo adversum te. (*LA*, XVIII, p. 101)

The overall depiction of demons in the corpus increases fear and suspicion of such creatures,, particularly in view of their ubiquitous nature in a multiplicity of forms. As the only means of defence lies with the church, a reliance on the institution, its representatives, and its protective measures such as sacraments is encouraged, thereby increasing its power in society.

As in the OT, God rarely initiates healing in the corpus. In the *LA*, an angel is occasionally sent to announce the birth of children, e.g., the birth of Mary to the righteous but barren couple, Joachim and Anna. Although they are rejected and scorned by the community on account of the stigma of divine punishment attached to infertility, the angel explains that God can close wombs in order to miraculously re-open them as a gesture of generosity and an indication of the importance of the child:

> ego sum angelus domini missus ad te, ut annuntiem tibi preces tuas exauditas esse et elemosinas tuas in conspectu domini adscendisse; vidi enim pudorem tuum et audivi sterilitatis opprobrium non recte tibi objectum. Peccati quippe, non naturae ultor est Deus et ideo, cum alicujus uterum claudit, ad hoc facit, ut mirabilius denuo aperiat, et non libidinis esse, quod nascitur, sed divini fore muneris cognoscatur. (*LA*, CXXXI, pp. 587-8)[124]

In the manner of the OT mothers who bear important prophets or leaders, Mary – born to an infertile mother – has the divine honour of bearing the Son of God.[125] Additional to such prophecies, several martyrs such as St Juliana, and St Secundus, are cured of their injuries by God, although such miracles are occasionally mediated through angels or saints, who shatter torture instruments and/or heal, with such intervention resulting occasionally in the conversion of those witnessing the event.[126] It does not, however, prevent ultimate martyrdom as it is the ardent desire of martyrs to participate in the sufferings of Christ, and they usually die once divine power and compassion towards those who suffer for their Christian faith has been adequately demonstrated.[127] God also heals religious figures, such as St Bernard, who rejects a magical cure for his violent headaches, and Pope Leo, whose eyes are gouged out and his tongue dismembered while he is

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[124] The angel cites the OT examples of Sarai and Rachel: 'Prima gentis vestrae mater Sara nonne usque ad nonagesimum annum sterilitatis opprobrium pertulit et tamen Ysaac, cui repromissa erat omnium gentium benedictio, generavit? Rachel etiam nonne diu sterilis fuit et tamen Josephum genuit, qui totius Aegypti dominium habuit? Quis fortior Samsone vel sanctior Samuele? Et tamen hi ambo matres steriles habuere. Rationi igitur et exemplis crede, dilatos diu conceptus et steriles partus mirabiliores esse solere', ibid..

[125] Cf. *LA*, XVI, p. 96.

[126] Cf. *LA*: Juliana: XLIII, p. 178; Secundus: LV, p. 246; St Catherine: CLXXII, p. 793; in contrast, Peter, the apostle, heals St Agatha: XXXIX, pp. 171-72.

[127] Reglinde Rhein, *Die Legenda aurea des Jacobus des Voragine: die Entfaltung von Heiligkeit in „Historia" und „Doctrina"*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 40 (Köln: Böhlau, 1995), p. 135.

celebrating mass.[128] Additionally, some miracles are linked posthumously to Christ, and are performed through images or personal items soon after the Crucifixion (Cf. *LA*, CV, p. 445) while miracles continue to be performed by the body of Christ – the Eucharist – throughout the Middle Ages (Cf. *EM*, 71, p. 289).

In addition to mediating miracles posthumously, some saints perform miracles during their life on earth although not all do and this should not be expected of them: 'Ut Dominus ostenderet sanctitatem non consistere in signis, sed in bona vita. Post mortem enim signis claruit innumerabilibus et magnis' (*DM*, VIII/LIII, p. 126). The *LA* attributes miracles to Jesus, the apostles, and some saints during their lifetime, and the *DM* and the *EM* to pious individuals.[129] In some works, particularly the *LA*, healings are very often spontaneously initiated by the figure in question, upon learning of or coming across those suffering. The ill can be personally known to the healer with this close connection implying that those healed (or their relatives) are Christian; St John, the apostle, revives a dear friend, Drusiana, while St Benedict restores one of his monks.[130] In a similar vein, saints heal individuals whose faith is apparent; St Andrew restores forty men, who drown on their way to his sermon, and St Martin revives an un-baptized catechumen at his monastery.[131] Healings also occur where no faith in Christianity is evident and these highlight the merits and sanctity of the mediating figure; Peter, a former tax collector, confirms his identity as a servant of God by healing a deaf and mute doorman, and demons flee from the possessed at the very sight of the pious Gallicanus.[132] Some healings emphasise virtuous attributes of the saints such as compassion and humility, e.g., St Martin heals a leper as he – in contrast to societal abhorrence towards such figures – kisses and blesses him (*LA*, CLXVI, p. 745). As in the NT, miracles in the corpus often occur in response to demonstrations of hope or faith either in the healer or in the power of Divinity as the ill or their representatives approach religious figures, calling out for healing or placing the sick before the saint.[133] Christian belief is therefore not obligatory as faith in the abilities of the healer, usually based on his established reputation as a thaumaturge, can suffice to bring about a cure. This event usually results in immediate conversion to Christianity and the sick depicted in such narratives tend to be the children of powerful figures such as kings, judges, and prefects: 'Quod videntes pontifices ipsum Tauro judici praesentarunt, qui judex, cum filium suum caceum illuminasset, credidit et ipsum annis quatuor in suo praedio manere fecit'(*LA*, XCVII, p. 418).[134]

Unusually, some individuals request indisputable proof of Christianity in the form of miracles before they convert, demanding the healing of relatives, or that of ill people selected at

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[128] Bernard: *LA*, CXX, p. 528 ; Leo, *LA*, CLXXXI, p. 835.
[129] Cf. *DM*, X/V, p. 221 and *EM*, 40, p. 264.
[130] *LA*: John: VIII, p. 54; Benedict: XLIX, pp. 207-8. Cf. *LA*: St Peter: LXXXIX, p. 367 and CLXX, pp. 780-4.
[131] *LA* : Andrew: II, pp. 15-16; Martin: CLXVI, p. 743. Cf. *LA*: James: XCIX, pp. 422-423 ; Mark: LIX, p. 266;
[132] *LA* : Peter : XXCII, p. 128; Gallicanus: LXXXVII, p. 365; Giles: CXXX, p. 582; Vaast: XL, p. 174.
[133] CF. *LA*, XXXVIII, p. 167: 'Tunc mulier quaedam filium suum morientem, in cujus gutture os piscis transversum erat, ad pedes ejus attulit et ut sanaretur, eum lacrimis postulabat'; also *LA*, XCIX, p. 424; LXIII, p. 280; CXIII, p. 474; *DM*, XVI, p. 23. The sick also includes birds and animals: cf. *LA*, XXXVIII, p. 167; *EM*, 71, p. 289.
[134] Cf. *LA*: CXXIV, pp. 541-2; CXVI, p. 487; CXL, p. 623; XLII, pp. 176-7.

random.[135] In one narrative the miracle is mediated through the doubters themselves, the high priest Aristodemus and Dionysius, in order that they may be completely convinced. Dionysius additionally stipulates the exact wording to be used in order to eliminate the possibility of magic formulae:

> si dixeris huic caeco, in nomine Dei tui vide, et viderit, statim credam, sed vitatis verbis magicis, quia forte nosti verba, quae habent hujusmodi efficaciam. Ego formam verborum tibi praescribam. In hac igitur forma verborum dices ei: in nomine Jesu Christi, nati de virgine, crucifixi, mortui, qui resurrexit et ad coelum adscendit, vide. Sed ut omnis suspicio tolleretur, Paulus dixit Dionysio, ut haec ipse verba proferret. Cum ergo in eadem forma Dionysius caeco, ut videret, dixisset, protinus visum recepit (*LA*, CLIII, p. 683).

Some do not commit to converting upon evidence of a miracle, promising instead a favour such as a release from prison for the figure in question (cf. *LA*, XLIV, pp. 179-80) although all are ultimately converted upon witnessing such events.[136] Such compliance with heathen demands is odd as it runs contrary to the Christian ideology of religious faith, which is based on spiritual apprehension rather than on tangible proof.

However, in a few accounts a conversion to Christianity, and occasionally baptism, is stipulated before a miracle is performed and is only executed upon compliance:

> Do si chômen an daz urvar,
> ain wazzersuhtegere wart ir gewar,
> er chlaget in sîne nôt,
> sîne hant er dar bôt:
> 'wil dû gelouben an Crist,
> der dîn urlôsære ist
> unt ie ân anegenge was,' –
> sprach der guote sancte Barnabas –
> 'sô wirstu an dem lîbe unt an der sêle gesunt'.
> der sieche sprach an der stunt:
> 'daz geloube ich vil gerne'.
> dô segent in der hailige hêrre.
> als daz crûce wart getân,

[135] Relatives : *LA*: CX, p. 457 and CLIX, p. 687; random: *LA*: IX, pp. 59-60 and CLIII, p. 683.
[136] Haage, *Parzival*, p. 28, overlooks the use of miracles to bring about conversion: 'Auf wunderbare Heilungen stößt man allenthalben in der mittelhochdeutschen Legendendichtung. Die dahinterstehende Intention tritt unkaschiert zutage: nicht der heidnische Aberglaube, sondern allein der Glaube an Christus kann die Menschen von ihren seelischen wie körperlichen Gebrechen erlösen'.

gesunt wart der sieche man. (*KC*, 1812-1825)[137]

Alternative preconditions also exist such as an insistence on a pledge entrusting the sick or dead individual (usually a son or daughter) to the healer upon performance of the miracle.[138] Finally, in one narrative, a blind man and a lame man are miraculously cured despite their unnatural desire to remain ill on account of the lucrative nature of begging. Despite avoiding the coffin of St Martin the bishop for fear of being cured, they inadvertently stumble upon it and are healed, an event, which deeply aggrieves them: 'Dum ergo fugerent, corpori ejus de improviso protinus obviaverunt, et quia Deus multa praestat invitis, ambo contra eorum voluntatem continuo sunt curati, licet de hoc plurimum tristarentur' (*LA*, CLXVI, p. 750).

Similar to the Bible, various effective healing means are evident in these narratives. Prayer emerges frequently and is usually recited over the sick and the dead and is occasionally accompanied by tears or combined with a laying on of hands.[139] It proves powerful and results in the cure of lameness, blindness, injured limbs, infertility, possession, labour-pains, paralysis, the effects of poison and particularly, in the restoration of the dead, even from hell.[140] Other measures include gestures such as a touch to the hand, a laying on of hands, or a sign of the cross. The sick and the dead are ordered to rise, usually in the name of Jesus, while demons are frequently ordered out of their victims and sent to the desert or to Babylonia.[141] Religious or personal items such as blessed stoles, coats, mantles or handkerchiefs are occasionally integrated into the procedure while everyday items, e.g., bread or water, are blessed in order to make them sacred and effective in healing (cf. *LA*, CXLIX, p. 671). It becomes apparent in the corpus that apart from Jesus and the apostles, the healers depicted – like the OT prophets – do not inherently possess the power to heal. They operate instead as divine mediators as indicated, for example, through narratives, whereby the sick experience visions of Jesus or a flash of light from Heaven during the healing procedure (*LA*, V, p. 36). Although most healings contain minor variations to those detailed above, several differ substantially through the use of an ointment consisting of leek, soot and salt, or surgical instruments or procedures. One man possesses a healing flame, presumably the Holy Spirit, which emerges from his mouth to touch the sick while another simply breaks a string at the back of the throat of a mute man to releases his tongue (*LA*, LXIII, p. 280).[142] Religious measures are occasionally integrated, although this is not always the case. Religious figures also suffer from ill health and in such situations, they generally pray directly to God for healing.[143]

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[137] Cf. *LA*, CXVII, p. 491; LXVII, pp. 299-300; LXXIX, pp. 343-4; *KC*, 2853-69.
[138] Cf. *LA*: XCVII, p. 418 and II, p. 15.
[139] St Martha lays on the ground in the shape of a cross in order to pray to Jesus to raise a boy to life (*LA*, CV, p. 445). Prayer also works from a distance: *LA*, CXXIV, p. 559.
[140] Cf. *LA*: II, p. 15; XL, p. 174; L, p. 213; XCVI, pp. 410-2; CXXX, p. 582; CXXXII, pp. 595-6; *EM*, 177, p. 369. It is also employed to induce early labour: CLXXII, p. 799.
[141] Cf. *LA*: CXVII, p. 490; CXV, p. 485-6; CXXXVII, p. 611.
[142] Cf. *LA*: LIX, p. 266; XXVII, p. 128; XLIX, p. 669; *DM*, XVI, II, p. 18. The latter action is similar to the NT healing by Jesus of a deaf and mute man.
[143] Cf. *LA*: Martin: CLXVI, p. 743; Francis : CXLIX, p. 669. When Augustine is unable to pray personally due to a severe toothache, he requests others to pray for him to God instead: *LA*, CXXIV, p. 552.

The success rate of religious mediators in attaining miracles during their lifetime is impressive as practically all the sick are instantly healed in the first attempt.[144] Some deviations exist where a saint claims that he is currently unable to heal but will do so at a later point, i.e., posthumously, or a second treatment is required upon relapse. This does not constitute a failure to heal as the saint in question cures many others without difficulty but such outcomes are deliberate and operate as a test of perseverance or faith; when the ill react appropriately, through visiting a tomb or touching a personal belonging of the saint, they are completely healed.[145] Some fail to heal, however, as, similar to the apostles in the NT, they are spiritually unprepared. One monk prevents the exorcism of a demon as he has sinned and consequently, the demon has no fear of him; only after he confesses and performs penance in the form of flagellation is the exorcism successful (*DM*, III/V, p. 115). The ability to mediate healing is not always permanent as the *DM* details a pious monk who loses this ability when his abbot orders him to stop treating secular people (*DM*, X/V, p. 221). This implies divine displeasure at the selectiveness of the abbot as to whom should be healed. In line with the NT paradigm, it is a rarity for religious tasks to be specified as thanksgiving after healing; a priest instructs a woman, whom he freed from a demon by exorcism, to remain in the place where healing occurred for thirty days in order to receive the sacrament and to hear the services of the canonical hours on a daily basis. The woman, however, decides to return home after nine days and suffers tragic consequences for this disobedience as the healing-centred paradigm evolves into a suffering-centred one and the woman is destroyed: 'In via turbine maximo impulsa, atque deiecta, sic totaliter confracta est a diabolo, ut omnia eius membra humanis visceribus simillima apparerent' (*DM*, X/X, p. 224). Finally, some martyrs request before their passion, that in memory of their act, all who implore their intercession will have their petitions granted, particular those who request healing from certain conditions:

> sanct Vît was ain wênigiz kindelîn,
> an sîner marter bat er mînen trehtîn:
> swem wirret diu vallende suht,
> die habent alle zuo im fluht,
> daz gehiez im selbe unser hêrre,
> daz die iemer mêre
> ze ainer jâres friste
> sculn habn reste (*KC*, 6469-6476)[146]

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[144] It is in the nature of such discourse, however, to highlight the successes and not the failures. Not all wish to be healed or restored to life; an apostle of St Germain is revived but has no wish to come back and is permitted to die again: *LA*, CVII, pp. 49-50.

[145] St Peter the martyr: *LA*: LXIII, p. 287 and LXIII, p. 280.

[146] Cf. *LA*, XXXVIII, p. 169: 'Et statim jussit eum decollari, ipse autem oravit ad dominum, ut quicunque per infirmitatem gutturis vel alia quacunque infirmitate ejus patrocinia postularet, exaudiretur et continuo liberaretur. Et ecce vox de coelis ad eum venit, quod sic fieret, ut oravit [...]'. Also *LA*, XCIII, p. 402. See Le Goff, 'Mensch', p. 38.

Most miracles are performed posthumously in the corpus. Although the overwhelming majority are initiated by the actions of the ill, several are instigated by the saints themselves, as they spontaneously intercede on behalf of individuals in recognition of their steadfast devotion, obtaining divine permission for them (or their relatives) to be restored or healing those who have mutilated themselves for their faith (*EM*, 3, p. 231).[147] Such intervention does not necessarily require invocation in order to be initiated: 'Cum in castro Pomereto in montanis Apuliae puella quaedam et patri et matri unica fuisset defuncta et mater sancto Francisco devota nimia tristitia fuisset absorpta, apparuit ei sanctus dicens: noli flere, quia lucernae tuae lumen, quod deploras extinctum, mea est tibi intercessione reddendum' (*LA*, CXLIX, p. 673). Some saints appear to individuals in visions or dreams in order to impart messages or demands. Such supernatural apparitions are reminiscent of the Hellenistic temple sleep, where cures were communicated to invalids through dreams as they slept in the temples of the gods: 'Der mittelalterliche Mensch hat auf Schritt und Tritt mit »Erscheinung« zu tun'.[148] This motif emerges frequently in the *LA*, serving both to confirm the merits of the appearing figure (often the Virgin Mary or St Peter the Martyr) and the existence of life after death. The ailing who experience visions are usually nuns, monks or deans, and through this medium they are either specifically informed or interpret that, should they wish to recover, they should go to the church of a particular saint and implore the aid of their merits (*LA*: CLXVIII, p. 770) or dedicate themselves to that particular figure. They react by praying, making a vow, or commending themselves to the care of the saint, actions which result in a complete cure:

> Apud Florentiam in monasterio Discipulis sanctimonialis quaedam in oratione posita ea die, qua beatus Petrus mortem sustinuit, vidit beatam virginem in excelso throno in gloria residere et duos fratres de ordine praedicatorum in coelum adscendere et hinc inde juxta eam collocatos esse. Et quum inquireret, quinam essent, audivit vocem dicentem sibi: hic est frater Petrus, qui in conspectu domini tamquam fumus aromatum gloriosus adscendit. [...] Unde cum longa et gravi infirmitate laboraret, ad rogandum beatum Petrum tota se devotione contulit et sanitatem integram mox recepit (*LA*, LXIII, p. 290).[149]

In contrast to the encouragement evident in the corpus – particular in the *SE* – to neglect the physical being in preference to the soul, the saints and martyrs care very much about what happens to their corporeal remains; they or angels appear in visions to specify where they are to be found and where they should be hidden or buried with honours. The state and location of corpses can signify sanctity, as God occasionally preserves some figures physically or prevents them from being devoured by animals as an indication of His grace (*LA*, CXII, p. 462).[150] In appreciation of

[147] Restoring to life: *LA*: Mary: CXIX, p. 516; St Francis: CXLIX , p. 668 and p. 672.
[148] Le Goff, 'Mensch', p. 37; also p. 42.
[149] Cf. *LA*: CXIII, pp. 472-3 ; CLXVIII, p. 766.
[150] This aspect is also evident in ancient Greek classics such as the *Iliad*.

the fulfilment of their requests, saints heal the individual, a relative of theirs, or people present at the time of the relocation of the corpses; those present at the discovery of the body of St Stephen, the first martyr, are healed – as a consequence of his sanctity – by the odour released from the spot where his body was buried.[151] Additional to apparitions, some saints communicate through the possessed, giving instructions on the removal of their relics from one place to another; when this occurs, the demon is expelled from the individual (*LA*, CXII, p. 464).

In most posthumous miracles, healing is initiated by the actions of the sick, who tend to be faithful Christians, as they visit or are brought to the tomb, place of martyrdom, or church dedicated to a particular saint:

> Sepultus in ecclesia sancti Albani Martyris, in qua ipse instituerat conventum canonicorum, de suis iustis redditibus eis stipendia adhuc sanus ordinans, tantis usque hodie signis coruscat, ut de remotis regionibus infirmi advenientes ad eius tumbam sanitatem recipiant, ipsamque terram circa sepulchrum effodientes secum pro benedictione deportent (*DM*, II/XVII, pp. 86-87).[152]

They do so in the hope that they may be healed through the merits of the saint, being either especially devoted to him or having heard of previous miracles attained through him: 'Even after his physical death, the power of the holy man remained in places where he had lived and died'.[153] For some, a mere visit suffices to generate healing, particularly in the case of the possessed, as the sacredness of the site violently drives out demons (cf. *LA*: LXIII, pp. 287-8) while earnest prayer, invocation, candle-offerings, vows, or commendation of the sick to the saint either personally or through their representatives, brings about healing for others in these sacred places:

> In provincia Franciae civitate Senonis puella quaedam cum in aquam raptim transeuntem cecidisset et per magnum spatium temporis stetisset, tandem de flumine mortua est extracta. Cujus mortis erant quatuor argumenta, scilicet magnum spatium temporis et rigiditas corporis et frigiditas et nigredo. Delata est ergo a quibusdam ad ecclesiam fratrum. Qui cum eam sancto Petro vovissent, continuo vitae est reddita et saluti (*LA*, LXIII, p. 286).

As healing energy is particularly present in places intimately connected with the saint, such as their tombs, some desire to get as close as possible in order to increase the likelihood of healing and touch or lie upon the tomb or alternatively, rub earth upon the affected area from there or ingest it: 'The saint was physically present in his tomb, where he could be approached, implored, cajoled, even under certain circumstances threatened, to provide for the needs of the local community'.[154]

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[151] Individual: *LA*, CLX, p. 712; relative: CII, p. 441; group: CXII, p. 463.
[152] See *LA*: IV, p. 30; XI, p. 69; LXIII, p. 283, p. 286 and p. 291.
[153] Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1994), p. 165.
[154] Ibid., p. 169.

This energy is somehow fluid and capable of being transferred to inanimate objects and being used at will as the tunic of a dead child, which is taken to a church, succeeds in restoring her at home.[155] Competition between various tombs is discernible in some accounts, as saints intercept sick pilgrims on their way to specific tombs in order to redirect them to their own, where they are subsequently cured; an attempt to increase the reputation of select shrines is apparent in others, where pilgrims are healed when they follow advice to go to a church of a specific saint after failing to attain a cure through religious measures.[156]

Although many visit sacred places in the hope of being cured, the ill can also successfully invoke the assistance of the saints from home or during an accident.[157] Effective actions include the utterance of a vow such as to walk barefoot to relics (*LA*: CXIII, p. 480) or a personal dedication to a saint, which are usually described as devout and earnest, while some plead that their service to the saint be taken into consideration:

> Mulier quaedam in Flandria cum jam tres filios mortuos peperisset et ex hoc a viro odio haberetur, rogavit sanctum Petrum, ut sibi in auxilium fieret. Cum ergo quartum filium peperisset, similiter mortuus est repertus. Quem mater accipiens ad rogandum sanctum Petrum totam se contulit, eum, ut filium suum reviviscere faceret, precibus devotis exorans (*LA*: LXIII, p. 285).[158]

Several of the sick yearn to visit the shrine of a saint but are too weak to do so; one, a nun, decides to partake of a substitute spiritual visit to a tomb by reciting prayers every day for the length of time a return journey would require (*LA*, LXIII, pp. 288-9), while another receives a surge of energy upon expressing his desire to visit certain relics, which increases every day of his journey until he arrives fully healed at the shrine (*LA*, CXIII, p. 480). The pious can also be cured in recognition of their service (*DM*, VIII/LXXXI, p. 149) or moral actions, such as permitting a spouse to go on a crusade (*DM*, X/ XXII, p. 234) or aiding animals (*EM*, 133, p. 336). Although no-one makes a direct healing request to God in these narratives, some pray together with a saint, dedicate themselves or their sick children to both God and a specific saint, or ask God to mediate healing through a particular saint (cf. *LA*, CXIII, pp. 480-1 and CXXIV, p. 559)

The relics of the saints are effective in attaining health, particularly once applied with reverence to the sick or touched or ingested by them. Those mentioned in the corpus include physical parts of the saint such as bones (or oil which issues from them), teeth, teardrops or blood (usually splattered upon earth): 'Quidam insuper puer ex casu gravissimo si oppressus, ut motu et sensu penitus destitutus tamquam mortuus defleretur, mox apposita de terra suo pectori sacro ejus

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[155] Cf. *LA*: IV, p. 30; CLXVIII, p. 769; CLXVIII, pp. 766-767; CXII, p. 465.
[156] Cf. the response of a demon, whom an abbot fails to exorcize in *DM*, V/XXIX, p. 314: 'Nondum vult Altissimus. Adhuc duobus annis ero in ea; post haec in via illius Jacobi liberabitur'. Also *DM*, VI/VI, p. 356.
[157] Cf. *LA* : LIX, pp. 268-9; the invocation of a saint's name over the dead restores them to life: CXII, p. 465.
[158] Also p. 289; CXXIV, p. 564; CXLIX, p. 673; CXLIX, pp. 673-4.

martiris cruore contacta incolumis resurrexit' (*LA*, LXIII, p. 283).[159] These appear to be imbued with a healing energy together with items in contact with sacred objects, such as water poured over bones, earth from the tombs, or herbs growing nearby: 'Multas sancti in suis et per suas imagines virtutes operantur, maxime in illis locis ubi venerantur' (*DM*, VII/XLV, p. 64). Personal items such as books, clothing, shoes, and images are also powerful, in addition to items of torment such as the Holy Cross, thorns from the crown, and chains: 'a torture that had once caused exquisite suffering is now the most apposite vehicle for relief'.[160] If no relic is to hand, substances such as earth can also suffice, once a sign of the cross is made over it and a saint is invoked (cf. *LA*: CLXVIII, p. 770 and LXII, pp. 290-1). Even false relics can be potent as God desires both to honour the saints to whom they are ascribed and to satisfy those who employ them in good faith (*DM*, VIII/LXIX, p. 140). True relics also cure disbelievers, despite their lack of faith or irreverent handling, in order to convert them to Christianity (*EM*, 91, p. 307). Finally, certain Christian sacraments such as baptism, can also impart healing to children and pagans: 'Licet enim baptismus medicina sit animae, multi tamen illius virtute sanitatem corporum consecuti sunt' (*DM*, X/XLIV, p. 249).[161]

While miracles honour God, praise the saints, and captivate the disbeliever, an explanation for their occurrence is rarely given in the corpus. According to the *DM*, they signify divine power and compassion for mankind,[162] while the *LA* highlights the sympathy of the saints for those invoking their assistance in grief.[163] The importance of faith and devotion in instigating a cure is underlined in post-healing visions, which confirm the potency of such gestures: 'Es wird unbedingt Unterwerfung und restlose Anerkennung der Heiligen als Werkzeug Gottes und als Vertreter des Christentums gefordert'.[164] Curiously, some narratives highlight the effectiveness of threats to the saints, e.g., to destroy their churches or to discourage people from visiting their shrines unless demands for a cure are met:

> nû scowe an dînen bâbes:
> den liez ich dir gesunden,
> plinden hân ich in vunden.
> unt nemachest dû den plinden
> hiute niht gesunden,
> dîn hûs ich dir zestôre,
> dînen widemen ich dir zevuore; [...]
> Vil sciere garte sich dô

[159] Also *LA*: XI, p. 6; XLVII, p. 202; CXXIV, p. 559; CXXV, p. 573; *DM*, VIIILIV, p. 127.
[160] Brown, p. 84. Cf.: *LA*, LXVIII, pp. 308-9 ; CX, p. 459 ; CLIII, p. 685; *DM*, VII/XXXVIII, p. 57.
[161] Also *DM*, X/XLII and XLII, pp. 247-8.
[162] X/I, p. 218 : 'Aliquando Deus miracula operatur ut in elementis, ut mortalibus suam ostendat potentiam. Aliquando genera dat linguarum, sive spiritum prophetiae, ut manifestet suam sapientiam. Aliquando gratiam dat sanitatum, ut suam magnam nobis revelet misericordiam'.
[163] Cf.: *LA*, CXIII, p. 480 and CXIII, p. 481.
[164] Dietlinde Goltz, 'Über die Rolle des Arzneimittels in antiken und christlichen Wunderheilungen', *Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft*, 50 (1966), 392-410 (p. 403). Cf.: *LA*, IV, p. 30; *DM*, VI/VI, p. 356; *DM*, VII/XXIX, p. 38; *EM*, 48, p. 270. A Christian community aids the efforts of some sick people, by fasting, donating alms, and singing hymns for several days, in the hope that the sick person will recover: *EM*, 82, p. 301.

der edel bâbes Lêô.
als er die bîhte vole sprach,
ain himelisk lieht er gesach
mit baiden sînen ougen.
vil michel sint diu gotes tougen. (*KC*, 14716-14730)[165]

An ability to heal can also confirm innocence or a sinless state, as men, who are innocently killed as criminals, possess this gift (cf. *DM*, IV/XCIX, p. 270), in addition to former sinners such as Hartmann's Gregorius, whose ability to heal expresses his unblemished soul, a consequence of his extreme atonement procedures.[166]

In line with the biblical paradigm, there is no evidence of remorse or confession on behalf of the sick, which could indicate that their sufferings are a consequence of sin.[167] Apart from those who convert to Christianity, there is never any mention of spiritual change. In one account a very ill man is advised to confess his sins in order to be cured yet he is miraculously healed before having an opportunity to do so (*LA*, LXIII, p. 291); the recommendation to confess demonstrates a belief in sickness as a divine punishment, but the occurrence of the miracle before confession negates this interpretation and reveals the man's innocence.[168] Nevertheless, while sin is not a reason for suffering in this paradigm, the *LA* reveals that the merits of saints are limited and if the sins of the people are too great, they will not be able to obtain favour. Not all pray for a cure in order to be released from pain, as some religious pray for recovery in order to be able to perform their duties and thereby display a concern for religion rather than the physical being. The motivation for healing is occasionally ascertained by saints prior to healing religious figures;[169] some, such as a bishop, are refused and scolded with the rationale that they are afraid to die (*LA*, CXXIV, p. 557). This attitude stands at variance with others who do not pray for relief as they – like the martyrs – yearn to participate in the Passion of Christ or be united with Him (*SV*, CCLXXV, p. 154 and CV, p. 178)

In posthumous miracles, healing usually occurs immediately upon arrival at a religious site or upon invocation for assistance although some remain unhealed until midnight or cockcrow. Some are described in a gory manner such as *LA*, CXXIV, p. 565, where the arteries of the sick burst and the floor of the church becomes awash with blood before they are cured. Many are healed in their sleep when they experience a vision of the invoked saint performing an effective gesture

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[165] Cf. *LA*, CLXVIII, pp. 769-70. Some request a cure in order to test the authenticity of relics: *KC*, 13773-13789.
[166] Gregorius, 3773ff. For further information on this, see Christian Gellinek, 'From Noble Saints to Paper Legends: A Glance at German Hagiography and Romance in the High Middle Ages', in *Herrschaft im Hochmittelalter: Essays zu einem Sonderproblem der älteren deutschen Literatur*, German Studies in America, 34 (Bern: Lang, 1980), pp. 87-94 (pp. 91-92).
[167] I therefore do not agree with Trüb, p. 13: 'Nach dem NT sind Krankheit und Tod als eine Vererbung, fortpflanzbare Folge des Sündenfalls in die Welt gekommen, der Kranke muß sich daher vor dem Heilsversuch mit den Heilmitteln der Kirche entsündigen lassen'.
[168] Positive interpretations of sickness also exist; in *LA*, CXLVII, p. 659, a mother rejoices after her first born dies after baptism in the belief that the baby is accepted by God as a sign of His love.
[169] *LA*, CXIII, p. 481: 'quare tantum sanari desideras? Et illa: domine, ut Deo meo devotius servire possim'; also *LA*, LXIII, pp. 286-7.

such as touching or rubbing the affected part of the body, placing his stigmata on injuries, or covering the ill with a cloak:

> Cum cuidam pastori saevum ulcus inter scapulas ortum esset, adeo morbus invaluit, ut jam totis esset viribus destitutus. Qui dum ad sanctum Augustinum preces emitteret, eidem Augustinus in visu apparuit et super locum infirmum manum apponens perfecte eum sanavit. Idem quoque vir procedente tempore oculorum lumine est privatus. Qui cum sanctum Augustinum sedulo invocaret, quodam die circa meridiem eidem apparuit et oculos manibus suis tergens pristinam sibi sanitatem restituit (*LA*, CXXIV, pp. 564-5)[170]

Instructions can also be given in visions as to how to attain health and include approaching a certain holy man, or performing a specific action at a shrine or in a church.[171] Some, however, remain unhealed at tombs or churches for periods of up to four weeks before finally being healed,[172] while others need to return to a tomb on several occasions before attaining a cure: '[...] the time element was immaterial in attribution of a miraculous cure'.[173] Such delays appear to be a test of faith as perseverance pleases the saints: 'Adjecit etiam stultos esse, qui projectis oblationibus statim discedunt, cum sanctis placeat, ut cum perseverantia eorum suffragia postulentur' (*LA*, CLXVIII, p. 767).[174] Although saints on the whole heal individually, some in the *LA* operate in pairs, e.g., the saints Gervasius and Protasius (LXXXV, pp. 355-56), Nazarius and Celsus (CII, p. 441), Cosmas and Damien (CXLIII, pp.637-39), Elizabeth and Nicholas (CLXVIII, p. 767 and CLXVIII, p. 770) and Saturninus and Perpetua (CLXXIII, p. 799).

While the overwhelming majority of the sick in these narratives are ultimately cured, scars remain occasionally as testimony to the miracle: 'Invocavit igitur beati Marci suffragia et manus continuo fuit sanitati pristinae restituta, sola tamen cicatrix remansit et in tanti miraculi testimonium et in talis beneficii monumentum' (*LA*, LIX, p. 270).[175] Some of the healed, however, request to be ill again for the sake of their spiritual health, thereby indicating the positive humbling benefits inherent in suffering. The saints respond to such requests, proving equally adept at mediating illness as they do at relieving it:

> Quidam, quem sanctus Thomas valde dilexerat, cum graviter infirmaretur, ivit ad ejus tumbam et pro sanitate sua rogavit et ad libitum impetravit. Sed cum sanatus rediret, coepit cogitare, quod illa sanatio animae suae forsitan non expediret. Unde iterum rediens ad

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[170] Cf. *LA*: LIX, p. 269; CXXIV, p. 562; LXXXIX, p. 378.
[171] Sometimes the saints mediate healing through holy men: *LA*, LXXXIX, p. 378; cf. *EM*, 66, p. 285.
[172] Cf.: *LA*, CXIII, p. 479 ; CXIII, p 480 ; CLXVIII, pp. 770-1.
[173] R. C. Finucane, 'The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles', *History*: *The Journal of the Historical Association*, 60 (1975), 1-10 (p. 8). See *LA*:, CLXVIII, p. 767 and CLXVIII, pp. 769-70.
[174] Cf. *LA*, CLXVIII, p. 770, where healing occurs in two stages, or *LA*, CXX, pp. 535-536, where a second treatment is required.
[175] Cf. LA, CXLIX, p. 673; *DM*, VII/XXIII, p. 32.

> sepulchrum oravit, ut si non esset utile animae suae, continuo infirmitas ipsa rediret, statimque infirmitas rediit sicut prius (*LA*, XI, p. 69)[176]

The first reaction of the sick does not always consist of recourse to the saints, as some initially consult physicians, Jews, or sorcerers and the failure of such efforts serves to increase the spectacular nature of the miracle and to emphasize divine omnipotence over the limited abilities of secular healers (*LA*, VIII, p. 54 and LXIII, p. 289). There are scarcely any religious conversions in these posthumous miracles as the sick tend to be Christian; narrative emphasis rests on the merits of individual saints and their effectiveness in attaining healing in order to increase the reputation and devotion of such figures among the masses. The reaction of the ill upon being cured is therefore irrelevant and is rarely mentioned but includes thanksgiving gestures such as a pilgrimage to a shrine or church or renaming a cured child in honour of the saint (*LA*, LXIII, p 285 and CLXVIII, pp. 770-71). Actions are infrequently specified by the mediating saint and include a visit to a tomb, or a daily prayer of thanksgiving (*LA*, LXIII, p. 289; *DM*, VII/XLVIII, p. 68).

While there are generally minor variations between healing methods in the Bible and in the corpus, some differ considerably such as those incorporating surgical operations, which are usually performed in visions;[177] these involve the surgical reattachment of hands or tongues, the deflation of an abscess, and the amputation and transplantation of a diseased leg.[178] The latter is particularly realistic in nature as the operating saints, Cosmas and Damien, seek out a healthy leg as a replacement:

> In hac ecclesia quidam vir sanctis martiribus serviebat, cui cancer unum crus totum consumserat. Et ecce dormiente illo sancti Cosmas et Damianus devoto suo apparuerunt unguenta et ferramenta secum portantes; quorum unus alteri dixit: ubi carnes accipiemus, ut abscisa carne putrida locum vacuum repleamus? Tunc ait alter: in cimiterio sancti Petri ad vincula hodie Aethiops recens sepultus est, de illo autem affer, ut huic suppleamus. Et ecce ad cimiterium properavit et coxam Mauri attulit, praecidentesque coxam infirmi loco ejus coxam Mauri inseruerunt et plagam diligenter ungentes coxam infirmi ad corpus Mauri mortui detulerunt (*LA*, CXLIV, p. 639)

No pain seems to be experienced during these operations as the sick simply awake in the morning, completely cured. Some visions involve the saint applying or anointing the sick with an unspecified medicinal-type ointment or delivering instructions to the ill on what mixture to take.[179] Odd rituals

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[176] Cf. XL, p. 174.

[177] Goltz, p. 395, believes that such actions bear resemblance to the cult of Asclepius, while Brown, p. 80, claims they are typical of those performed by ancient gods such as Aelius Aristides.

[178] Cf.: *LA*: LXXXVIII, p. 367; CXLIX, p. 673 ; CLXVIII, p. 768 ; *DM*, VII/XXIII, p. 32; some procedures are performed in churches: LA, CXLIII, p. 639 and CXLV, p. 646.

[179] These are usually items readily available at home, which require no pharmaceutical knowledge: cf. *LA*, CXLV, p. 646, where a mixture of honey, wine, and pepper is recommended. Anointing: *LA*, CXIII, p. 481; *DM*, VII/XLVIII, p. 68; instruction: *DM*, VII/XXIV, p. 33.

are also performed by the sick in their attempts to procure healing; a scholar with a withered thigh wraps himself completely in candle thread and calls out the names of Jesus and Dominic at each turn as he winds it around his knee (*LA*, CXIII, pp. 480-81). In addition to relief from suffering, Christians are divinely protected on occasion.[180] This is evident with martyrs, who, with unshakeable belief, prove invincible to a variety of tortures until their divinely designated time to die has arrived and God's omnipotence has been effectively demonstrated. Such protection is also reflected in the invisible defence provided by the Virgin Mary and the saints to those devoted to them, as they prevent physical harm in instances of beatings, drowning, and hanging or self-harm in the case of attempted suicide.[181] Curiously, such shielding is even extended to criminals, who appeal to the saints to intercede and are saved from death by hanging. Such narratives indicate the power of religious devotion and the irrelevance of the morality of the beseecher, in addition to the superior authority of divinity over worldly justice and crime.[182]

The healing-centred paradigm in the corpus provides a framework for existential problems that differs considerably from the Bible in its protocol for divine assistance through the saints rather than God.[183] With the exception of the saints, it is striking that in the entire corpus, there is only one instance where people pray directly to God rather than through the saints, for personal healing, an attempt, which proves successful as the barren couple bear a son (*LA*, XCIV, p. 403). This lack of direct healing requests differs greatly from the OT, where the majority of ill people pray to God for relief rather than mediating their pleas through the prophets. It implies in the corpus that the requests of ordinary people are offensive to God, presumably due to their state of general sinfulness, and would therefore have little chance of success: '[Die Heiligen] bilden ein Bindeglied zwischen dem sündigen Mensch und der göttlichen Allmacht'.[184] 'Quia enim per nos salutem habere non possumus, ideo sanctorum intercessionibus indigemus, a quibus ut adjuvari mereamur, merito ipsos honorare debemus' (*LA*, CLXII, p. 720). This is the case even with religious individuals such as nuns and monks.[185] In contrast, the merits of a saint please God, enabling him or her to successfully intercede. Medieval man therefore has a great need of the saints, although this necessity simultaneously makes God appear aloof, intolerant and ultimately unapproachable. Such consistent portrayals succeed in creating a two-tiered Heaven, with God in the first and the Virgin Mary and the saints in the second; requests must be directed to those in the lower tier as they are sympathetic to the concerns of human beings and through their merits can intercede and mediate needs to God. The saints must be honoured through devotion and prayer in order to be confident of their assistance in a crisis but such adulation is also a means of honouring God (*LA*, CLXII, p. 720). Their intermediary role makes their devotion compulsory for the average

[180] Some are healed in order to protect themselves from enemies: *EM*, 62, p. 281.
[181] Cf. *LA*: LIX, pp. 269-70; XC, p. 385; *DM*, I/XL, p. 49; *EM*, 106, p. 318.
[182] *LA*, CXXXI, p. 592; *EM*, 169, p.361; cf. *DM*, II/XXIII, p. 93, where Jews are struck dumb to protect a contrite clerk.
[183] 'This large amount of material about miracles reflects the urgent needs of the living and their trust in the powers of the dead', Ward, p. 33. Also William Sargant, *The Mind Possessed: A Physiology of Possession, Mysticism and Faith Healing* (London: Pan Books, 1973; repr. 1976), pp. 237-40.
[184] Wyss, p. 40.
[185] *LA*, CXIII, p. 481: 'mi domine, non sum ego digna orare te nec a te exaudiri, sed rogo dominum meum beatum Dominicum, ut sit mediator inter me et te et mihi impetret beneficium sanitatis'.

Christian, as multiple narratives in this paradigm confirm: it pays to be devoted to a saint. This paradigm promotes reliance on the saints through continuous depiction of successful intercession, which aims to reduce fear, uncertainty, and feelings of helplessness through strengthening religious belief, hope, and trust: 'Ist doch eine Funktion der Legende [...] Unterpfand überirdischer Hilfe vor Augen zu stellen und damit der hilfebedürftigen Menschheit religiösen Anreiz, Mut zum Wagnis des Glaubens und Trost in Anfechtung und Not zu geben'.[186] Most miracles occur posthumously and as such narratives describe the methods most effective in attaining healing as pilgrimage and prayer, they serve to promote the cult of the saints and practices associated with it. The healing-centred paradigm as depicted in the corpus has therefore evolved; although similar in form, its function has altered significantly. As highlighted in Chapter 3, there is no evidence of any disparagement towards the medical profession. Physicians do not appear to have been viewed as serious competition to the cult of saints; many diseases in the Middle Ages were simply incurable by medical means and many medieval citizens could not afford the fees demanded by physicians. The cult of the saints offered an inexpensive and accessible alternative in the event of ill-health.

Summary

In conclusion, the healing-centred paradigm is widespread in several texts of the corpus, particularly in legendaries and exempla. Similar to its biblical antecedent, little detail is provided on the sick or their suffering as they simply provide the backdrop for the focus of the narrative – the healing, in this instance through the saint. A much wider range of conditions are healed in the medieval paradigm and in a similar vein to the OT, God rarely cures directly but now mediates healing largely through the saints but also through certain martyrs, hermits, holy men, popes, abbots, monks and secular figures such as emperors, some of whom heal both during their lifetime and posthumously.[187] Additionally relics now become a central focus of religious devotion.[188] A cure is frequently initiated in response to faith or devotion and this paradigm supplies information on the various means of invoking intercession. While some healing methods are similar to the Bible, a new development is evident in the combination of the rational with the miraculous in the use of surgical procedures involving realistic incision and manipulation to treat disorders,[189] procedures which Brown believes were reassuring in 'their integration of the disintegrated'.[190] Although some maintain that the lives of saints stimulate imitation, their possession of superhuman

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[186] Helmut Rosenfeld, *Legende*, 3rd rev. edn (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1972), p. 15. Geary, pp. 168-69, attributes the replacement of Christ as the primary mediator with the saints to power structures in feudal society although this change is apparent from the times of the martyrs.

[187] Kaiser Heinrich in the *KC* is elevated to a state of sanctity: 16248-16253. Others are also capable of healing: cf. *LA*, LXXIII, p. 332: 'Deus enim facit miracula per auctoritatem, angeli per materiae humilitatem, daemones per virtutes naturales rebus insitas, magi per occultos contractus cum daemonibus, boni christiani per publicam justitiam, mali christiani per signa publicae justitiae'; also *DM*, V/XXXVII, p. 323.

[188] Geary, p. 166.

[189] Although Goltz, pp. 407-08, concludes that the saints from the early middle ages onwards no longer appear in visions or use medication to heal, being displaced by Christian means (oil, water, wine), such motifs emerge in multiple accounts of my corpus. Additionally Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1982; repr. 1987), p. 170, overlooks the fact that Jesus and the disciples also employed diverse methods of healing: 'Where Christ healed the sick directly, saints made the sign of the cross, invoked the Trinity, prayed, or used blessed objects, especially water'.

[190] Brown, p. 83.

attributes makes this impossible for the average Christian, who can only revere and obey such figures.[191] The aim of the paradigm now consists in encouraging reliance on the cult and strengthening hope rather than in its biblical objective to aid conversion to the faith.[192]

There is no indication of guilt on behalf of the sick portrayed as this paradigm seeks to present the saints as a means of attaining health through their intercession by means of prayer and pilgrimage.[193] The presence and indeed prevalence of this paradigm in some works negates the view that religious discourse during this period is continuously "weltfeindlich"[194] but its existence is overlooked by for example, Nickel, who believes that the intention of narratives in the *LA* is among others to 'vertiefen das Schuld- und Sündenbewußtsein [...], sie verteufeln die Leiblichkeit des Menschen und all sozialen Beziehungen'.[195] The physical being is, however, not trivialised in this paradigm; God is, in fact, concerned for the physical health of His people: 'The recorded miracles of healing at the shrines show God's power and his abiding concern for the flesh'.[196] A significant difference between the biblical paradigm and its counterpart in the corpus is evident in the relentless promotion of the cult of saints in the latter; as a consequence, such narratives do not impart a balanced understanding of Christian belief, which was so complex that many did not comprehend it.[197] Furthermore, the depiction of continuous successful interventions by these figures 'promise in unequivocal terms that acts of devotion to the saints in question will magically guarantee one's deliverance from certain evils, among them illnesses, poverty and damnation itself'.[198] The absence of individuals who suffer despite steadfast devotion to the saints is noticeable and motivates both an absolute reliance on the saints and on superstitious rituals to initiate intervention.

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[191] Cf. Walter, p. 22: 'Daneben wirkt sie [die Legende] als erzieherisch, wenn sie das vorbildliche Leben der Heiligen schildert und zur imitatio auffordert.' Also Klaniczay, p. 95. In contrast see: Reames, p. 200 and Barth, p. 71. There is some hope in the portrayal of figures who sin but later become saints: Erhard Dorn, *Der Sündige Heilige in der Legende des Mittelalters*, Medium Aevum, 10 (München: Fink, 1967), p. 9.

[192] I therefore do not agree with Helene Zieren, *Studien zum Teufelsbild in der deutschen Dichtung von 1050-1250* (Bochum-Langendreer: Pöppinghaus, 1937), p. 70: 'Der große Sinn und Zweck aller Legenden erfüllt sich: die Heiden werden gläubig durch das Wunder'.

[193] '[...] in der Tat ist die Legende dem mittelalterlichen Menschen zweifellos wahre Geschichte', Max Wehrli, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im Mittelalter: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980), I, p. 155.

[194] Cf. 'Die frühmittelhochdeutsche Dichtung des 11./12. Jahrhunderts ist zunächst ausgesprochene Geistlichendichtung; sie steht im Dienst der kirchlichen Propaganda, der Predigt und Kirchenlehre, und ihre Haltung ist durchaus weltfeindlich, mönchisch-asketisch. *Memento mori* tönt es durch die Verse dieser Dichtung', Friedrich Ranke, *Gott Welt und Humanität in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Tübingen: WBG, 1952), p. 13.

[195] Rainer Nickel, ed., *Legenda aurea: Lateinisch / Deutsch* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988), p. 273; also Wyss, p. 44.

[196] Brown, p. 77.

[197] Brown, p. 19.

[198] Reames, p. 50; also Walter, p. 26.



Fig. 2. Göttinger Barfüßeraltar, ca. 1424

Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum

5. THE PRESENCE OF A SUFFERING-CENTRED PARADIGM IN THE BIBLE AND IN THE MEDIEVAL CORPUS

This chapter concentrates on the suffering-centred paradigm, which is evident in the OT and – to a lesser degree – the NT and is reflected in the medieval corpus. Narratives containing this model generally explicate the emergence of sickness or death as a deliberate and significant event, usually inflicted either directly by God or indirectly through a divine, diabolic, natural, or human medium. A variety of incurable conditions are imposed, which – often in contradiction of their progressive nature – are usually sudden in onset and severe in degree. In contrast to the healing-centred paradigm, the experience of suffering is meaningful as it is imposed by God for various reasons such as punishment, chastisement, or trial. Its impetus is, however, usually attributed to the incitement of divine wrath through transgression, thereby establishing its primary purpose as punitive or disciplinary. Punishment differs from chastisement in that it is retributive in nature and penalises specific behaviour; it emerges in a deed–consequence relationship.[1] Chastisement in contrast, is disciplinary in nature and aims at repentance; it emerges in the recurring cycle of Sin–Suffering–Repentance–Restoration. However, such intent is not fixed, as an appropriate response can occasionally result in a punishment evolving into a chastisement, while an inappropriate one can alter a chastisement into a purely destructive punishment. Within the suffering-centred paradigm the narrative focus rests on the impact of suffering on the individual or group, as the experienced pain can encourage reflection and repentance, and result in a restoration of the relationship with God. Suffering-centred texts tend to be edificatory, highlighting inter alia, the nature of God, the characteristics of sin, and potential methods of atonement.

5.1 The Suffering-Centred Paradigm in the Old Testament

> dicens si audieris vocem Domini Dei tui et quod rectum est coram eo feceris et oboedieris mandatis eius custodierisque omnia praecepta illius cunctum languorem quem posui in Aegypto non inducam super te ego enim Dominus sanator tuus (Ex 15.26)[2]

The issue of suffering in the Bible is complex, as a framework is gradually developed in the OT to explain its existence and compatibility with the notion of a loving, merciful God. It is occasionally difficult to identify exact reasons for suffering as some narratives prove ambiguous while others incorporate multiple purposes both for the sufferer and for the reader; matters are further complicated in that a response to suffering can alter its intent. These difficulties have led to a range of opinions on the purpose of suffering in the OT. Some scholars such as Gunkel (1) overemphasized the presence of retributive punishment: 'Die israelitische Religion hat den

[1] Travis, p. 6ff., however, sees a division between 'retributive justice' and 'a deed–consequence relationship'.
[2] Cf. Ex 23.25-6: 'servietisque Domino Deo vestro ut benedicam panibus tuis et aquis et auferam infirmitatem de medio tui / non erit infecunda nec sterilis in terra tua numerum dierum tuorum implebo'.

Vergeltungsglauben von Anfang an besessen',[3] while others such as Amundsen and Ferngren underestimate the existence of retributive punishment in the Bible in their focus on disciplinary judgement: 'Suffering in general and sickness in particular were seen not simply as punishment but rather as chastisement that was not vindictive but corrective'.[4] Multiple reasons for the existence of suffering are also identified. Bowker (16) identifies two reasons for suffering – a punishment and a test of faith – although by the latter, he appears to indicate chastisement. Both Seybold and Müller, and Rowley distinguish four reasons, comprehending punishment, chastisement, test, and education: 'Krankheit kann Prüfung, kann Zurechtweisung, kann Strafe, kann Erziehungsmaßnahme sein'.[5] Oeming (12-25) interprets OT suffering as 1. 'unerklärlich, aber Gott hat das Recht dazu'; 2. 'Strafe'; 3. 'Chance'; and 4. 'Zeichen der Leibe',[6] while Travis (3-13) highlights retribution, deterrent, reformation, purification and revelation. For the purpose of my study, I distinguish the existence of three main purposes involving punishment, chastisement, and trial in the OT suffering-centred paradigm,[7] with punishment simply penalizing the sinner for iniquity, chastisement presenting an opportunity for atonement and reconciliation, and a trial testing the faith of the elect in the event of adversity. Alternative reasons highlighted by Oeming and Travis are subsumed within my system as suffering in these narratives may concurrently operate as revelation or reform for the sinner or as a deterrent or education for others. Additional to the main categories, several exceptions exist which will also be discussed.

5.1.1 Suffering as Punitive Retribution or Chastising Judgement in the Old Testament

> si clausero caelum et pluvia non fluxerit et mandavero et praecepero lucustae ut devoret terram et misero pestilentiam in populum meum / conversus autem populus meus super quos invocatum est nomen meum deprecatus me fuerit et exquisierit faciem meam et egerit paenitentiam a viis suis pessimis et ego exaudiam de caelo et propitius ero peccatis eorum et sanabo terram eorum (II Par 7.13-14)

Many narratives detail the infliction of suffering as retribution or chastisement. The OT concept of sin emerges in the various covenants ratified, particularly that at Sinai, which sets out divine decrees, customs and laws and is conditional upon mutual responsibilities; God operates as the vindicator and source of blessings for Israel, favouring and multiplying her people in exchange for

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[3] Hermann Gunkel, 'Vergeltung im Alten Testament', in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des Alten Testaments*, ed. by Klaus Koch, WdF, 125 (Darmstadt: WBG, 1972), pp. 1-7; also 'Medizin, Krankheit, Gesundheit', in *Die Bibel und ihre Welt: eine Enzyklopädie zur Heiligen Schrift in zwei Bänden*, ed. by Gaalyahu Cornfeld and Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, I (Pawlak: Herrsching, 1991), pp. 957-58 (p. 957): 'Die Stellung der Bibel zur Krankheit ist ganz eindeutig. Leiden, Krankheit eingeschlossen, ist die Folge von Sünde und häufig die Strafe dafür'.

[4] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 63.

[5] Seybold and Müller, p. 48; cf. Harold Henry Rowley, *Dictionary of Bible Themes* (London: Nelson, 1968), p. 97.

[6] Zeichen der Liebe (p. 23): 'Ein Einzelner oder eine Gruppe nimmt stellvertretend etwas auf sich allein, was eigentlich andere oder alle zu verantworten und zu tragen hätten'.

[7] In instances, where there is no explicit reference to punishment and where the sinner fails to respond to the affliction, it is impossible to discern whether illness constitutes punishment or chastisement. In the appendix, I have included such exceptions in the category of punishment as the sinners are consequently killed or remain uncured.

their loyalty, respect, and obedience to the Law in all its ramifications. In addition to a large family, an obedient wife, and a long life, good health indicated compliance with the covenant and symbolised divine approval and benevolence: 'benedictus eris inter omnes populos non erit apud te sterilis utriusque sexus tam in hominibus quam in gregibus tuis / auferet Dominus a te omnem languorem et infirmitates Aegypti pessimas quas novisti non inferet tibi sed cunctis hostibus tuis' (Dt 7.14-15).[8] However, should the covenant be broken through disobedience or violation, it will be temporarily rescinded and just retribution exacted.[9] This tends to be dispensed immediately, although some judgements are meted out at a later date; regardless of such delays, the OT maintains that all sinners will eventually be punished.[10] In a similar vein to divine blessings, punishment tends to be of a temporal and material nature, largely as the doctrine of soteriology first becomes comprehensible in the light of the gospel. For the OT, rewards and penalties must be received in this life, as in several later books of the OT the ultimate destination for all humanity is the Netherworld, a dark place of nothingness. Retribution therefore incorporates a variety of forms including an accursed life of terror, exploitation and powerlessness, defeat in war and captivity, barren land, locust and grub infestations, starvation, adverse weather conditions, wild animal attacks, the death of children and cattle, and – the focus of this study – sickness and death.[11]

According to the OT, God can inflict any illness or deformity as a punishment for transgression:

quod si audire nolueris vocem Domini Dei tui ut custodias et facias omnia mandata eius et caerimonias quas ego praecipio tibi hodie venient super te omnes maledictiones istae et adprehendent te / [...] / adiungat Dominus tibi pestilentiam donec consumat te de terra ad quam ingredieris possidendam / percutiat te Dominus egestate febri et frigore ardore et aestu et aere corrupto ac robigine et persequatur donec pereas / [...] / percutiat te Dominus ulcere Aegypti et parte corporis per quam stercora digeruntur scabie quoque et prurigine ita ut curari nequeas / percutiat te Dominus amentia et caecitate ac furore mentis / [...] / et stupens ad terrorem eorum quae videbunt oculi tui / percutiat te Dominus ulcere pessimo in genibus et in suris sanarique non possis a planta pedis usque ad verticem tuum / [...] / et venient super te omnes maledictiones istae et persequentes adprehendent te donec intereas quia non audisti vocem Domini Dei tui nec servasti mandata eius et caerimonias quas praecepit tibi / et erunt in te signa atque prodigia et in semine tuo usque in sempiternum (Dt 28.15-46)

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[8] Cf. Prv 3.7-8: 'ne sis sapiens apud temet ipsum time Dominum et recede a malo / sanitas quippe erit umbilico tuo et inrigatio ossuum tuorum'; also Dt 5.33.

[9] According to von Siebenthal, p. 39, the correlation between sickness and sin is emphasized more in the OT than in all other major religions.

[10] Cf. Na 1.2-3: 'Deus aemulator et ulciscens Dominus ulciscens Dominus et habens furorem ulciscens Dominus in hostes suos et irascens ipse inimicis suis / Dominus patiens et magnus fortitudine et mundans non faciet innocentem'; also Prv 10.27.

[11] Cf.: Lv 26.14-29; Dt 28.15-68 and 32.22-25; Sir 39.28-31 and 40.8-9; Hab 3.5.

The OT concept of sin incorporates criminal, social, religious and worship elements, which disrupt the relationship between humanity and God (Is 59.2), incite divine wrath and can lead to suffering.[12] God usually inflicts ailments directly or indirectly although some transgressions have built-in penalties – usually death – which are imposed automatically upon the offenders (cf. Nm 35.33): 'Auch im Alten Testament gilt Krankheit vielfach als nach dem Tat-Ergehenszusammenhang eintretende oder von Gott als Strafe verhängte Folge von Sünden'.[13] Additionally, judgement can involve chastisement, as God, in His love for the Israelites (Is 43.4), recognises their frailties and seeks to correct them as a father would a child: 'disciplinam Domini fili mi ne abicias nec deficias cum ab eo corriperis / quem enim diligit Dominus corripit et quasi pater in filio conplacet sibi' (Prv 3.11-12).[14] Such intervention is necessary in order to demonstrate to sinners the unacceptable or wicked nature of their actions, to humble them and to restore them to God: 'Gott schickt dem Menschen Leid, um ihn von seinen unrechten Wegen abzubringen. Leiden ist gleichsam eine Notmaßnahmne Gottes, um einen Menschen, der sich verrannt, ja im wahrsten Sinne festgerannt hat, zurückzuhelfen'.[15] With this approach, swift retribution can be a sign of great benevolence, as God in His mercy, disciplines rather than deserts the sinner (II Mcc 6.12-17).[16] God desires the sinner to repent and reform[17] and offers forgiveness and healing (Ps 31) should the guilty submit with faith in the constancy of divine love;[18] the wicked, however, should not become complacent as forgiveness is never guaranteed (Sir 5.4-7).

In the early books of the OT, shared retribution features strongly as communities, such as Israel, are deemed collectively culpable for their general misdeeds: 'Der einzelne ist eingebettet – im Guten wie eben auch im Bösen – in die Sozialgemeinschaft. Er partizipiert an ihr, er haftet auch mit ihr.'[19] Conversely, retributive justice can be applied to the household or nation of powerful transgressors (cf. Gn 20.7 and IV Rg 21.1) and mass inflictions of disease or death can result in both cases; enormous numbers are afflicted on occasion, such as the 185,000 Assyrians killed in the camp (Is 37.37).[20] The innocent suffer with the guilty, particularly so in an imposition of hereditary disease.[21] However, a small number of the community of Israel will always remain, despite their multiplicity of sins, as God will never completely break the covenant and reject or

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[12] Offences can be against God, society or the individual; see Hastings, *Dictionary*, pp. 189-90.
[13] Scharbert, p. 682; also Travis, pp. 6ff.
[14] Also Prv 13.24.
[15] Oeming, p. 20. Cf. Is 26.10.
[16] Mi 7.18: 'quis Deus similis tui qui aufers iniquitatem et transis peccatum reliquiarum hereditatis tuae non inmittet ultra furorem suum quoniam volens misericordiam est'. Cf. Os 11.8-9.
[17] Ez 33.11: 'dic ad eos vivo ego dicit Dominus Deus nolo mortem impii sed ut revertatur impius a via sua et vivat convertimini a viis vestris pessimis et quare moriemini domus Israhel'.
[18] Ex 34.6-7: '[...] Dominator Domine Deus misericors et clemens patiens et multae miserationis ac verus / qui custodis misericordiam in milia qui aufers iniquitatem et scelera atque peccata'.
[19] Oeming, p. 16.
[20] Cf. Scharbert, p. 682: 'Nach II Sam 24 kann auch nach dem Alten Testament die Sünde des Königs als Strafe Gottes eine über das Volk hereinbrechende Seuche zur Folge haben, aber nicht als Strafe für das Volk, sondern als Strafe für den König nach dem Grundsatz der "Herrscherbestrafung", wonach der König am empfindlichsten durch die Dezimierung seines Volkes bestraft wird'.
[21] Ex. 20.5: '[...] ego sum Dominus Deus tuus fortis zelotes visitans iniquitatem patrum in filiis in tertiam et quartam generationem eorum qui oderunt me'. Cf. IV Rg 5.27.

destroy Israel.[22] A doctrine of personal retribution emerges in the writings of the post-exilic prophets, where sinners will be held responsible for their own actions and children will no longer suffer for the sins of their parents:

> idcirco unumquemque iuxta vias suas iudicabo domus Israhel ait Dominus Deus convertimini et agite paenitentiam ab omnibus iniquitatibus vestris et non erit vobis in ruinam iniquitas / proicite a vobis omnes praevaricationes vestras in quibus praevaricati estis et facite vobis cor novum et spiritum novum et quare moriemini domus Israhel / quia nolo mortem morientis dicit Dominus Deus revertimini et vivite (Ez 18.30-32).[23]

Afflictions imposed in the OT tend to be grievous and incurable by worldly means and a variety of physical and mental conditions are suffered as punishment for transgression, including leprosy,[24] bowel disease, melancholy, stroke, plague, tumours, infertility, poisonous snake bites, a withered hand, severe physical injuries and madness. Despite the emphasis on divine mercy, many inflictions are simply punitive rather than chastising in nature, punishing sinners for specific offences, although operating additionally as a warning or deterrent for others. A minority incorporate a chastising element, should the sinner respond in a sincere, penitent manner. The condition most frequently inflicted by God is death, which He inflicts either directly and invisibly or indirectly through the elements (flood, earthquake, hailstone and brimstone and fire), through animals (lions and bears), or through angelic or demonic media.[25] Death is also dispensed on a large-scale through plague inflictions but the most frequent medium is human, as retribution is directed through enemy soldiers, servants, and even sons.[26] Sentencing is delegated to Moses on occasion and involves the stoning to death of perpetrators (cf. Lv 24.23). Infliction of suffering is not, however, always initiated by God as the utterance of a curse or prayer also proves effective.[27]

In both collective and individual inflictions, those affected are generally identified by name, tribe, town, or nationality[28] and their culpable act, involving ceremonial or moral transgression, underscored. Ceremonial or aesthetic laws are part of the Hebrew concept of holiness, with infringements – through ritual uncleanliness or a violation of rite – punishable. This

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[22] Cf. Dt 28.59-62: 'augebit Dominus plagas tuas et plagas seminis tui plagas magnas et perseverantes infirmitates pessimas et perpetuas / et convertet in te omnes adflictiones Aegypti quas timuisti et adherebunt tibi / insuper et universos languores et plagas quae non sunt scriptae in volumine legis huius inducet Dominus super te donec te conterat / et remanebitis pauci numero qui prius eratis sicut astra caeli prae multitudine'; Also Dt 4.29-31.

[23] Cf. Ez 18.4: 'ecce omnes animae meae sunt ut anima patris ita et anima filii mea est anima quae peccaverit ipsa morietur'.

[24] The word *sara'at* does not specifically mean leprosy but 'a generic term covering a whole group of skin diseases which share some common abnormal features', Wilkinson, p. 48.

[25] Directly: Nm 14.36-37; I Sm 6.19-21; adverse weather conditions: Gn 7. 17-23; Gn 19.24; animals: IV Rg 2.23-24; III Rg 13.24; angels: Is 37.36; Satan: Iob 2.7; demons: I Sm 16.23. For more on the hand of God, see J. J. M. Roberts, 'The Hand of Yahweh', *Vetus Testamentum*, 21 (1971), 244-51.

[26] Plague: Nm 11.33 and Nm 25.8-9; enemy attacks: I Sm 4.11; III Rg 15.29-30; servants: II Par 24.24-25; sons: Is 37.38.

[27] Cf. IV Rg 6.18-20 where Elijah's request that the Syrian army be struck blind is successful; these men are consequently healed through a similar request by the prophet. Rowley, *Themes*, p. 21, maintains that a curse has the 'power within itself to effect its own fulfilment'. Prayer: I Mcc 7.33-50 and Is 37.1-37.

[28] Collective inflictions include Israel, Sodom and Gomorrah or Beth-Shemesh; individuals include the two sons of Judah (Gn 38.7 and 38.8-10), the wives of Lot, Abimelech, Ahab (IV Rg 22.37-38) and Ahaziah.

can be averted through the sacrificial system, which is performed by Levite priests and provides purification for faults of inadvertence, rather than expiation for deliberate offence (Nm 15.22-31). It incorporates a sin- and a trespass-offering, involving the immolation of animals and birds, although confession is also occasionally required (Lv 5.5 and Nm 5.6).[29] Certain offences warrant the death penalty regardless of intent or knowledge and those who peer into or touch the ark, or offer up profane fire are killed as a consequence: '[...] hoc est quod locutus est Dominus sanctificabor in his qui adpropinquant mihi et in conspectu omnis populi glorificabor' (Lv 10.3).[30] Sentence is imposed or occurs immediately after the event, accentuating its perils in a warning to the unqualified to stay away from sacred rites and objects.

It is conscious moral failure, however, that predominates in OT narratives with death suffered by those, who commit such sins as contraception (Gn 38.8-10), blasphemy (Lv 24.10-23), the breaking of the Sabbath (Nm 15.32-36), false prophecy (Ier 29.30-32), oppression of the Jews (II Mcc 9.4-5), murder (III Rg 21.19), disobedience (III Rg 16.2-4), the worship of false gods, the abuse of sacred objects, procedures or figures (III Rg 14.7-10), and apostasy (II Par 21.12-15). The same fate awaits those who are ungrateful (Nm 11.4-33) or distrusting towards God (Nm 14.36-37) and even those foolishly deceived into disobedience (III Rg 13.20-24). Although mentioned, the *lex talionis* is rarely evident[31] and no discernible difference prevails between the sins of those inflicted with death and those with incurable sickness; the sickness itself appears mostly random, as leprosy is suffered by Gehazi as a result of deception, Uzziah due to usury (II Par 26.16-21) and Miriam on account of jealousy, while Saul is melancholic because of disobedience and Antiochus Epiphanes for seizing sacred vessels and ordering the killing of the inhabitants of Judah.[32] The type of affliction is not always decided by God, as the Devil is given a free rein in afflicting Job and David has a choice of three options, consisting of a seven year famine, a three month war or a three day pestilence. Both epidemic and systematic disease are imposed; the former affects groups and is generally described succinctly while the latter affects individuals and is occasionally described in great detail:

> isque qui sibi videbatur etiam fluctibus maris imperare supra humanum modum superbia repletus et montium altitudines in statera adpendere nunc humiliatus ad terram in gestatorio portabatur manifestam Dei virtutem in semet ipso contestans / ita ut de corpore impii

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[29] The ill among the Levites were forbidden to make offerings as infirmity would profane the altar: Lv 21.17-20. This ritual slaughter is symbolic as the offering endures punishment for the sinner, enabling atonement to occur automatically upon completion of the procedure. See J. K. Mozley, *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (London: Duckworth, 1927), pp. 17-18. No sacrifice is prescribed for heinous sin but repentance may lead to forgiveness: II Sm 12.13.

[30] Cf. profane fire: Lv 10.1-2; peering into ark: I Sm 6.19-21; touching ark: II Sm 6.6-7. 'All who sin, whether in ignorance or in knowledge of the law, are regarded by God as transgressor, and they will therefore be rewarded according to their deeds', Davies, p. 32.

[31] Cf. Ex 21.23-25; Lv 24.18-20; Dt 19.21. See example in II Mcc 9.7; 9.28. For further information see Hans-Winfried Jüngling, '„Auge für Auge, Zahn für Zahn": Bemerkungen zu Sinn und Geltung der alttestamentlichen Talionsformeln', *Theologie und Philosophie*, 59 (1984), 1-38.

[32] Cf. the bowel disease that is inflicted on Jehoram for apostasy and murder but on Antiochus for the oppression of the Jews and the intent to destroy them.

vermes scaturrirent ac viventes in doloribus carnes eius effluerent odore etiam illius et fetore exercitus gravaretur / (II Mcc 9.8-9)[33]

Various narrative strategies communicate the divine nature and punitive function of suffering. Such detail is frequently stated by the writer in the text,[34] or imparted through the inclusion of direct speech from God to the perpetrators (Gn 3.17) or more usually, to the prophets, or of the prophets to the sinners.[35] In such announcements, God identifies the culprit, specifies the transgression and declares judgement, which is usually transmitted by the prophets orally or in written format to the culprit,[36] or occasionally imposed as directed by God: 'dicens educ blasphemum extra castra et ponant omnes qui audierunt manus suas super caput eius et lapidet eum populus universus' (Lv 24.14).[37] Where divine dialogue is absent, its purpose is prophetically interpreted[38] or pronounced by a supernatural medium such as the ghostly hand that writes the sentence of Balshazzar in a cryptic manner before him (Dn 5.2-30). The timing of an event of suffering can also indicate its reason in the concurrence of its emergence with the sinful act of the perpetrator[39] or its rapid succession to a prayer or curse by a prophet or a victim:

ascendit autem inde Bethel cumque ascenderet per viam pueri parvi egressi sunt de civitate et inludebant ei dicentes ascende calve ascende calve / qui cum se respexisset vidit eos et maledixit eis in nomine Domini egressique sunt duo ursi de saltu et laceraverunt ex eis quadraginta duos pueros (IV Rg 2.23-24)

This is an isolated example where a prophet seems to exact severe retribution on account of a personal insult, an aspect which emerges with frequency in the lives of the saints. Finally, the conclusion that one suffers on account of personal sin can be voiced by the offender, who realises this upon reflection on his behaviour.[40]

Some divine warnings and pronouncements of judgement have the potential to restore the sinner to God but many OT offenders are given no notice and thus no opportunity to repent as they are simply destroyed as retribution for the misdeed; such destruction visually demonstrates the power of Divinity and the repercussion of sin as a warning or deterrent to others.[41] Meanwhile,

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[33] Iob 7.5: 'induta est caro mea putredine et sordibus pulveris cutis mea aruit et contracta est'. Also: Iob 30.30.
[34] Gn 12.17: 'flagellavit autem Dominus Pharaonem plagis maximis et domum eius propter Sarai uxorem Abram'.
[35] Prophets including Moses, Samuel, Elijah, Abijah, and Micah deliver such judgements.
[36] Cf. Ier 29.21-23. Prophets are obliged to transmit such messages. If they do not and the sinner is subsequently killed, they will incur guilt: Ez 2.17-21.
[37] This public punishment is used as an opportunity to instruct Israel on the consequence of blasphemy.
[38] I Sm 25.39: 'quod cum audisset David mortuum Nabal ait benedictus Dominus qui iudicavit causam obprobrii mei de manu Nabal et servum suum custodivit a malo et malitiam Nabal reddidit Dominus in caput eius [...]'.
[39] Cf. I Mcc 9.54-6, where Alcimus is inflicted with a stroke as he orders the destruction of the sanctuary.
[40] Cf. I Mcc 6.11-3: 'et dixi in corde meo in quantam tribulationem deveni et in quos fluctus tristitiae in qua nunc sum qui incundus eram et dilectus in potestate mea / nunc vero reminiscor malorum quae feci in Hierusalem unde abstuli omnia spolia argentea et aurea quae erant in ea et misi auferri habitantes Iudaeam sine causa / cognovi ergo quia propterea invenerunt me mala ista et ecce pereo tristitia magna in terra aliena'.
[41] The fact that various offences, such as touching sacred objects (Nm 4.15) or approaching the ark (Nm 1.51) are punishable by death is highlighted in several books. Cf. Dt 28.45-6: 'et venient super te omnes maledictiones istae et

some pleas for forgiveness are rejected and the offender duly punished, despite the claim of Travis (11) that divine mercy is freely available to all who seek it: 'As long as there is a basic intention to be loyal to his covenant, he offers forgiveness and mercy (Ps 103.6-18)'. This aspect appears particularly harsh in the case of Saul, who sins through disobedience, taking sheep and cattle in an attack to sacrifice to God rather than destroying them as divinely instructed. He learns the hard way that obedience is preferable to sacrifice as his pleas for forgiveness are rejected and he is renounced as king of Israel:

> [...] peccavi quia praevaricatus sum sermonem Domini et verba tua timens populum et oboediens voci eorum / sed nunc porta quaeso peccatum meum et revertere mecum ut adorem Dominum / et ait Samuhel ad Saul non revertar tecum quia proiecisti sermonem Domini et proiecit te Dominus ne sis rex super Israhel (I Sm 15.24-26)

As punishment, God removes His spirit from Saul, replacing it with a nefarious being, which torments Saul and results in his ultimate destruction as Saul behaves wickedly under its influence, making sin not only the cause of wrath but also its consequence.[42]

In the OT, man cannot become holy solely through independent effort as he additionally requires the grace of God: 'custodite praecepta mea et facite ea ego Dominus qui sanctifico vos' (Lv 20.8).[43] Sinners consequently require divine beneficence in order to atone, which although normally forthcoming,[44] can be withheld in order to destroy offenders by condemning them to a state where they cannot repent (cf. I Sm 2.25). God can also harden hearts as he does with Pharaoh in order to inflict ten plagues on Egypt, which include an outbreak of boils and the death of all firstborn Egyptian children: 'sed ego indurabo cor eius et multiplicabo signa et ostenta mea in terra Aegypti' (Ex 7.3).[45] The ultimate purpose of these plagues is to redeem the Israelites by securing their release from Egypt but their liberation is delayed as God imposes stubbornness on Pharaoh to enable these wonders to be performed. These serve a multitude of purposes as in addition to punishing Egypt for the captivity and oppression of the Jews, they reassure Israel of divine providence and reveal the power of God to the Egyptians.[46] Pharaoh and his officials (Ex 10.1) are unable to listen to reason or respond to the plagues, which – as in the case of Saul – results in further sin and ultimate destruction.[47] Additional to these destructive measures, it is possible that

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persequentes adprehendent te donec intereas quia non audisti vocem Domini Dei tui nec servasti mandata eius et caerimonias quas praecepit tibi / et erunt in te signa atque prodigia et in semine tuo usque in sempiternum'.

[42] Although Saul finds some relief through David's harp-playing, this is due to David's piety, which chases the evil spirit away, rather than a divine intent to alleviate Saul's suffering. Wilkinson, p. 61, maintains that only four individuals – Uzziah, Gehazi, Ahaziah and Abijah – remain unhealed in the OT but he has overlooked Saul and Antiochus among others.

[43] Cf. Lv 21.8, 15, 23; 22.9, 16, 32; Is 29.9-12. See Wilkinson (19): 'His people are to consecrate themselves and be holy, and they do this by their obedience to God's law, so allowing him to make them holy by his grace'.

[44] Cf. Dt 30.1-14.

[45] Cf. Ex 3.20.

[46] Ex 6.1; 7.5; 7.17; 9.8-14.31.

[47] Pharaoh does repent after the seventh and eighth plague; the first attempt is dismissed as insincere while his request that his sin be forgiven is answered in the second as the plague is halted. Afterwards, however, God makes Pharaoh stubborn again: Ex 9.27-35 and 10.16-20. God has hardened Pharaoh's heart, not Pharaoh himself, as maintained by

the inflicted condition may hinder response as the stroke suffered by Alcimus renders him incapable of communication (I Mcc 9.54-56). Finally, God can send a deceiving spirit such as that which places a false prophecy in the mouths of 400 prophets, urging Ahab to attack Ramoth in order that he may be killed in the battle (III Rg 22.20-23).

Some pre-infliction announcements, however, do offer a window of opportunity for the guilty to take action or repent and perhaps alter judgement: 'Both justice and compassion are essential to God's character and are manifested especially in his relationship with His covenant people'.[48] An appropriate response can reduce divine wrath, eliciting an amended or annulled judgement in situations where 'strict justice' would require the imposition of suffering or death: 'Whether the emphasis is on God's faithfulness to the covenant (Is 54.4-10) or on the provision of means of atonement or on man's repentance, it is clear that God's mercy constantly overrides his retributive justice'.[49] However, this is the exception rather than the norm; despite the particular emphasis on divine compassion, several OT sinners fail to react to warnings or judgements, without indication that this is divinely decreed. Some, who commit heinous crimes, may recognise the futility of a penitent response while others may underestimate the magnitude of divine mercy and despair in the conviction that their sins are unforgivable; death ensues from such passivity or despondency.

Despite assurance that contrition leads to forgiveness and a restoration to physical health, few OT narratives substantiate this.[50] Warnings or judgement pronouncements can be effective in encouraging conversion and lead to reconciliation and a reduced or annulled sentence but for some, who attain forgiveness, the penalty for the offence is still enforced or merely postponed. David is pardoned for his sin of adultery but retribution is nonetheless exacted as his son dies a week later; David's attempts to prevent this event – through prayer and fasting – yield nothing (II Sm 12.9-23). In a similar vein, Ahab atones by wearing sackcloth and fasting in an attempt to avert his sentence; such actions invoke divine mercy but lead only to a deferment of sentence, involving the destruction of his entire household, until the reign of his son, effectively transferring vengeance onto an innocent generation: 'nonne vidisti humiliatum Ahab coram me quia igitur humiliatus est mei causa non inducam malum in diebus eius sed in diebus filii sui inferam malum domui eius' (III Rg 21.29). By contrast, the actions of some offenders prove successful in nullifying judgement; Moses' wife, Sepphora swiftly circumcises their child, thereby averting the death sentence imposed on Moses for their incompliance with the law of circumcision (Ex 4.24-26), while the response of Abimelech in returning Sarah to Abraham with compensation as vindication prevents his death (Gn

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R.V.G. Tasker, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), p. 20: 'If men fail to use the opportunities for repentance; if they persist in hardening their hearts, as Pharoah hardened his heart [...] then their hard and impenitent hearts are treasuring up for themselves wrath in the final day of wrath [sic]'. This stance appears to be contradicted on p.21 as Tasker attributes Pharaoh's stubbornness to God.

[48] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Medicine and Religion', p. 61. Cf. Is 58.1-12; Is 66.2.

[49] Travis, p. 11. Cf. Isa 46.12f.; Dt 32.22-30. Sometimes God withholds his full wrath out of mercy for Israel, but sometimes it is simply pragmatism, as God restrains Himself with the thought of what His adversaries would think.

[50] Ps 102.3-4: 'qui propitiatur cunctis iniquitatibus tuis et sanat omnes infirmitates tuas / qui redimit de corruptione vitam tuam et coronat te misericordia et miserationibus'; also Iob 5.17-8: 'beatus homo qui corripitur a Domino increpationem ergo Domini ne reprobes / quia ipse vulnerat et medetur percutit et manus eius sanabunt'.

20.7).[51] Religious measures are also effective as the king of Nineveh reacts to the forty day notice of destruction by sitting in ashes as a sign of submission, while fasting and wearing sackcloth together with his subjects. Such faith is rewarded as God relents and Nineveh is saved:

> [...] homines et iumenta et boves et pecora non gustent quicquam nec pascantur et aquam non bibant / et operiantur saccis homines et iumenta et clament ad Dominum in fortitudine et convertatur vir a via sua mala et ab iniquitate quae est in manibus eorum / quis scit si convertatur et ignoscat Deus et revertatur a furore irae suae et non peribimus (Ion 3.7-9)

Forewarnings of judgement can therefore be symbolic of mercy if the offender responds appropriately but divine patience is limited in such circumstances; if the sinner fails to change or reverts to sin, he will be destroyed.[52] This is the fate of Ahab, whose relapse results in a revocation of his deferment and an immediate infliction of punishment.

Once punishment strikes, several methods of invocation exist in the OT, which prove effective at halting punishment or procuring healing for those afflicted as a consequence of jealousy, disrespect, capture of the ark, idolatry, and unlawful killing. However, similar to the failure of some offenders to prevent punishment, it is evident that some transgressors, inflicted with sickness, are not forgiven, healed or saved despite the effectiveness of pain in inducing *metanoia* and regardless of genuine repentance or conciliatory reactions.[53] In contrast to those who find instant relief from pain in death, these unforgivable individuals, inflicted with disease suffer extremely for a significant duration before finding some release in a dishonourable death. Antiochus' horrific experience of suffering through a debilitating bowel disease proves instrumental in his conversion as he acknowledges divine power and sovereignty, declares liberty to Jerusalem, grants Jews equality with Athenians, restores all precious objects to the temple, converts to Judaism and even devotes his life to preaching in an effort to counteract his evil deeds:

> hinc igitur coepit ex gravi superbia deductus ad agnitionem sui venire divina admonitus plaga per momenta singula doloribus suis augmenta capientibus / et cum nec ipse iam fetorem suum ferre posset ita ait iustum est subditum esse Deo et mortalem non paria Deo sentire (II Mcc 9.11-2)

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[51] Abraham also intercedes on his behalf. Gn 20.7: 'nunc igitur redde uxorem viro suo quia propheta est et orabit pro te et vives si autem nolueris reddere scito quod morte morieris tu et omnia quae tua sunt'. Cf. II Par 12.1-8, where Rehoboam and his men are saved as they humble themselves before God.

[52] II Par 36.15-6: 'mittebat autem Dominus Deus patrum suorum ad illos per manum nuntiorum suorum de nocte consurgens et cotidie commonens eo quod parceret populo et habitaculo suo / at illi subsannabant nuntios Dei et parvipendebant sermones eius inludebantque prophetis donec ascenderet furor Domini in populum eius et esset nulla curatio'.

[53] Cf. those of Heli's sons: 'praedixi enim ei quod iudicaturus essem domum eius in aeternum propter iniquitatem eo quod noverat indigne agere filios suos et non corripuit eos / idcirco iuravi domui Heli quod non expietur iniquitas domus eius victimis et muneribus usque in aeternum', I Sm 3.13-4. Although I agree with Davies, p. 20, that there are two types of wrath, I do not agree with his classification of victims: 'The merciful wrath of God is shown to the saints [!], leading them to repentance and faith. While God chastises and humbles believers for their sin, His wrath towards them remains a merciful wrath; but the wrath of His severity He reserves for the ungodly, and it always leads to hell'.

But such efforts prove futile as Antiochus will never be forgiven and correspondingly dies a most agonising and dishonourable death (II Mcc 9.28).[54]

Although the OT emphasizes that genuine repentance, involving such acts as humble behaviour, sincere remorse or weeping and fasting, can invoke divine mercy and lead to reconciliation, few successful healings portray this.[55] As transgression results in an impure state offensive to God, it is difficult for OT sinners to personally invoke divine mercy, for fear of inciting further wrath; consequently, priests or prophets, such as Moses and Aaron, and David, frequently intercede on their behalf. They appease the wrath of God by submissively calling for forgiveness and offering ritual holocausts. Such swift expiatory acts cease the decimation of the community although those who die in the intervening period between the onslaught of plague and the completion of intercession are not restored to life. Travis classifies these events as purificatory inflictions as 'the wicked are destroyed while a righteous element remains to form a new purified Israel'.[56] However, it is not always evident that the guilty are destroyed as Israel is also punished collectively as a community on occasion, which results in the deaths of both the guilty and the innocent. Due to the lack of a firm belief in immortality, there is only one instance in the OT where people pray and donate alms for an expiatory sacrifice for those destroyed, in the hope that they may be released from their sin in the afterlife: 'nisi enim eos qui ceciderant resurrecturos speraret superfluum videretur et vanum orare pro mortuis / et quia considerabat quod hii qui cum pietate dormitionem acceperant optimam haberent repositam gratiam' (II Mcc 12.44-45).

Most successful healings in the OT are attained through the prophets, who pray and invoke mercy on behalf of sinners. On the whole no holocausts are required as the sinful approach prophets – occasionally with regret for their transgression – and plead for intercession: '[...] obsecro domine mi ne inponas nobis hoc peccatum quod stulte commisimus / ne fiat haec quasi mortua et ut abortivum quod proicitur de vulva matris suae ecce iam medium carnis eius devoratum est lepra' (Nm 12.11-12).[57] Such intervention proves effective as the offender is restored to health, although healing need not be immediate as the cure of Miriam necessitates a seven day period outside of camp, and a mass healing of poisonous snake bites involves the creation of a bronze serpent to be mounted on a pole. A prophet's motivation to intercede need not be religious as Onias reluctantly offers a sacrifice for the recovery of the gentile Heliodorus, simply out of fear that Israel may be held responsible for his death. The intervention succeeds in altering the judgement from punishment to chastisement as Heliodorus is cured of a fatal condition. This is the only OT example which involves a conditional restoration to health, as Heliodorus is required to convert and proclaim the glory of God: 'cumque summus sacerdos exoraret idem iuvenes eisdem vestibus amicti adstantes Heliodoro dixerunt Oniae sacerdoti gratias age nam propter eum tibi Dominus

[54] II Mcc 9.13: 'orabat autem haec scelestus Dominum a quo non esset misericordiam consecuturus'.
[55] Ioel 2.12-3: 'nunc ergo dicit Dominus convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro in ieiunio et in fletu et in planctu / et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta vestra et convertimini ad Dominum Deum vestrum quia benignus et misericors est patiens et multae misericordiae et praestabilis super malitia'.
[56] Travis, p. 11.
[57] Cf. Nm 21.7; III Rg 13.6.

vitam donavit / tu autem ab eo flagellatus nuntia omnibus magnalia Dei et potestatem' (II Mcc 3.33-34).[58]

Some healing procedures incorporate judicial measures, stipulated either by God or the injured party to rectify or compensate for the crime. Abimelech and his household are healed of infertility, when Sarah is returned to Abraham as directed by God and the famine, imposed upon Israel as a consequence of Saul's crimes against the Gabaonites, ceases when Saul's family are crucified in line with the directive of the Gabaonites (II Sm 21.1). In contrast, a guilt-offering presumably results in healing for the Philistines, when they are afflicted with plague as a consequence of an unlawful possession of the ark. They follow the advice of their priests and diviners in their offering of five golden emerods and five golden rats – corresponding to the number of provinces affected – which are placed in the ark delivered to Bethsames: 'si remittitis arcam Dei Israhel nolite dimittere eam vacuam sed quod debetis reddite ei pro peccato et tunc curabimini et scietis quare non recedat manus eius a vobis' (I Sm 6.3). Finally, some procedures do not require sacrificial, intercessory or legal measures as the period of suffering is fixed, after which health returns automatically. This aspect is odd as it either presumes that suffering will be effective in disciplining the wayward culprit or this element is irrelevant. Nebuchadnezzar suffers madness for seven years on account of his arrogant and sinful behaviour, despite being forewarned in a dream and being advised by Daniel to convert and thus avert punishment.[59] He is subsequently afflicted a year later while boasting and is deranged for the specified time but when this expires, Nebuchadnezzar raises his eyes to Heaven and his reason is returned. In line with divine prediction, Nebuchadnezzar is chastised and reformed as he recognises divine supremacy and glorifies God: 'nunc igitur ego Nabuchodonosor laudo et magnifico et glorifico Regem caeli quia omnia opera eius vera et viae eius iudicia et gradientes in superbia potest humiliare' (Dn 4.34). He is returned to the throne.

5.1.2 Suffering as a Test of Faith

> fili accedens servituti Dei sta in iustitia et timore et praepara animam tuam ad temptationem / deprime cor tuum et sustine declina aurem et excipe verba intellectus et ne festines in tempus obductionis / sustine sustentationes Dei coniungere Deo et sustine ut crescat in novissimo vita tua / omne quod tibi adplicitum fuerit accipe et in dolore sustine et in humilitate tua habe patientiam / quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum homines vero receptibiles in camino humiliationis (Sir 2.1-5)[60]

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[58] II Mcc 3.35-8: 'Heliodorus autem hostia Deo oblata et votis magnis promisit ei qui vivere illi concessit et Oniae gratias agens recepto exercitu repedabat ad regem / testabatur autem omnibus ea quae sub oculis suis viderat opera magni Dei / cum autem rex interrogasset Heliodorum quis est aptus adhuc semel Hierosolymam mitti ait / si quem habes hostem aut regni tui insidiatorem mitte illuc et flagellatum eum recipies si tamen evaserit eo quod in loco vere sit Dei quaedam virtus'.

[59] Dn 4.24: 'quam ob rem rex consilium meum placeat tibi et peccata tua elemosynis redime et iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum forsitan ignoscat delictis tuis'.

[60] Cf. Dt 13.3; Idt 8.25; Ex 20.20.

Although most OT suffering-centred narratives portray the punitive aspect of sickness, the book of Tobias and the book of Job interpret suffering as a divine test of the faithful in the face of adversity.[61] God expects followers to submit humbly to His plan even when that involves undeserved affliction and thus probes the steadfastness of Tobias through the condition of blindness, and that of Job through leprosy: 'hanc autem temptationem ideo permisit Dominus evenire illi ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiae eius sicut et sancti Iob' (Tb 2.12).[62] The upstanding nature of Tobias and Job is stressed, highlighting that neither suffers as a consequence of sin.[63] A further figure, Sarah, is afflicted in the book of Tobias, through possession by the demon Asmodeus, who is responsible for the deaths of each of her seven bridegrooms; Sarah is, however, curiously unaware of this, despite its obvious nature to outsiders. Moore maintains that Sarah is a guiltless victim and Sarah voices her innocence of sexual sins, which raises the question of why she is inflicted: 'tu scis Domine quia numquam concupivi virum et mundam servavi animam meam ab omni concupiscentia / [...] / virum autem cum timore tuo non libidine mea consensi suscipere / et aut ego indigna fui illis aut illi mihi forsitan digni non fuerunt quia forsitan viro alio conservasti me' (Tb 3.16-9).[64] Although all her husbands were kinsmen in compliance with levirate law,[65] they were lustful men, over whom the Devil exerts power.[66] It is therefore possible that retributive justice has fallen upon Sarah as a family member in ramification of her husbands' impious sentiment towards marriage.[67] When finally married to a God-fearing man of her tribe, Sarah is no longer plagued by the demon.

The response of Tobias and Job to their adversity varies considerably in character. Tobias passively accepts his fate and refuses to question the will of God:

> nam cum ab infantia sua semper Deum timuerit et mandata eius custodierit non est contristatus contra Deum quod plaga caecitatis evenerit ei / sed inmobilis in Dei timore permansit agens gratias Deo omnibus diebus vitae suae / nam sicut beato Iob insultabant reges ita isti parentes et cognati eius et inridebant vitam eius dicentes / ubi est spes tua pro qua elemosynas et sepulturas faciebas / Tobias vero increpabat eos dicens nolite ita loqui / quoniam filii sanctorum sumus et vitam illam expectamus quam Deus daturus est his qui fidem suam numquam mutant ab eo (Tb 2.13-18)

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[61] The biblical version I use in principal is Jerome's Vulgate, which differs in some instances from the Septuagint, such as in the case of Sarah and part of Tobias. Regarding the differences between the Vulgate and the Septuagint, see Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), pp. 60-64.

[62] Cf. Iob 2.5-6. Blindness is imposed on Tobias through bird droppings, and leprosy on Job through the Devil, who appears to choose this disease personally; God's solitary stipulation is that Job may not be killed.

[63] 'Vir erat in terra Hus nomine Iob et erat vir ille simplex ex rectus ac timens Deum et recedens a malo', Iob 1.1.

[64] '[...] the author makes it painfully evident that a person, like Sarah, can be free of sin and yet suffer,' Moore, (32).

[65] Although Browning, p. 373, suggests that Sarah is afflicted because she marries a non-Jew, Sarah in fact, always married within the tribe in accordance with Mosaic regulations (cf. Nm 36.8).

[66] Tb 6.17: 'hii namque qui coniugium ita suscipiunt ut Deum a se sua mente excludant et suae libidini ita vacent sicut equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus habet potestatem daemonium super eos'.

[67] Infertility is inflicted on the entire household of Abimelech as a consequence of his inadvertent violation of the divine statute against adultery.

Despite surmising that he suffers as a consequence of personal or ancestral sin,[68] Tobias performs no atonement measures and a close literary symmetry emerges between his response and that of Sarah as both pray for death – rather than healing – as an end to suffering and scorn: 'et nunc Domine secundum voluntatem tuam fac mecum et praecipe in pace recipi spiritum meum expedit enim mihi mori magis quam vivere' (Tb 3.6-7). In contrast, Job resolutely believes in his innocence. This is unrealistic in terms of standard Hebrew theology as in addition to personal sin, Jews identify with the sins of their ancestors, with the result that no-one can be completely innocent; Job is, however, defined as such. This is the second test imposed on Job; he passes the first, involving the destruction of his children and all his possessions (Iob 1.22) but, as the Devil predicts, runs into difficulties accepting physical suffering. He does not do so in a passive and patient manner but demands explanation, quickly despairs and curses the day of his birth.

In her firm belief in his integrity, Job's wife addresses her anger at God, an attitude at variance with that of his friends, Eliphaz, Baldad and Sophar, who consider Job at fault in their inability to imagine that he may suffer yet be innocent. Regardless of Job's protestations to the contrary,[69] his closest friends remain unconvinced and relate the orthodoxy of sickness as a punishment for sin to his predicament: 'recordare obsecro te quis umquam innocens perierit aut quando recti deleti sint / quin potius vidi eos qui operantur iniquitatem et seminant dolores et metunt eos' (Iob 4.7-8).[70] Correspondingly, they exhort Job to endure his pain and admit his guilt in the hope that this may determine forgiveness and healing.[71] Job remains resolute and rejects the dogma that the wicked suffer and the righteous prosper; he underlines instead the injustice of God in permitting a maldistribution of suffering and in failing to vindicate the righteous: 'unum est quod locutus sum et innocentem et impium ipse consumit / si flagellat occidat semel et non de poenis innocentum rideat (Iob 9.22-3). Unlike Tobias, Job refuses to passively accept what he views as a manifestly unjust situation, and demands an explanation from God: 'Er fühlt sich seines Rechtes beraubt, seines Grundrechtes auf Leben, und das durch Gott, und zwar ohne Grund, ungerechtfertigt'.[72] When God eventually intervenes in the dispute, it is not to enlighten Job as to the reason of his suffering; divine wisdom is inscrutable to humanity and incompatible with a human comprehension of justice: 'Thus the righteous sufferer must resort to mystery and acknowledge God's inscrutable ways and ultimate goodness'.[73] Suffering must be accepted through

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[68] Tb 3.3: 'et nunc Domine memor esto mei ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum meorum'.

[69] Iob 19.5-6: 'at vos contra me erigimini et arguitis me obprobriis meis / saltim nunc intellegite quia Deus non aequo iudicio adflixerit me et flagellis suis me cinxerit'.

[70] Cf. Iob 11.6 and 11.13-4.

[71] Cf. Iob 22.21: 'adquiesce igitur ei et habeto pacem et per haec habebis fructus optimos'. Although Baruch, 'Sin and Disease', p. 299 with reference to Iob 13, 4, claims that: 'Job refuses to be healed by his friends. He calls them physicians of no value', it is their arguments that Job refuses to accept, which would not bring healing in any case.

[72] Seybold and Müller, p. 67.

[73] Amundsen, p. 64. Cf. Margaret E. Rose, 'The Book of Job' in *The Problem of Suffering*, ed. by Margaret E. Rose (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1962), pp. 47-62 (p. 47): '[...] God cannot be contained within any moral and logical formula made by man'. Also Bowker, p. 21.

submission, with comfort to be found in the fact that although it may be unfathomable, suffering is never senseless: 'Alles, was geschieht, hat mit Gott zu tun'.[74]

Despite their different reactions to pain, Tobias and Job are both restored to health. The reader is assured early in the narrative that the prayers of Tobias and Sarah have been heard and that rather than releasing them from their pain through death, God will send Raphael (lit. God-has-healed) to cure them.[75] Rather than mediating healing directly, Raphael integrates the son of Tobias, and medicinal and religious measures into the procedure. The heart and liver of a fish are burned to produce an odour, which scatters the demon to Egypt, where it is bound by Raphael,[76] after which Tobias junior and Sarah pray for divine mercy and protection in their marriage; Tobias stresses his love of posterity rather than lust as his motive for marriage and its consummation is delayed for a three day period of prayer in evidence of this: 'et nunc Domine tu scis quia non luxuriae causa accipio sororem meam sed sola posteritatis dilectione in qua benedicatur nomen tuum in saecula saeculorum' (Tb 8.9). Praise and thanksgiving precede the process of applying fish gall to the eyes of Tobias, a substance, which causes a skin to issue from his eyes within the hour and a restoration of vision. Despite the effectiveness of this medicine, God is immediately recognized as the healer and glorified by Tobias: 'dicebatque Tobias benedico te Domine Deus Israhel quoniam tu castigasti me et tu sanasti me et ecce video Tobiam filium meum' (Tb 11.17).

As a consequence of his experience of suffering and divine intervention, Job has grown spiritually; his pride has been brought low and he repents his outburst against God.[77] His submission in suffering leads to his healing as he offers a burnt offering for his three friends in atonement for their naïve and unfeeling application of doctrine: '[...] dixit ad Eliphaz Themaniten iratus est furor meus in te et in duos amicos tuos quoniam non estis locuti coram me rectum sicut servus meus Iob' (Iob 42.7).[78] This divinely stipulated role as intercessor – despite his leprosy – underscores his guiltless state, particularly as sacrificial offerings in the OT are expressly forbidden by those suffering disease or injury. After healing, both Tobias and Job live long and prosperous lives. Indeed Job possesses twice as much material wealth as previously, and though his children are not restored to life, God blesses him with ten more.[79] The book of Tobias and the book of Job highlight a positive interpretation of suffering, namely that one may be divinely tested; indeed it is precisely because Job and Tobias are so morally upstanding that they are chosen.[80] They draw attention to the fact that sin is not always the reason for suffering. The innocent also suffer but never senselessly as a divine reason, however opaque, exists for everything and suffering should therefore be accepted with this knowledge. The reactions of Job and Tobias demonstrate that men

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[74] Oeming, p. 13.
[75] Tb 3.24-25. Details of the manner of the cure are also given in advance: Tb 6.5-8.
[76] Demons were thought to dwell here; cf. Is 13.21; 34.14; Mt 12.43; Rev 18.2.
[77] 'idcirco ipse me reprehendo et ago paenitentiam in favilla et cinere', Iob, 42.6.
[78] Bowker, p. 19: 'Job made his suffering redemptive by accepting it faithfully and by praying for his misguided friends. It certainly redeemed himself, since his fortunes were at once restored'.
[79] According to Seybold and Müller, p. 65, this is in accordance with 'dem altisraelistischen Ersatzrechtsprinzip des Doppelten'.
[80] Cf. 'quando orabas cum lacrimis et sepeliebas mortuos et derelinquebas prandium et mortuos abscondebas per diem in domo tua et nocte sepeliebas ego obtuli orationem tuam Domino / et quia acceptus eras Deo necesse fuit ut temptatio probaret te / et nunc misit me Dominus ut curarem te et Sarram uxorem filii tui a daemonio liberarem', Tb 12.12-4.

of faith are capable of conquering adversity and their favourable outcome in terms of a complete restoration to health provides reassurance of Divine Providence: 'Though God permits calamities to befall the righteous, he exercises special care for them during their suffering and grants them a happy end to their trials'.[81]

5.1.3 Alternative interpretations of Suffering in the OT: Suffering as Propitiation for Others or as Spiritual Training

> vere languores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ipse portavit et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum et percussum a Deo et humiliatum / ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras adtritus est propter scelera nostra disciplina pacis nostrae super eum et livore eius sanati sumus (Is 53.4-5)

In addition to narratives highlighting the punishing, chastising, or testing elements of suffering, the OT indicates that it is also possible to suffer in a sacrificial manner as propitiation for the iniquity of others. Ezekiel, a prophet of the Exile, spends 390 days on his left side as punishment for Israel and 40 days on his right side for the punishment of Judah, in compliance with divine instructions (Ez 4.4-5). He is also inflicted with muteness so he will no longer be able to warn the rebellious community, which is cured as a demonstration of divine power and purpose at the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem (Ez 2.22-33.22). A further example is perhaps contained in Deutero-Isaiah, which details the sufferings of a chosen servant, who provides vicarious suffering, in order that Israel may be healed (53.6): 'Der Gottesknecht litt nicht als Strafe für eigene Sünden, er gab seine Gesundheit, sein Leben dahin als ein "Sühnopfer" (*ascham*) (53,10), damit die anderen leben'.[82] However, the identity of the servant is unclear with much discussion as to whether he is an individual such as Jeremiah, a group or a nation. He is also interpreted in the NT as a reference to Jesus (Mt 12.16-21; I Pt 1.24-25). Finally, Jacob is inflicted through an angel with a dislocated thigh bone, which is never healed. This appears to have the purpose of humbling Jacob, encouraging him to depend upon God and achieve spiritual maturity (Gn 32.24-32).

5.1.4 The Problem of the Distribution of Suffering

> Earthquakes, floods, and fires do not differentiate between the good and the devout men, and the sinner and unbeliever [...] it is by no means the rule that virtue is rewarded and wickedness punished, but it happens often enough that the violent, the crafty, and the

[81] Hastings, ed., 'Apocrypha', in *Dictionary*, pp. 39-41 (p. 40)
[82] Oeming, p. 25. See Browning, p. 189.

unprincipled seize the desirable goods of the earth for themselves, while the pious go empty away.[83]

According to Augustinian thought, innocent suffering is a consequence of the Fall, a fact of existence and the common lot of humanity. This aspect is not accentuated in the OT, however, as the doctrine of divine retribution is repeatedly emphasized;[84] this imposes suffering on the guilty as a result of transgression and on the innocent by reason of the iniquities of their forefathers. The upshot of this is that the onset of sickness brings only the message of guilt and the necessity of submission, contrition, or penance: 'It only becomes mischievous when it is elevated into a hard and invariable law, so that suffering is believed to be the proof of sin'.[85] This explanation is consistently applied to misfortune in the OT, initially on a national level but later through the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel on an individual one.[86] The latter brings complications, as it leaves victims bewildered as to the specific sin committed, and frustration when penitent actions and pleas for alleviation of suffering prove fruitless: 'Die Klage artikuliert das Unverständnis, die Wut, das Aufbegehren. Sie spricht die Gottesfinsternis aus, schreit den Schmerz heraus'.[87] A central problem to this framework lies in the distribution of suffering: 'The problem in Scripture is not why suffering exists, but why it afflicts some people and not others'.[88] A belief in divine justice is often irreconcilable with the experience of living, which confirms that retribution is not always exacted in this life as the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer. Disaster can strike erratically, destroying the good and the bad while an absence of wrath encourages sin (Ecl 8.11). A basic ambivalence towards suffering and death is therefore evident in the OT.

As belief in an afterlife is vague and all souls are bound for the Netherworld, the problem of the distribution of suffering becomes a recurrent theme in later books of the OT.[89] Ecclesiastes advocates that one enjoy life on earth as the same lot befalls all, holding the temporal rewards for the righteousness to be inadequate: 'si annis multis vixerit homo et in omnibus his laetatus fuerit meminisse debet tenebrosi temporis et dierum multorum qui cum venerint vanitatis arguentur praeterita' (Ecl 11.8).[90] Several solutions emerge through alternative, positive explanations for the onset of suffering such as a divine test of faith or sacrificial propitiation. A more satisfactory answer evolves in the belief in life after death, which is supplied in Christian revelation, and has its

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[83] Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, trans. by W. J. H. Sprott, The international psycho-analytical library, 24 (London: Hogarth, 1933) pp. 228f. Cf. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. by Richard Howard (London: Routledge Classics, 2001; rep. 2002), p. 13: 'The end of man, the end of time bear the face of pestilence and war. What overhangs human existence is this conclusion and this order from which nothing escapes'.

[84] Ps 36 and 74; Prv 12.21, 13.18, 15.10 and 16.5; Hab 2.4.

[85] Rowley, *Submission*, p. 3.

[86] Rowley, *Submission*, p. 11.

[87] Oeming, p. 14. Cf. Ps 21.2-3: 'Deus Deus meus quare dereliquisti me longe a salute mea verba rugitus mei / Deus meus clamabo per diem et non exaudies et nocte nec est silentium mihi'; also Ps 87.

[88] Bowker, p. 9.

[89] Ier 12.1-3 Requests vengeance to fall on wicked.

[90] Cf.
Ecl 3.20-22; Ecl 9.3; Sir 14.16.

beginnings in the OT.[91] Souls will be rewarded or punished in the Afterlife with Sheol materializing as a place of chastisement: 'et multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae pulvere evigilabunt alii in vitam aeternam et alii in obprobrium ut videant semper' (Dn 12.2).[92] The concept of a final judgement is manifest in the apocalyptic (Mt 25.31ff.).

Summary

The OT contains multiple examples of the suffering-centred paradigm with the overwhelming majority interpreting sickness as a consequence of moral or religious transgression. Pain constitutes just retribution for offence committed and may be inflicted by God or constitute an automatic penalty for the offence. An infliction of suffering can also operate as merciful chastisement, should the individual or group respond appropriately in a recurring cycle of 'Sin–Suffering–Repentance–Restoration'. Such inflictions can, however, concurrently operate as a deterrent, incentive to reform, or revelation for both the offender and others. In the early OT books, Israel is generally rewarded or punished as a community with a doctrine of personal retribution manifesting itself at a later point. Although God can impose any incurable condition (Sap 16.9-12), those inflicted while varied are limited and the *lex talionis* is rarely evident. The most frequent condition emerges as death, a state which denies all opportunity for atonement. Although God imposes conditions directly on occasion, various media are utilised including angels, demons, humans, animals and the elements. The OT force of evil employed here is, in contrast to the NT, completely subordinate to God.

The OT suffering-centred paradigm generally highlights the culprits together with their offending act. Ceremonial transgression usually results in death, inflicted immediately after the event as a deterrent to others. Moral transgression predictably dominates these narratives. The punitive nature of suffering is transmitted through various narrative strategies; it is stated by the writer, transmitted through the use of direct speech of God or the prophets, through prophetic interpretation, supernatural media, the concurrence of crime and suffering, its succession as a consequence after pronouncement of a curse or prayer, or its assumption by the offender. Pre-infliction announcements occur often and have the potential to restore some sinners to God although this opportunity is not presented to all and some of those forewarned are not forgiven regardless of reaction, while others indeed fail to respond to this occasion. In His determination to destroy the wicked, God can withhold the grace necessary for atonement, harden the hearts of sinner making them incapable of atonement, or dispatch false prophecies. God does, however, reduce wrath on occasion either as a merciful gesture towards Israel in response to penitential actions or as a pragmatic gesture.

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[91] 'At the end of the OT era there is an expectation that the righteous and the wicked will receive their just deserts in the life to come after death (Wisd. 3.1-9; Esd 14.34-5)', Browning, p. 212. Cf. Is 53.4-11; Bar 4.29; Dn 12.2; I Mcc 7.9-14; 12.43; 14.46; II Mcc 7.9. A stronger emphasis on life after death particularly appears in the period of martyrdom.

[92] Cf. Is 66.24. The biblical basis for the doctrine of purgatory can be found among others in II Mcc 12.39-45 and I Cor 3.11-15.

Despite some OT claims that contriteness can restore sinners to God and result in a healing of any imposed afflictions, OT narratives are striking for their dearth of successful examples. Some atoning gestures while achieving forgiveness do not reduce or annul the sentence, which is imposed anyway, while others result in a postponement of the sentence onto an innocent generation. Those that attain annulment do so through rectifying the situation which warranted punishment. However, for those who revert to wickedness there is no second warning as they are consequently wiped out. Once punishment strikes, several systems of invocation are available to the sinner, which are usually performed through a mediator as a result of the sinner's state of impurity. Some procedures, involving prophetic offerings, can result in a cessation of plague, although the dead are not restored to life while others can result in a cure, although this does not always occur immediately or come directly from God. One instance of prophetic intercession results in judgement being amended from a death sentence to a restoration to health, not because of the actions of the offender but purely due to those of the prophet. Conditions are also healed without mediation as guilt-offerings are dispatched or vindication for crime supplied. In one case no action is required as the suffering is automatically cured following a stipulated duration of sickness.

Although punishment and to a lesser degree chastisement form the main reasons for the explanation of sickness, positive interpretations also exist such as a divine test of faith in the face of adversity, which is imposed on the exemplary figures of Tobias and Job. These narratives highlight the fact that sin is not continuously responsible for suffering, and although divine will is impenetrable to humanity, suffering is never senseless. Whether the purpose of suffering is chastisement or a test, the appropriate response is submission. Additional to a trial of faith, the educational aspect of suffering and sacrificial suffering on behalf of others are underlined. The framework provided in the OT to explain the existence of suffering, however, proves insufficient as the overall emphasis on sin as the impetus to sickness can leave the ill bewildered as to the responsible offence, especially in instances where penitent and conciliatory reactions lead to nothing. To view good health as a blessing for obedience and ill health as a curse for disobedience is ultimately ineffective as it is obvious that the innocent suffer and the wicked prosper. A solution to this problem is found initially in later books of the OT and more systematically in the NT in the doctrine of life after death where both will receive their just deserts.

5.2 The Suffering-Centred Paradigm in the New Testament

> Each of the two testaments contains revelations of both 'the goodness and the severity of God', for these two attributes of the divine nature cannot in fact be separated.[93]

In contrast with the OT, the NT contains few suffering-centred narratives; its most prevalent paradigm, as discussed in Chapter four, is healing-centred, a focus which largely de-stigmatizes

[93] R. V. G. Tasker, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London: Tyndale, 1951), p. 27.

suffering, thereby alleviating or indeed eliminating associated feelings of guilt and shame and establishing Christian compassion and charity.[94] The NT suffering-centred paradigm includes the infliction of suffering and death as a consequence of the incitement of divine wrath through transgression, albeit to a much lesser degree than the OT: 'But what is remarkable is how infrequently such ideas [of retribution] occur, in view of their prominence in the Jewish world'.[95] As in the OT, suffering can be punitive or chastising in nature although additional reasons for its existence emerge, such as spiritual training, encouragement of humility and prevention of sin, or participation in the Passion of Christ.[96] Additionally, sickness and death are essentially the lot of humanity – both the innocent and the guilty – until the Day of the Lord when just deserts will be received and God's ultimate purpose for the world will be fulfilled.[97] Reasoning for suffering in the NT is therefore manifold, being interpreted in either a positive, negative, or neutral manner, an aspect overlooked by some modern writers, who still interpret suffering predominantly in a retributive light: 'Christians, knowing who they are and whose they are, should be healthier than the rest of the population [...] much suffering on the part of Christians could be avoided or mitigated by greater understanding of and obedience to the Bible'.[98]

5.2.1 Suffering as Punitive Retribution or Chastising Judgement

> horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis (Hbr 10.31)

The OT image of an angry, wrathful Divinity is largely superseded in the NT through the figure of the non-aggressive, compassionate, and forgiving Jesus: 'What happens in the NT is that this non-retributive understanding of man's relation to God becomes dominant. Retributive concepts are almost displaced because of the nature of the Christian gospel [...] the experience of those who refuse to respond to this gospel is not an experience of retributive punishment, but is the negation of all that is offered in Christ'.[99] Jesus establishes a new relationship between God and humanity and this perspective is clearly recognisable in the account of the Samaritans, whom the disciples – in a similar vein to the OT prophets – wish to destroy for their rejection of Christianity but whom Jesus refuses to punish (Lc 9.54-55).[100] Jesus also challenges a Torah penal directive by saving the life of an adulterous woman, whom the scribes and the Pharisees intend to stone in compliance

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[94] The OT attribution of blame to the sick lessened or indeed eliminated the responsibility of society towards those suffering in the belief that they suffer in accordance with divine justice.

[95] Travis, p. 167. In contrast see Davies, p. 11, who maintains that the NT retains and develops the OT emphasis on wrath.

[96] The complexity of the motif is overlooked by some, who view NT sickness merely as a consequence of sin. Cf. Greeven, p. 11: 'Das NT sieht in der Krankheit selbst ein Symptom für einen dahinterliegenden Tatbestand: nach seiner Auffassung ist die Krankheit ganz allgemein ein Symptom dafür, daß der Mensch sich von Gott losgesagt hat.' For alternative reasons see Wintzler, p. 223.

[97] On this day, the full force of divine wrath will be unleashed in a vindication of justice and Christ will judge each individual according to his deeds.

[98] Allister, p. 17.

[99] Travis, p. 168.

[100] The apostles request permission to call down fire from Heaven.

with Mosaic Law. Through His stipulation that the first stone be cast by a guiltless person, Jesus exposes the fact that all are sinners. He subordinates retribution to compassion and love by releasing the woman without harm: 'erigens autem se Iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt nemo te condemnavit / quae dixit nemo Domine dixit autem Iesus nec ego te condemnabo vade et amplius iam noli peccare (Io 8.10-11).[101] Although Jesus does not reject the OT doctrine of divine wrath, alternative and positive reasons for suffering are occasionally underlined. In the case of the man born blind, Jesus expressly rejects a retributive interpretation; neither the man nor his parents sinned, as he suffers in order that the glory of God may be manifested in him (Io 9.1-3): 'While Jesus' response does not preclude a direct causal relationship between personal sin and individual sickness, it suggests that he regarded blanket, judgemental assessments as tenuous'.[102]

The presence of Jesus does not herald an end to divine retribution for sin. Although He does not impose suffering and death, Jesus utters warnings as to the dangers of sin, highlighting the importance of repentance for those sinners enjoying good health:[103]

> Aderant autem quidam ipso in tempore nuntiantes illi de Galilaeis quorum sanguinem Pilatus miscuit cum sacrificiis eorum / et respondens dixit illis putatis quod hii Galilaei prae omnibus Galilaeis peccatores fuerunt quia talia passi sunt / non dico vobis sed nisi paenitentiam habueritis omnes similiter peribitis / sicut illi decem et octo supra quos cecidit turris in Siloam et occidit eos putatis quia et ipsi debitores fuerunt praetor omnes homines habitantes in Hierusalem / non dico vobis sed si non paenitentiam egeritis omnes similiter peribitis (Lc 13.1-5)

A belief in the reality of divine retribution is also voiced in the writings of Paul,[104] who directly links sickness with indifferent participation in the Sacrament of Communion.[105] Indeed, despite the refusal of Jesus to punish sinners, Paul declares his intent (I Cor 5.5) to send a member of the church at Corinth to Satan for taking his stepmother as his wife. James also highlights the possibility of unacknowledged or unconfessed sin as the impetus for suffering by including the prayer of faith to save the sick and to forgive sins in the healing procedure to be performed by the elders of the church: 'et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum et adlevabit eum Dominus et si in peccatis sit dimittentur ei (Iac 5.15).

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[101] For further information on the abolition of certain rules of the Torah, see Hengel, p. 18.

[102] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease Causality', p. 2948. Cf.: 'Joh 9,1-3 wird die Frage nach dem Warum umgekehrt in die Frage nach dem Wozu', Wintzler, p. 223.

[103] This aspect appears to be overlooked by Dodd, *Epistle*, p. 23: 'The concept of the wrath of God does not appear in the teaching of Jesus unless we press certain features of the parables in an illegitimate manner'.

[104] Cf. Eph 5.5-6: 'hoc enim scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut inmundus aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei / nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis propter haec enim venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae'. Also: Rm 12.19.

[105] 'probet autem se ipsum homo et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat / qui enim manducat et bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit non diiudicans corpus / ideo inter vos multi infirmes et inbecilles et dormiunt multi', I Cor 11.28-30.

Similar to the OT, moral offences predominate in the NT, although the concept of ceremonial or aesthetic sin now becomes more or less irrelevant.[106] Retribution is exacted as a consequence of such moral sin as betrayal, dishonesty, arrogance, distrust of God, persecution of Christians and efforts to prevent conversion. Some offences curiously remain unforgivable in the NT, particularly those against the Holy Spirit: 'Ideo dico vobis omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus Spiritus autem blasphemia non remittetur / et quicumque dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis remittetur ei qui autem dixerit contra Spiritum Sanctum non remittetur ei neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro' (Mt 12.31-32). Just deserts become increasingly eschatological and no longer need to be meted out in a temporal manner as the NT promises eternal life for the righteous and threatens perpetual death for the wicked.[107] This aspect is exemplified in the parable of Lazarus, the righteous leper, who is rewarded with eternal life for acceptance of horrific suffering, while the rich man is tormented in the flames of Hades on account of his luxurious life:[108]

> [...] fili recordare quia recepisti bona in vita tua et Lazarus similiter mala nunc autem hic consolatur tu vero cruciaris / et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chasma magnum firmatum est ut hii qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint neque inde huc transmeare' (Lc 16.25-26)

Despite this development of eternal retribution, some NT blessings and curses remain temporal in nature with a continuance of the infliction of suffering and death as a punishment or chastisement. The latter is presented as a merciful correction of the wayward son, whose acceptance can result in spiritual improvement and ultimately salvation: 'ego quos amo arguo et castigo aemulare ergo et paenitentiam age (Apc 3.19).[109] In NT infliction narratives a doctrine of individual retribution is evident as each person is held accountable for personal misdeeds rather than for collective ones as presented in the early books of the OT; these are discussed below.

In contrast to the diversity of conditions imposed in OT punishment narratives, those in the NT are limited, with death, blindness, palsy, muteness and unspecified illness being imposed; leprosy is conspicuously absent from this context.[110] There is usually little description of the condition although brief gory detail is included on occasion: 'et hic quidem possedit agrum de

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[106] Mt 15.18-21: 'quae autem procedunt de ore de corde exeunt et ea coinquinant hominem / de corde enim exeunt cogitationes malae homicidia adulteria fornicationes furta falsa testimonia blasphemiae / haec sunt quae coinquinant hominem non lotis autem manibus manducare non coinquinat hominem'.

[107] Rm 6.22-3: 'nunc vero liberati a peccato servi autem facti Deo habetis fructum vestrum in sanctificationem finem vero vitam aeternam / stipendia enim peccati mors gratia autem Dei vita aeterna in Christo Iesu Domino nostro'.

[108] This is the solitary example of the punishment of sinners in the Afterlife, an aspect, which contrasts strongly with the medieval corpus, where this emerges as a popular motif.

[109] Cf. Hbr 12.7: 'in disciplina perseverate tamquam filiis vobis offert Deus quis enim filius quem non corripit pater / quod si extra disciplinam estis cuius participes facti sunt omnes ergo adulteri et non filii estis'; also: I Cor 11.31-2.

[110] I disagree with Fenner, p. 74, who reduces all Biblical illness to a single one, hysteria: '[...] wir [haben] es im N.T. im Grunde nur mit einer Krankheit zu tun, die uns in ihren mannigfaltigen Formen volkstümlich gezeichnet wird, dem „Proteus unter den Krankheiten", der Hysterie [...]'.

mercede iniquitatis et suspensus crepuit medius et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius (Act 1.18).[111] In contrast to the OT, the majority of NT inflictions exert a chastising effect, resulting in a restoration to health for those afflicted and consequently, the harsh sentence of death no longer constitutes the most frequently inflicted condition. NT inflictions, where specified, are imposed either directly or through angelic media, as Satan, now operating as an autonomous albeit inferior force, rarely mediates divine judgements.[112] Those afflicted with suffering in the NT are generally named and the overwhelming majority – as in the OT – are male. There is no evidence of the *lex talionis*. Unlike the OT, the sins of those killed or inflicted with incurable illness in the NT appear to be more heinous than those inflicted with illness, which is subsequently healed; Judas dies on account of his betrayal of Jesus, yet Zacharias is only temporarily afflicted rather than killed (as he would have been, had he been living in OT times) for his disbelief in the unlimited power of God.[113]

The punitive nature of suffering is demonstrated, analogously to the OT, through a variety of narrative strategies with its purpose occasionally stated by the writer (Act 12.23), or frequently disclosed through the direct speech of Jesus, the angel Gabriel, or the apostles Peter or Paul. Paul, in contrast to Jesus, inflicts punitive suffering and is particularly vicious and unforgiving in his condemnation of the sinner:

> Saulus autem qui et Paulus repletus Spiritu Sancto intuens in eum / dixit o plene omni dolo et omni fallacia fili diaboli inimice omnis iustitiae non desinis subvertere vias Domini rectas / et nunc ecce manus Domini super te et eris caecus non videns solem usque ad tempus et confestim cecidit in eum caligo et tenebrae et circumiens quaerebat qui ei manum daret (Act 13.9-11)[114]

Such speeches are generally given prior to infliction and serve to identify the culprit, his offence and occasionally, the forthcoming affliction. The fact that sin is the impetus for sickness can additionally be indicated through the integration of forgiveness into the healing procedure or through warnings issued post-healing that unless a more spiritual path is pursued, a worse fate than this suffering will be experienced. Finally, a sudden and unusual death can denote divine retribution as in the case of Judas, whose body bursts open on a field purchased with the reward for betraying Jesus (Act 1.18).[115]

Although some OT pre-infliction warnings and judgements offer an opportunity to atone and avert punishment, NT narratives exclude any scope to reflect and repent, as tribulations tend to

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[111] Some illnesses involve worms such as the Death of Herod Agrippa (Act 12.23), which is similar to that of Antiochis IV (II Mcc 9.5-12).

[112] 'Thus the idea of an 'evil spirit' moves gradually from the conception of an angel of God to a quasi-independent force working against God, though powerless to withdraw from God's ultimate control.' Hastings, *Dict*, pp. 211-212. Although Satan is a threat to humanity (Eph 6.11; Io 13.2), is capable of deceptive disguise (II Cor 11.14) and has power over sinners, his attacks can be repelled through prayer: Eph 6.10-13 and Iac 3.8.

[113] Cf. the imposition of death on Ananias and his wife for their sin against the Holy Spirit, and on Herod for the beheading of James and his failure to give glory to God, while those who attempt to persecute Christians or prevent conversion are healed upon repenting.

[114] Others, however, merely point out the sin and the forthcoming affliction: cf. Lc 1.20 and Act 5.9.

[115] Cf. however, Mt 27.3, where Judas dies through suicide.

experienced immediately upon pronouncement. Those struck dead, e.g., Ananias and Sapphira, illustrate the repercussion of a particular sin – here deceptively withholding money from the church – and exert a deterrent influence through instilling fear of its consequences.[116] There is no trace of the OT withdrawal of grace or hardening of hearts to increase the guilt of sinners or prevent atonement (cf. Is 6.10) although Satanic influence is occasionally attributed to sinful acts:

> Intravit autem Satanas in Iudam qui cognominatur Scarioth unum de duodecim / Et abiit et locutus est cum principibus sacerdotum et magistratibus quemadmodum illum traderet eis / et gravisi sunt et pacti sunt pecuniam illi dare / et spopondit et quaerebat oportunitatem ut traderet illum sine turbis (Lc 22.3-6)

The NT accentuates various means to attain forgiveness of sin, e.g., through repentance (Lc 24.47) and the sacraments of baptism (Mc 1.4-5) or confession (I Io 1.9): '[...] paenitentiam inquit agite et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Iesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum et accipietis donum Sancti Spiritus' (Act 2.38). Prayer is also effective and Christians can pray both for personal sins and for those of others, with the prayers of the righteous proving particularly powerful.[117] However, even these are futile in the case of eternal sin (I Io 5.15-17).[118] Despite such advice, few NT punishment narratives, like the OT, incorporate these mechanisms. One victim, Herod, fails to respond spiritually to his suffering and remains unhealed, perhaps due to an inability to interpret his pain in a moral manner or out of despair of forgiveness. Similar to the madness imposed on Nebuchadnezzar in the OT, some afflictions, e.g., those of Zechariah and Elymas, are temporary and do not require a personal reaction as health is automatically restored upon expiration of the stipulated period (cf. Lc 1.66 and Act 13.12). Only one individual in these punitive or chastising narratives reacts in a religious manner to suffering: Saul fasts and prays when struck blind and is rewarded with a premonition of his healing, which is mediated through Ananias, who lays his hands upon him.

Jesus initiates healing in two punitive or chastising narratives despite the fact that the individuals concerned are unaware that they suffer as a consequence of sin; they are cured without the need for repentance, confession or atonement. In the account of the paralytic, the faith of those who bring him before Jesus in the hope of healing proves sufficient as Jesus forgives the man of his unacknowledged sin and orders him to rise: 'et ecce offerebant ei paralyticum iacentem in lecto et videns Iesus fidem illorum dixit paralytico confide fili remittuntur tibi peccata tua' (Mt 9.2). Jesus heals in this instance to demonstrate that He has the power to forgive sins.[119] In the second account (Io 5.14), there is curiously no mention of the forgiveness of sin as Jesus simply orders the man,

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[116] Act 5.11: 'et factus est timor magnus in universa ecclesia et in omnes qui audierunt haec'.

[117] Iac 5.16: 'confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra et orate pro invicem ut salvemini multum enim valet deprecatio iusti adsidua'.

[118] 'qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem petet et dabit ei vitam peccantibus non ad mortem est peccatum ad mortem non pro illo dico ut roget', I Io 5.16.

[119] Allister, p. 29 concludes that 'it was more important to him [Jesus] to offer people eternal life that to heal their temporal bodies. When the paralytic was brought to him he was more concerned to forgive his sins than to heal him [...]'.

who has been ill for thirty-eight years, to rise.[120] The cause of the illness as sin is first indicated post-healing in the warning that unless the man amends his ways, he will suffer a worse fate: 'postea invenit eum Iesus in templo ex dixit illi ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat' (Io 5.14). Although both the culpable sin and the resultant illness are unspecified, Sanford maintains that the sin is the result rather than the impetus of illness; he diagnoses the disorder as psychosomatic and the sin as a resistance to being healthy: 'the man by the pool of Bethzatha carefully cultivated and clung to his infirmity for his egocentric purposes'.[121] He additionally claims that the man is aggrieved at being healed and consequently informs the Jews with ill-intent that it was Jesus, who had healed him: 'One would think the man might have been grateful for Jesus' cure, but he apparently resented Jesus a great deal for healing him and in fact retaliated against this man who forced him to leave his place of refuge and find a place in the world'.[122] This claim is unsubstantiated and in any case the man surely cannot be held responsible for the potential reactions of others.[123]

5.2.2 Suffering as Atonement for Sin or as Spiritual Training

> quoniam enim per hominem mors et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum / et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor 15.21-2)

Jesus, as the Son of God, provides vicarious atonement through His sacrificial death on the cross, which is regarded by Christians as the greatest manifestation of divine love and signifies the eventual resurrection of all those who die in Christ.[124] The shedding of His blood dispenses with the ineffective and repetitious OT sacrificial system of atonement[125] but does not herald an end to divine wrath or an elimination of human suffering.[126] The world is not yet fully redeemed and sickness and death will only cease after the Day of the Lord, when the Kingdom of God will be established. Suffering is therefore an inescapable reality from which faith does not secure exemption; the righteous also suffer but are assured of ultimate divine deliverance and vindication.[127] Such pain is meaningful as it constitutes 'taking up the cross' and participating in

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[120] I can find no evidence to suggest that the man has been waiting by the pool for the duration of his illness as maintained by John A. Sanford, *Healing Body and Soul:* The *Meaning of Illness in the New Testament and in Psychotherapy* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1992), p. 27 and Clark Kee, p. 89.

[121] Sanford, p. 29. He contrasts the man's passive behaviour with the active attempts for healing of the woman, who suffers from an issue of blood for twelve years: 'Clearly she is no malingerer and her illness was not psychosomatic', p. 35.

[122] Sanford, p. 28.

[123] Io 5.15-6: 'abiit ille homo et nuntiavit Iudaeis quia Iesus esset qui fecit eum sanum / propterea persequebantur Iudaei Iesum quia haec faciebat in sabbato'; also I Io 4.10

[124] Cf. Io 3.16-7: 'sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam / non enim misit Deus Filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum'. Belief is vital as unbelievers will be damned: Mc 16.16. See Rowley, *Themes*, p. 28.

[125] Hbr 10.14: 'una enim oblatione consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos'. Cf. Anthony O'Hear and Judy Groves, *Introducing Jesus* (Cambridge, England: Totem Books, 1994), p. 105.

[126] '[…] the justified sinner must become the sanctified sinner', Tasker, p. 38.

[127] Cf. Rm 8.17 'si autem filii et heredes heredes quidem Dei coheredes autem Christi si tamen conpatimur ut et conglorificemur'; also: Mt 5.11-12; I Pt 4.13.

the sufferings of Christ as 'a way of continually asserting and realising his [Christ's] victory': 'Tunc Iesus dixit discipulis suis si quis vult post me venire abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me' (Mt 16.24).[128]

The event of the Crucifixion effectively illustrates that the existence of human suffering cannot be interpreted as proof of the non-existence of God. Several of the first Christians – the apostles – suffer as a consequence of their mission (cf. Mc 13.9-13; Io 16.1-4), which highlights the paradox involved in following Christ: one should care actively and compassionately for the sick but passively accept personal suffering.[129] Some inflictions additionally operate as a spiritual discipline, weakening the power of sin and the world in those who experience it, developing virtue, strengthening resolve (Rm 5.3-5) and increasing reliance on God:[130] 'it is one of the main ways to sanctification, holiness. God uses suffering to refine and perfect his people'.[131] Jesus was made perfect through suffering and Christians should submit willingly to the same training when called to suffer[132]:

> qui in diebus carnis suae preces supplicationesque ad eum qui possit salvum illum a morte facere cum clamore valido et lacrimis offerens et exauditus pro sua reverentia / et quidem cum esset Filius didicit ex his quae passus est oboedientiam / et consummatus factus est omnibus obtemperantibus sibi causa salutis aeternae (Hbr 5.7-9)

God supports those in pain, enabling them to bear it with perseverance, with such episodes presenting an opportunity to prove oneself as an authentic servant of God (II Cor 6.4-10).[133] According to I Cor 10.13, it will never be more than one can bear

5.2.3 Participation in the Sufferings of Christ

> vivo autem iam non ego vivit vero in me Christus quod autem nunc vivo in carne in fide vivo Filii Dei qui dilexit me et tradidit se ipsum pro me (Gal 2.20)

One NT figure, who interprets his pain as participation in the Passion of Christ is Paul. God inflicts Paul with a 'thorn', a sudden and recurrent chronic disorder, following his visions and

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[128] Bowker, p. 74. Cf. Merkel, p. 39 and Wilkinson, p. 235.

[129] Merkel, p. 37: 'Der Kreuzestod Jesu steht in einem fast paradoxen Verhältnis zu seinem Wirken, das Krankheit und Leid beenden sollte. Wer Jesus nachfolgt, hat nach urchristlicher Auffassung diese paradoxe Einstellung zum Leiden zu teilen. Er soll dem Leid und der Not entgegentreten, aber er soll auch sein Kreuz auf sich nehmen und seinem Herrn als Leidender nachfolgen (Mk 8,34)'. An odd element is Paul's advice to slaves to tolerate unjust masters: I Pt 4.18-20.

[130] Hbr 12.11-13: 'omnis autem disciplina in praesenti quidem videtur non esse gaudii sed maeroris postea autem fructum pacatissimum exercitatis per eam reddit iustitiae / propter quod remissas manus et soluta genua erigite / et gressus rectos facite pedibus vestris ut non claudicans erret magis autem sanetur'.

[131] Allister, p. 20. See also Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease Causality', p. 2947.

[132] I Pt 2.21: 'in hoc enim vocati estis quia et Christus passus est pro vobis vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius'; also Rm 8.17; Phil 1.29-30.

[133] II Cor 1.5: 'quoniam sicut abundant passiones Christi in nobis ita et per Christum abundat consolatio nostra'; also: I Pt 5.10.

revelations.[134] This suffering functions as an antidote to spiritual pride, preventing Paul becoming boastful of his ecstatic experiences through physical weakness; pain therefore prevents sin rather than punishes sin.[135] Similar to Job, Paul's affliction constitutes 'discipline or training which is designed to produce greater perfection, but which does not necessarily point to any moral lapse or weakness in the way that punishment does'.[136] Although divinely imposed, Paul associates his suffering with the beatings of demonic spirits.[137] Like Jesus (Mt 26.39-44), he prays three times to God for healing, but remains uncured because, as Jesus explains, it is in weakness that divine strength is fulfilled. Instead of relief, Paul is provided with sufficient divine grace to endure the pain:

> propter quod ter Dominum rogavi ut discederet a me / et dixit mihi sufficit tibi gratia mea nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur libenter igitur gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi / propter quod placeo mihi in infirmitatibus in contumeliis in necessitatibus in persecutionibus in angustiis pro Christo cum enim infirmor tunc potens sum (II Cor 12.8-10)

Thereafter Paul accepts and values his affliction as a sign of his apostolate (II Cor 11.23; Col 1.24) and as an indicator of the strength of the crucified Christ: 'Wie dieser für die Menschen das Leiden auf sich nahm, um das göttliche Heil zu offenbaren, so trägt der Apostel das Sterben Jesu an seinem Leib herum, damit auch das Leben Jesu an seinem Leibe offenbar werde (2 Kor 4,10)'.[138] Paul's experience demonstrates that suffering need not destroy trust and hope; it emphasizes providential concern for and response to the sufferings of humanity (I Pt 5.7 and Phil 2.27), thereby providing reassurance and encouragement.

Summary

NT suffering-centred paradigms provide an understanding of divine purpose in the realm of sickness and death and though the correlation between suffering and sin is still latent, it occurs much less frequently than in the OT; this is largely due to the figure of Jesus, who teaches that the chief commandments are to love God and one's neighbour (Mc 12.29). Consequently, Jesus responds with compassion towards sinners and does not inflict a single punitive episode of suffering. Individuals are no longer coerced into obedience through suffering in the NT, as they are presented with a choice to follow Christ or not. Rewards and punishments no longer need to be temporal in character in the NT due to the expansion of the ideology of Afterlife, where just deserts

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[134] This probably involves eye problems (Gal 4.15); see Ulrich B. Müller, 'Krankheit III. Neues Testament', in *TRE* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), XIX, pp. 684-89, p. 685.
[135] Amundsen and Ferngren, 'Disease Causality', p. 2948.
[136] Allister, p. 17.
[137] II Cor 12.7: 'et ne magnitudo revelationum extollat me datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae angelus Satanae ut me colaphizet'. For further information see Schipperges, 'Krankheit III', p. 685.
[138] Seybold and Müller, p. 157. Cf. Wilkinson, p. 230.

will be received. Nevertheless, retributive inflictions still exist and are imposed as a consequence of moral – rather than ceremonial – transgression. Conditions imposed are limited in contrast with the OT, and scant detail is supplied in the narrative. Individuals rather than groups are afflicted and are generally named and similar to the OT, they remain predominantly male. Suffering is imposed directly or through angels rather than through Satan, who now becomes a threatening autonomous force.

The majority of NT punishment accounts prove chastising rather than punitive in nature with those concerned being restored to health; accordingly death no longer remains the most frequently inflicted condition. In contrast with the OT, the sins of those destroyed by God in the NT prove more severe in nature than those who survive. Similar narrative strategies to the OT are employed to impart the retributive purpose of suffering, e.g., narrator statements, direct speech and implication, while the integration of forgiveness into the healing procedure additionally confirms this aspect. Various means to attain forgiveness are underlined in the NT, yet few are integrated into the punishment narratives as one suffering sinner fails to respond, while temporary conditions imposed on others are healed automatically after a specified period. Only Saul responds religiously by fasting and praying and he is the only individual healed through a mediator. Jesus heals two sinners of sickness, without their acknowledgment or repentance of the culpable transgression. Still some efforts will always be futile, as both the OT and the NT retain the element that some sin is simply unforgivable.

Alternative reasons for suffering are emphasised in the NT as Jesus suffers death on the Cross in atonement for the sins of humanity; His willing sacrifice fulfils what the demands of the Law could not achieve – expiation, reconciliation and regeneration to new life in Christ. This does not signify an end to sickness as the righteous may be called to suffer as participation in the Passion, which may also involve a spiritual discipline, encouraging a focus on the soul, and a dependence on God. The solitary NT example of one who suffers for Christ is Paul, who is inflicted with physical weakness as protection from sin. His requests for healing are refused as he embodies the strength of the crucified Christ and divine grace is supplied instead to enable him to endure this pain.

5.3. The Suffering-Centred Paradigm in the Medieval Corpus

As mentioned earlier, some researchers excessively emphasize the presence of the motif of suffering as a consequence of sin in medieval literature: 'Clearly then, in the Middle Ages there was a strong tendency to moralize disease, to see all disease as the consequence of Original Sin and most disease as the punishment or purgation of individual sins'.[139] Similar to the Bible, various reasons, positive or negative in terms of morality, explain the onset of suffering in this paradigm in the medieval corpus, and individual works incorporate any number of these. The popularity of the

[139] Doob, p. 10.

neutral healing-centred paradigm in the medieval corpus, however, suggests that most sickness in the Middle Ages was not interpreted from a moral perspective. In a number of studies on divine inflictions of suffering, three-fold systems are proposed, which generally overlap; sickness can function 'als Mittel der Prüfung und zunehmender Läuterung und als Folge der Sünde', 'as a spiritual trial, test, or purification' or 'als Strafe Gottes [...], als Prüfung des Glaubens und als Ruf zu Buße und Bekehrung'.[140] I have identified a five-fold system in the medieval corpus, comprising punishment (retributive in nature, penalising specific behaviour), chastisement (disciplinary in nature, aimed at repentance), a test, spiritual training, and a means of communicating demands. This system reflects both OT and NT influence and includes one new non-Biblical category. Of importance for this study is the fact that sin constitutes the impetus for suffering in only two of these five categories. Furthermore, the NT interpretation of sickness as a participation in the sufferings of Christ is virtually absent from the corpus,[141] seemingly superseded by the multiple accounts of Christian martyrdom (cf. *LA*, XLVI, p. 200). This chapter aims to assess the extent of these interpretations in the medieval corpus and to analyse their religious message with a view to estimating their possible impact on medieval society. Of particular interest is the nature of transgression highlighted as deserving of punishment or chastisement, especially in the exempla and legendaries, which communicated spiritual and moral guidance to those who read or heard them; their narrative form, perceived historicity, and popularity made them a powerful and effective means to do so: 'Testis est mihi Dominus, nec unum quidem capitulum in hoc Dialogo me finxisse', (*DM*, Prologus, p. 2).[142] Also of interest is the extent to which the disease of leprosy emerges in connection with sin; its frequency will be examined in the corpus in order to assess the claim 'that leprosy was commonly thought of as divine retribution'.[143] The theological accuracy of the religious content portrayed within this paradigm is also of relevance to this study.

5.3.1 Suffering as Punishment or Chastisement in the Medieval Corpus

5.3.1.1 Suffering as Punishment or Chastisement in Exempla, Legendaries and Chronicles (the *Legenda Aurea*, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, *Sermones vulgares*, *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, and *Kaiserchronik*)

This section is divided into two sections: the first concentrates on shorter narratives generally present in exempla, legendaries and chronicles, while the second focuses on longer narratives,

[140] Haage, 'Prolegomena', pp. 102-3; Sirasi, *Medicine*, p. 7; Ulrich Eibach, 'Krankheit III. Theologisch', in *LThK*, ed. by Walter Kasper and others, 3rd rev. edn (Herder: Freiburg, 1997), IV, col. 428-30, (col. 429).

[141] The stigmata of St Francis could be thus interpreted: *LA*, CXLIX, p. 667.

[142] 'But clearly the stories themselves – brief, memorable, easily detached from their contexts – have the potential for great pedagogical effectiveness': Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1985), p. 74; also Wehrli, p. 155: 'In der Tat ist die Legende dem mittelalterlichen Menschen zweifellos wahre Geschichte'.

[143] R. Finch, 'Guilt and Innocence in Hartmann's 'Der arme Heinrich'', *NeuphilMitt*, 73 (1972), 642-652, (p. 644). Also Ruh, p. 317, who claims that 'der Aussatz kommt von Gott, ein Zug, der zum mittelalterlichen Verständnis der Krankheit gehört und für alle christlichen Aussatzerzählungen konstitutiv ist'; Wackernagel, p. 215: 'Er [der Aussatz] war unmittelbar von Gott verhängt als Strafe für schwere Sünde'.

generally those in *Romane*. Retributive suffering is present in varying degrees in practically all works of the medieval corpus, as narratives in the *LA*, *DM*, *KC*, *SV*, *EM*, *AH*, and *Silv* depict sickness and death as a consequence of sin, which incorporates moral, social or monastic offences.[144] Despite the development of post-mortem suffering in Purgatory or Hell, most inflictions in the *LA*, *DM*, *KC* and *EM* prove temporal in nature.[145] Conditions can be imposed directly by God or mediated through angels, deceased saints, virgins, martyrs and Christians, or the Devil and his demons. In a similar vein to the OT, retribution can also be inflicted through animal attacks, adverse weather conditions, e.g., earthquakes, and thunder and lightning, collapsing buildings and bridges, falling idols, drowning, fire, battles, and accidents. A new means emerges in the use of religious articles or secular emblems to mediate pain.[146] As in the OT, retribution can be initiated through prayers and curses (*LA*, LXXXI, p. 349) and contrary to the example of Jesus in the NT, the *LA* portrays the apostle Matthew calling down punishment on those who refuse to convert: 'Qui egressus verbum domini praedicavit, dum autem quidam obstinati persisterent, dixit iis: denuncio vobis, quod vivi in infernum descendetis, moxque terra se aperuit et cunctos illos deglutivit, reliqui vero ad dominum sunt conversi' (XLV, p. 188).[147] The role of the Devil and his demons becomes diversified in the corpus, combining the OT mediatory function with the NT autonomous role of attempting to tempt humanity into sin. Such figures impose retribution largely through possession, physical beatings or strangulation; in a departure from the Bible, such attacks can occur on earth or in a supernatural realm as sinners are temporarily transported before God in order to receive punishment in scenes reminiscent of the Last Judgement. Here retribution is generally exacted through the fists of saints or demons, the latter also oddly in the presence of God, after which sinners are returned to earth, chastised and battered (cf. *LA*, CXVII, p. 494; CXLVI, p. 654). The element of beatings is included here as it constitutes a new addition to the paradigm.

Certain aspects of the suffering-centred paradigm present in the medieval corpus are oddly more suggestive of OT rather than NT influence, and thereby indicate a non-chronological development of this motif. For example, corporate retribution re-emerges in the *LA* despite its supersession in later books of the OT, and in the NT through a doctrine of personal accountability. This unorthodox aspect involves the transference of retribution onto individuals, such as a son, an entire family, household, or soldiers, connected with a sinful father or leader; the innocent bear the guilt through illness or annihilation, in contrast to the guilty, who may or may not be included in the infliction (cf. *LA*: LVII, p. 254; CXXIII, p. 543). Those who execute orders against Christians, e.g., armies, torturers or executioners, suffer or die in lieu of the emperor or prefect, who issued the command (cf. *LA*: XCIX, p. 424; CXXV, p. 571), while curious spectators, present during the martyrdom of Christians, are also destroyed instead of the commanding individual (cf. *LA*: XLVIII,

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[144] 'Ex vitio primi hominis omnis tentatio est et infirmitas. Septem ex culpa illius contraximus poenalitates, esuriem videlicet, sitim, frigus, calorem, lassitudinem, infirmitatem, mortem', *DM*, IV/XXX, p. 199.

[145] However, temporal punishments can become eternal if the inflicted sinner dies unrepentant or unforgiven.

[146] Examples include the imposition of blindness and madness through a tunic of Mary (*LA*, CXIX, p. 510), burns through a civilian shirt (*LA*, CXIII, p. 470), and physical weakness (*LA*, CXX, p. 536), and drowning (*DM*, IX/XII, p. 175) through the host.

[147] However, in *LA*, CLIX, p. 708, the apostles refuse to kill.

p. 203; XCVIII, p. 420). Like the leprosy imposed on Gehazi in the OT, afflictions can be hereditary in nature, thereby penalising further innocent generations: 'semper focus bonus est; verumtamen qui hoc fecerunt et posteri ejus viri in genitalibus rupti feminae gutturosae erunt' (*LA*: CXLVII, p. 660). Mass inflictions re-emerge as thousands are wiped out in some narratives (cf. *LA*, CLXXII, p. 793) although these can prove selective as a specific proportion suffer, e.g., the weak and elderly, as a warning and deterrent to others (cf. *LA*: LXX, p. 313; XXX, p. 142). Such elements are largely restricted to the *LA*, as other corpus works, such as the *DM*, depict mostly the penalisation of individual malefactors.[148]

A large variety of conditions are meted out to wrong-doers in the *LA*, and these include blindness, madness, death, paralysis, possession, withered, stiff, dislocated or torn limbs, leprosy, epilepsy, muteness, severe beatings, broken legs, dysentery, rupture, goitre, trembling disorders, muteness, asphyxiation, intense fevers, plague, burns, infected eyes, weakness, wounds, snake bites, deafness, immobility and death. In contrast to such diversity, few conditions emerge in the *DM* (burns, anthrax and dropsy), the *KC* (leprosy, podagra, gout, madness, blindness), the *EM* (leprosy, blindness, memory-loss), and the *SV* (unspecified illness and injuries or death caused by demons, animals or the dead).[149] Leprosy rarely emerges – if at all – as a punishment disease in the *LA*, *DM*, *SV* and *EM* despite its inclusion in the *KC* and in the individual works *Silv* and *AH*. Multiple conditions are occasionally dispensed, such as the seven unspecified diseases inflicted simultaneously on St Gregory (*KC*, 6052-8) or the successive imposition of podagra, gout, leprosy and madness on Nero (*KC*, 4268-75). Notwithstanding such diversity, the most frequently imposed condition in the *LA*, *DM*, *KC*, *SV*, and *EM* is death or conditions which swiftly result in death, an element characteristic of the OT. This eliminates any opportunity for atonement and indeed most narratives in the above works – again closer to the OT rather than the NT – embody a punitive rather than a chastising function. This aspect reveals the belief of Walter that 'Selbst für den ärgsten Sünder ist est nie zu spät [in der *LA*] sich zu Christus zu bekehren', to be untrue; it is clearly frequently too late, both in the *LA* and other works.[150] Consequently, the majority of afflictions remain unhealed (none are cured in the *SV*),[151] although some ailments, such as injuries sustained through beatings, are temporary in nature and heal of their own accord.[152]

Those afflicted in exempla or legendary narratives are generally described succinctly, usually by gender, age, occupation, religious belief, or position of power; first names are intermittently cited and geographical locations rarely. A range of individuals are represented, such as kings, emperors, popes, priests, monks, nuns, soldiers, heathens, sorcerers, knights and peasants with the overwhelming majority, as in the Bible, male. Some are referred to simply according to

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[148] A couple of exceptions, however, exist: cf. *DM*, IX/XXXVI, p. 193.
[149] It is implied or stated in the *SV* that such attacks are permitted by God.
[150] Christian Walter, *Prozess und Wahrheitserfindung in der Legenda Aurea*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 1977), p. 15.
[151] This contradicts the claim of Leslie Seiffert, 'The Maiden's Heart: Legend and Fairy-tale in Hartmann's 'Der arme Heinrich'', *DVjs*, 37 (1963), 384-405 (p. 400), that 'all God's judgements involve both punishment and love'. Wackernagel, p. 232, also makes a similar claim: 'freilich ist die Strafe wie überall ein Prüfungs- und Erziehungsmittel'.
[152] Others occur periodically at a certain time of year such as the bloody flux, which affects Jews each Good Friday: *DM*, II/XXIII, p. 92.

their sin, e.g. a blasphemer, while saints and demons are also among those punished. The latter – malignant spirits – are sentient and experience pain when beaten for transgression (*LA*, XLIII, 177) but as they are irredeemable, such portrayals solely emphasize the superiority of the divine realm over the demonic. Some works differ as regards characters punished; thus those in the *DM* consist mostly of religious figures, an unsurprising element in view of the nature of the work as an instruction manual for the clergy, while those in the *KC* are overwhelmingly powerful named figures rather than everyday citizens and include Christian and heathen emperors and kings.[153]

Conscious rather than unconscious moral failings predominate in the *LA*, *DM*, *KC*, *SV* and *EM*.[154] Most transgression punished or chastised in the *LA* relates directly to acts against the saints, carried out either during their lifetime or posthumously. Some constitute grievous sin such as the persecution, torture and murder of saints or involve disrespectful behaviour including disobedience, false accusation, deception or the swearing of false oaths, unauthorised unearthing of their corpses or removing parts, burning or stealing their possessions, testing their powers, or attempting to remove sons from their care. Many nevertheless appear minor, and include rudeness, ridicule or unkind words towards the saints, telling untruths to avoid assisting them, showing disrespect towards their graves, refusing to sing new antiphons, requesting vain rather than worthy favours, doubting the authenticity of their relics or legends, cursing or not attending mass on their feast day, refusing to loan them items or lying with a spouse on the evening before a church dedication (*LA*, XXIII, p. 112). The number of punished offences against the saints in the *LA* is striking and appears to support their cult through the dissemination of fear of retribution for any disrespectful behaviour shown towards such figures. Retribution is also exacted for offences against Christianity, such as the wrongful possession of church property, the supply of wicked counsel to monks, the dissemination of heresies, the destruction of churches, the theft or desecration of sacred vessels, or the deception or imprisonment of clergy or pilgrims. Additional to the iniquities of secular figures, the *LA* features those of monks and nuns, which comprise the withholding of funds, an inability to remain silent in church, visiting parents or drinking wine without permission, or attempting to leave the monastery.

Clerical impieties, responsible for inflictions of disease, beatings, or death in the *DM* comprehend abandonment of monastic life to return to the world (I/XIV and I/XV), the pursuit of luxurious, lustful, or worldly lives (II/XV and VII/LV), disregard of orders (X/IX),[155] the consumption of meat instead of fish (IV/LXXXIX), the telling of untruths (IV/XXVI), suffering love-sickness (VI/XXXIII), falling asleep in church (IV/XXXVIII) or attending church to lust after

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[153] 'The Roman Emperors are judged according to their contribution to God's Empire, and not according to the fact of baptism [...]', Rodney Fisher, *Studies in the Demonic in Selected Middle High German Epics*, GAG, 132 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1974), p. 106. Also included are a bishop, pope, magician, false prophet and vassals.

[154] Double standards are evident in the claim that it is acceptable for saints to commit sins such as stealing: 'Multa licent sanctis, quae his qui sancti non sunt, non licent. Ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. [...] Habe caritatem, et fac quicquid vis', *DM*, VI/V, p. 352.

[155] Here disobedience is avenged with madness in similar terms to the OT Nabuchadnezzar: 'Ut autem Dominus ostenderet meliorem esse obedientiam, quam stultorum victimas, inobediens monachus mox in rabiem versus in agrum cucurrit, ubi canem mortuum offendens, carnes eius foetentes avidissime comedere coepit. Et quia in carnibus peccavit, in carnibus punitus est', p. 223.

nuns (VIII/LII). In contrast, lay offenders in the *DM* are inflicted with death for blasphemy,[156] and with severe beatings (occasionally resulting in paralysis), possession, ulcers, suffocation or burns for disrespect towards or mockery of religious objects (VII/XXVII), sacraments (X/LIII), figures (IV/XI) or the church (VIII/LII), for personal use of church candles (VIII/XXV), a refusal to adore a saint randomly selected in a draw (VIII/LXI) and for an inappropriate use of the host to rid cabbages of caterpillars (IX/IX). Offences that are more serious are also requited such as usurpation of the role of a priest (IX/LX), thieving (X/XVIII), a refusal to repay debt to the church (IV/LVIII) or an attempt to kill an abbot (XVI). Uncertainty is voiced in some narratives as to the culpable misdeed, with the possession of the priest Siger attributed to such potential failings as ambition, apostasy, or indeed the selling of arms (IV/X). Additionally, spectators at a theatre are struck dead without explicit reason, but presumably because of the secular nature of their activity:

> Sacerdos quidam de Saxonia nuper mihi retulit miraculum stupendum. Hoc, inquit, anno in terra nostra in quodam theatro fulminati sunt viginti homines, solo sacerdote evadente. Fugit enim cum alios ardere videret. Decebat enim ut ignis quo nihil levius est, levitatis amatores puniret (X/XXVIII, p. 238).

Although the *SV* and *EM* also depict the retaliation of similar offences through suffering and death,[157] the *KC* differs, as avenged sin tends to be grievous, comprising persecution, murder, the destruction of Jerusalem, heresy or idolatry, or the disobedience of papal orders.

Of sociological interest are not the serious sins depicted in the semi-historical accounts of the martyrdom of saints in the *LA* or in the *KC* but rather the ordinary misdeeds represented, which are of direct relevance to medieval Christians. Some punishments smack of religious intolerance, such as those inflicted on heathens or Jews simply because they practice their rituals or attempt to rebuild temples; such representation seeks to confirm the error of their ways and the truthfulness of Christianity. Others reflect OT influence in the vengeance wreaked on those guilty of sodomy, murder, pride, working on the Sabbath or dishonouring parents. Oddly, some severely penalized acts appear less serious or non-theological and include revealing the truth about a monk, preferring secular to sacred literature, dressing fastidiously, attempting to dissuade a son from martyrdom, being a heathen or indeed an eloquent one, or refusing to be converted to the faith. Remarkably, one man and his family are annihilated simply because he suffered no misfortunes in life, a state ironically indicative of divine blessings in the OT. In this instance, however, Ambrose interprets this blessed life as evidence that the fortunate are sinners: 'surgite et hinc quantocius fugiamus, quia dominus non est in loco isto. Festinate, filii, festinate nec in fugiendo moram facite, ne nos hic divina ultio apprehendat et in peccatis illorum pariter nos involvat' (*LA*, LVII, p. 254). Finally, some transgression remains unspecified, leaving the reader or listener mystified as to what offence

[156] Cf. VII/XLIII, XL/LI, IX/XLVIII, IV/XIX and IV/XX.

[157] Sins in *SV* involve uncharitable behaviour, deception for monetary gain, and irreverent use of the host while those in the *EM* include murder, persecution, theft, wickedness, striking a bishop, worldliness and arrogance.

could possible warrant such nemesis: 'Sicut enim daemones porcos Dei permissione olim intraverunt, sic permissione domini propter peccata hominum lupos et alias feras intrabant et nullos verentes non solum per vias sed per civitatem publice discurrebant, et passim pueros et senes viros et feminas devorabant' (*LA*, LXX, p. 314).[158]

No obvious distinction is noticeable between offences avenged by death and those by suffering; in fact punishment rarely fits the crime and even those guilty of the same crime rarely receive the same judgement.[159] Death is meted out both to cruel persecutors of Christians and those who make snide comments about the saints; despite vast differences in grievousness of sin, punishment rarely lessens in degree.[160] The fact that horrific suffering and death is readily and mercilessly inflicted, often for the pettiest of offences, reveals a striking absence of tolerance, patience and compassion: 'Terribile est quod Deus iudicio nostro tam minima tam graviter punit'.[161] Such merciless behaviour is ironically voiced in one instance by a demon, whose pleas are disregarded by St Juliana as she continues to beat him: 'christiani enim dicuntur misericordes esse et tu nullam de me misericordiam habes' (*LA*, XLIII, p. 178). The relationship between crime and punishment appears random and unfathomable; God and the saints can kill if one steps out of line and moreover, their judgements cannot be questioned or challenged. The existence of divine mercy and patience is mentioned on occasion, yet few suffering-centred narratives depict these characteristics, as God rarely decides against imposing punishment.[162] In a couple of instances, some measurement of justice is evident such as *lex talionis* when the means of torture employed to harm Christians is divinely deflected upon their persecutors (cf. *LA*, XLVIII, p. 203).[163] Additionally, some transgressors, in a similar vein to David in the OT, can select a sentence from a range of options although these now consist of a choice between temporal or purgatorial pain, with life-long suffering or death usually favoured over several days torment in Purgatory (cf. *LA*, XLVI, p. 196 and XLVI, p. 197). These are exceptions, however, as overall, the most popular divine punishment remains the death sentence, whose constant portrayal is presumably deemed effective as a means of persuading listeners to behave in a more Christian manner.[164] Williams (11) maintains that such depictions indicate that 'While still living in this world man should forsake vice and withdraw into continuous prayer'; such action is, however, unrealistic and moreover impossible for fallen humanity.

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[158] Cf. *DM*, X/LXV, pp. 260-61, where three children are devoured by the judgement of God without any explanation.

[159] The abandonement of monastic life in the *DM* is requited with various punishments such as madness, a violent blow to the head, or death, while persecutors of Christians can be killed or inflicted with blindness, possession, madness, paralysis or leprosy.

[160] A few exceptions exist such as a priest, who forgets his penance and experiences an irritation of the skin, which disappears when he recites the forgotten psalm: *DM*, III/IV. Also: IX/VI.

[161] *DM*, XII/XXVII, p. 339. Cf. XII/XXVIII, p. 339: 'Nunquam putassem Dominum fuisse tam districtum. Nam minima quae hic non fuerint per satisfactionem deleta, observat'.

[162] Cf. *DM*, X/XLV, p. 249: 'Pueris vero, eo quod genus illud insanissimum sit, pepercit Dominus, sciens non militia, sed ex stultitia sacramento factam iniuriam'.

[163] Cf. *LA*, XXX, p. 141, where a man who pretends to be dead dies as a consequence. In instances where saints or martyrs are mutilated, a severed body part, e.g. a tongue, can be used to avenge the offence, *LA*, CXXV, p. 573.

[164] 'In the Middle Ages, the death of a single person and final death of this world stand equally as projection of a future, harbouring fear of judgement as well as hope for perfection', Gerhild Scholz Williams, *The Vision of Death: A Study of the "Memento Mori" Expressions in some Latin, German, and French Didactic Texts of the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1976), p. 1.

The actual fact of sinning appears more important in some of these accounts than the committed offence itself; all transgression constitutes disobedience or disregard of divine will and it is this aspect which appears to be wrathfully avenged. Many of the culpable misdeeds are minor and consist of acts contrary to church interests rather than Biblical sin, yet despite their inconsiderable nature they are unjustifiably penalized. Indeed the judgements, which can incorporate excessive violent beatings and death, are often worse in moral terms than the offences at fault. Nevertheless, such inequity appears inconsequential as the narratives dwell on the horrific pain experienced by the wrongdoers:

> Et tu inique totiens per oratorium meum transiens, nunquam aliquid mihi exhibuisti honoris, ut saltem vel una vice cervicem flecteres coram altari meo. Levansque pedem tam valide trusit eum in ventre, ut tam ex terrore increpationis, quam ex dolore tunsionis evigilaret. Ab illa enim hora coepit infirmari, et paulatim intumescente ventre ydropicus fieri, sicque vadens, donec invalescente morbo moreretur (*DM*, VIII/LII, p. 124)

Such descriptions of gratuitous violence constitute religious propaganda, as they attempt to deter or discourage all forms of dissent, disrespect, or critical expression – however light-hearted – through the creation of fear of severe retribution (cf. *DM*, IX/IX). A fear of reprisal can operate as a control mechanism, suppressing independent opinion and encouraging reverential non-critical behaviour towards the church and all its symbolic representations. Such depictions are theologically unsound in their exaggeration of the nature of divine wrath and the expansion of 'offences' deserving of retribution. The worst perpetrator of such inaccuracies is the *LA*, followed by the *DM*. Such alteration constitutes an abuse of power, carried out in order to create a general fear in the belief that it may benefit a few; theological accuracy is disregarded to this end. In contrast, these elements are largely absent from the *KC*, which aims to compile a Christian chronicle rather than attempt to forcibly alter the behaviour of its readers or listeners through the dissemination of fear. Such narratives could prove useful and edifying if focus remained on the possible consequences of immorality.

The character of Jesus, Mary, and the saints alters in several works, possessing a duality reminiscent of God in the OT, as they distribute both reward and punishment: 'Hoc tamen scias quod sicut cives superni visitant cum multa consolatione se diligentes, ita quandoque cum invectione et plagis se contemnentes' (*DM*, VIII/LI, p. 123). However, in contrast to God in the OT, retribution is predominantly exacted in the *LA* and *DM* through unrestrained physical attacks; the nature and manner of such assaults represents a debasement of the basic Biblical paradigm of retribution, in particular the direct involvement of sacred figures in merciless, vicious and often unjustifiable beatings:

> [...] ecce Nicolaus priori visibiliter apparuit terribilis, quem per capillos a lecto abstrahens dormitorii pavimento collisit incipiensque antiphonam: o pastor aeterne, per singulas vocum differentias virgis, quas in manu tenebat, gravissimos ictus super dorsum prioris ingeminans per ordinem morose canendo antiphonam ad finem usque perduxit. Qui cum omnes suis clamoribus excitasset, semivivus ad lectum deportatur (*LA*, CLXXXI, p. 842)[165]

Although technically mediators of divine judgement, the saints also appear to operate as independent agents, particularly in instances where they decide on suitable punishment or seek vengeance for personal slights or insults;[166] according to the *DM*, however, the activities of the sacred are always in accordance with divine will: 'Voluntas comprehensorum sic divinae voluntati unita est, ut non possint aliud velle, nisi quod illum noverint velle' (VIII/LII, p. 124). The loving, compassionate figures of Mary and Jesus also become wrathful although in contrast to the saints, their involvement remains indirect as they command death, aid a human to kill or impose pain through their symbolic representations as statues or crosses.[167] One especially crude example in the *DM* depicts a statue of Mary striking a supplicant sinner into an unconscious state (*DM*, VI/XXXIII, p. 42).[168] Violence rules even as a valid means of conversion:

> In cujus constructione quidam gentilis artifex erat, qui aliis die dominico sollemnizantibus solus opus suum exercebat. Adest sanctorum exercitus, rapitur, caeditur et arguitur, quod opus suum profanum assumserit et die dominica, cum alii divinis intenderent, ipse operibus mechanicis inhiaret. Correctus ad ecclesiam cucurrit et se fieri christianum postulavit (*LA*, CXLI, p. 631)

What is glaringly absent from such descriptions is tolerance, restraint and mercy; indeed the NT message of Jesus as regards loving your neighbour appears abandoned. The forced conversions also contravene the free will of humanity to follow Christ. The ease and excessive nature of vengeance is untheological as is the wrathful dimension to Jesus, Mary and the saints. The saints additionally pursue a private agenda in their protection of their respective personal cult; the benefits of honouring saints emerge in some punishment texts as wicked sinners are granted a second chance on account of their devotion to a saint or saints intervene to punish an offence against one of their supporters.[169] Such depictions clearly have propagandistic overtones. What becomes obvious through such narratives is that no doubt or perceived criticism will go

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[165] Cf. *DM*, VIII/LII, p. 124 and VIII/LXI, p. 134.

[166] The capricious nature of the saints constitutes a deviation from Christian tradition and appears more reflective of the character of heathen gods in Greek mythology.

[167] 'Nocte quadam, cum ex more dormiret aliis psallentibus, crucifixus de altari venit, dormitantem excitavit, et cum tanto nisu maxillam eius percussit, ut infra tertium diem moreretur', *DM*, IV/XXXVIII, p. 206. Cf. *KC*, 11294-5 and 11075-8.

[168] Cf. *DM*, VII/XLIII, p. 62 and VIII/XXV, p. 101. Others portray Mary dissuading a wrathful Jesus from destroying the sinful world (cf. *DM*, XII/LVIII, p. 362 and VII/II, p. 3).

[169] 'Saints also performed miracles to assist and to protect their devotees [...] To this latter end, saints performed various "negative" miracles, chastising and occasionally even killing those who had mistreated them or their supporters', Geary, p. 170.

unpunished. Such depictions seek to instil fear in the minds of the reader or listener in order to discourage any expression of doubt or criticism. They bring little in terms of spirituality as they primarily manipulate and induce fear rather than purvey Christian values. This aspect reveals an extraordinary mindset that is difficult to explain sociologically; their primary purpose appears to control Christian behaviour to further the power base of the Church rather than disseminate religious knowledge.

Similar to the Bible, various narrative mechanisms impart the punitive or chastising intent of suffering; these involve direct statements, announcements or warnings, direct and indirect speech, prayers or curses or the victims' perception of what has happened to them. The punitive purpose of most punishment narratives in the *LA* is indicated through a time correlation between the sinful act and the ensuing infliction: 'Quidam presbiter cum in convivio cum multis aliis esset et sancto Ambrosio detrahere coepisset, eum continuo plaga perculit et de convivio ad lectum ductus vitam finivit' (*LA*, LVII, p. 255). This aspect differs in the majority of punishment narratives in the *DM*, *KC*, *SV* and *EM* as the penalizing purpose is generally stated by the narrator: 'Post cuius discessum, Deus iudex iustus invidum infirmitate peremtoria flagellavit' (*DM*, IV/XXIV, p. 195).[170] When implicated in the *KC*, it is the wickedness of the sinner, which is generally stressed: 'Domîcîânus der verworhte, / der got niene vorhte, / der wart sô harte verfluochet, / daz sîn got niene ruochet: / er wart an dem lîbe uncreftic, / harte miselsuhtic' (*KC*, 5647-52). Warnings or announcements – either vocalised or written – are given by saints or fellow Christians in some works. Comparable to the Bible, they can offer a chance to repent and avert punishments but often the infliction of death or illness follows its announcement so swiftly that any possibility of pardon is effectively eliminated:[171]

> Praefectus post hoc Lucretius praedium ipsum intravit, ubi facto amicis suis convivio cum martiribus insultaret, infantulus quidam lactens pannis involutus de gremio matris, quae ibi aderat, cunctis audientibus exclamavit: audi, Lucreti, occidisti et invasisti, ecce datus es in possessionem inimici. Statimque Lucretius timens ac tremens a daemone arripitur et per tres horas adeo est vexatus, ut in ipso convivio moreretur (*LA*, CIV, p. 443)

On occasions where time is granted for reflection and change, warnings are generally only issued once although they can also be repeated on two or three occasions; they are, nevertheless, rarely heeded and once disregarded the predicted suffering ensues.[172] Even if warnings are taken to heart, spiritual change seldom results in an annulment of punishment; instead death may be postponed for three days to enable the sinner to perform penance (*LA*, XLVI, p.200) or punishment

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[170] 'dô rach si got sciere, / want er die cristen hête gelaidiget', *KC*, 14167-8.

[171] Merely one account in the *DM* offers a sinner opportunity to amend (VII/VIII), although the confession of a sinner at sea saves all from drowning (III/XXI).

[172] Cf. *LA*, XLVI, p. 199: 'Unde sanctus Gregorius ter ei apparuit et tunc blande de sua tenacia et detractione redarguit, sed ille se de nullo emendare curavit. Unde illi quarto terribiliter apparens illum corripuit et in capite letaliter percussit, cujus dolore vexatus in brevi vitam finivit'. Also, *LA*, CLV, p. 691; *LA*, XCIX, p. 429. See *EM*, 7, where 30 years is given for repentance.

may be altered from an eternal to a temporal one (*LA*, XLVI, p. 195). Only in the *SE* is a warning successful in revoking judgement, saving the town Ninnivë from imminent destruction as its citizens respond with prayer, alms, and a three-day fast. It is their unshakeable trust in divine mercy that proves instrumental in their response: 'Unser herri got der ist barmherz, der ist genadic, der ist ienti vastinde, der ist heilich' (*SE*, 25, 20-22). Warnings in the *EM* differ from the rest of the corpus as they entail a vision of the Final Judgement for the sinners in question, during which they are physically burned (cf. 64, 164 and 174). Not all works include the motif of forewarning; it is absent for example from the *KC*, although heathens are at times urged by Christians to convert in order to be saved, but they refuse.[173]

Although the merits of saints or the offering of alms and prayers can decrease the pain of those suffering in Purgatory (cf. *DM*, XII/XXXIX, p. 348), relatives rarely act on the behalf of those struck dead, who are incapable of response. Several make offerings and pray for the pardon of individuals in order that they may rest in peace (cf. *LA*, V, p. 34 and XLIX, p. 211) while the pious gestures of others prove successful in attaining their revival from the dead.[174] Those inflicted with suffering react in various ways; many fail to respond at all, regardless of the duration of suffering, which can last for hours, days (usually three), months, or years, while others respond inappropriately by approaching idols for relief or by committing suicide.[175] Some sufferers accept the punishment as deserved and do not seek alleviation of pain (*LA*, XLVI, p. 197) while others perform penance in preparation for death rather than in the hope of attaining healing. The endurance of inflicted suffering may also count as penance, permitting some individuals to bypass Purgatory (*EM*, 50, p. 211). There is no guarantee that a penitent response will result in a restoration to health as some are refused healing for their spiritual good to prevent a relapse into sin[176] and others remain dead as a warning to others. Some respond religiously through performing penance, receiving communion and anointing, but if contrition is insincere or confession is scorned, they will be consequently damned (cf. *DM*, XI/LI, pp. 306-7):

> Unum bonum mihi defuit, sine quo nullum horum, quae enumerata sunt, mihi prodesse potuit [...] Vera contritio. Licet enim Deo promiserim consilio confessoris mei continentiam, sive alia quae salutis sunt, tamen dicebat mihi conscientia, quia si convalueris, observare non poteris. Et quia cor magis declinabat ad transgressionem, quam ad voti observationem, nullius peccati merui remissionem. Deus requirit fixum propositum poenitendi (*DM*, II/XV, pp. 83-84)

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[173] 'ich lîde ê von dir den tôt, / ê ich geloube an dînen got. / unt lâze die sêle ê iemer in der helle, / ê ich mich in dem wazzer toufen welle', *KC*, 11288-91.

[174] Cf. *LA*, III, p. 27 and LXIV, p. 202. Some are revived to perform penance: cf. *EM*, 44 and 195.

[175] Suicide can also, however, be attributed to God: cf. *DM*, II/XIII and IV/XLIV; *KC*, 6619-21.

[176] Cf. *LA*, XLVI, p. 198, where two sorcerers, who admit guilt and are baptised are refused healing for fear they may practise magic again. They are, however, provided for by church funds.

An unusual and untheological aspect outlined in the *SV* involves the infliction of death or suffering prior to committing sin as a merciful protective measure for the soul. Infliction occurs through an angel and involves striking dead a would-be transgressor, and also a baby, whose presence causes its parents to neglect the church (*SV*, CIX, 179). In a similar vein, the *LA* portrays the handing over of a sinner to Satan in order to prevent further sin (LVII, p. 253). Such intervention disregards free will and the possibility of a change of heart.

Certain imposed conditions such as possession and madness hinder or prevent reaction as God appears to no longer permit repentance (cf. *DM*, I/XIV, pp. 20-21). In such instances, even the religious actions of others prove useless.[177] According to the *EM*, some sins are unforgivable, often regardless of the remorse shown by the sinner: '[...] auariciam, perfidiam, desperacionem, astuciam [...] Istos peccatores ad suum artum infernum deducet dyabolus, vbi secum perpetuo torquebuntur, quia ista peccata quatuor quasi numquam uel rarissime remittuntur nec peccatorem de ipsis penitere uel satisfacere permittunt' (*EM*, 184, pp. 382-83).[178] However, from the perspective of medieval theology, no sin is too grave to be forgiven: 'Neither in Hermas nor elsewhere are schismatics, heretics or fornicators who are truly contrite excluded from reconciliation with the Church. There is no indication of capital sins which are fundamentally unforgivable [...]. The view that God always forgives the person who is repentant is in evidence everywhere'.[179] Furthermore Jesus proclaims in the NT that salvation is attainable through faith: 'Go into the whole world and proclaim the gospel to every creature. Whoever believes and is baptised will be saved; whoever does not believe will be condemned' (Mt 16:15-6). In contrast to the *EM*, the *DM* reassures that even mortal sins can be forgivable: 'Maior est Dei misericordia, quam sit iniquitas tua' (II/II, p. 58).[180] This requires contrition, however, which in turn requires the gift of divine grace; without this, one is damned (cf. *DM*, II/V, p. 65; II/VI, p. 67) although some by their merits can obtain grace for others (*DM*, II/XVIII, p. 88). For those who die unforgiven, their damnation is generally indicated through the presence of circling crows, black cats, wolves or demons at the moment of death: 'die tievel kômen dar / mit ainer micheln scar / in swarzer vogele pilede. / in ainem michelem genibele / nâmen si die sêle: / die helle bûwet si iemer mêre. / der lîchnâme was unraine, / die wolfe frâzen sîn gebaine' (*KC*, 4293-300).

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[177] 'Mox accurrens magister Oliverus cum clericis, hominem signavit, et in ecclesiam tractum coram altari deposuit, ubi multas blasphemias et verba quaedam horribilia miser ille in Deum et in eundem Oliverum evomuit', *DM*, IV/X, p. 182.

[178] See also. *LA*, XLVIII, p. 204, and XLI, p. 175, where individuals die painful deaths despite confessing or acknowledging sin. This differs considerably from the 19th century, where 'Redemptive theology, whether religious or secularised excluded the idea of the doomed culprit [...] the man sundered from grace, who, wanting to pray, cannot. In the hour of truth the criminal will be possessed with creatice remorse, the crime will be undone, the error rectified', Patrick Reilly, *The Literature of Guilt: From Gulliver to Golding* (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1988), p. 2.

[179] Karl Rahner, Rahner, Karl, *Penance in the Early Church*, trans. by Lionel Swain, Theological Investigations, 15 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983), p. 9. 'No sin, no crime is, pace the Augustinian reading of divine law [...] too grave for repentance. None is extraterritorial to hope. Where remorse is spiritually authentic, where punishment is borne as a salvational visitation from God, pardon and blessing can follow', Ernst Friedrich Ohly, *The Damned and the Elect: Guilt in Western Culture*, trans. by Linda Archibald (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. xiii. '[...] at the great Council of Nicaea AD 325 the Church claimed her right to reconcile any sinner on earth, no matter how grave his offence, providing that he was truly penitent, appealing to an ancient and canonical law as authority.' Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 38.

[180] Cf. *DM*, II/I, p. 56.

The physical punishment of some sinners continues after death, where they, together with those judged at death, suffer Purgatorial pain or eternal damnation in Hell. This situation is reflected in several exempla and legendaries through multiple depictions of post-mortem torment, where unusually, the physical body rather than the non-spatial soul suffers.[181] This aspect is usually described in graphic detail and confirmed through dreams or visions (cf. *EM*, 2):

> Videbatur siquidem ipsi in visione, quod per quendam virum reuerendum, scilicet per beatum Petrum apostolum, quem specialiter honorabat, ad locum deterrimum deferretur, in quo, cum plurimos in penis grauibus conspexisset, vidit vnum super cratem poni et a demonibus decoriari et ad ignem maximam assari [...] Ecce, deus uisitauit plebem suam; ecce, ostendit tibi, quomodo tui similes paciuntur. Caue ergo, inquit, ne tibi deterius contingat (*EM*, 39, pp. 262-3)[182]

In such accounts sinners are frequently tormented through the medium of their sins.[183] With virtually no hope of redemption from Hell,[184] only the spiritual acts of the living can help, with such measures as alms, prayers, masses, fasting, and watching lessening the pains of those in Purgatory or Hell (*DM*, XII/XIV, p. 326; I/XXXIV) or securing the release of souls from Purgatory (*DM*, XII, XXIV, p. 336). Such depictions of horrific suffering, inflicted by merciless malignant beings, aim to generate fear in the reader or listener and to encourage a focus on spirituality in the hope that it may result in an amended lifestyle. Furthermore, the control of the Church over the welfare of souls in Purgatory and Hell creates power in that it reinforces the efficacy of the sacraments, encouraging a reliance among Christians eager to aid deceased family and friends. Examples of post-mortem punishments are present in most of the exempla collections although the *SV* is exceptional in that it contains more post-mortem than temporal ones (cf. CCXCIV, p. 263 and CLXXVI, p. 205). The *SE* also focuses predominately on divine retribution in the afterlife, specifically on the Final Judgment (110, 4-9), but in contrast to the *SV*, it supplies ample spiritual instruction to encourage Christians and to aid salvation of the soul (19, 2-6).

Most afflictions in the *LA*, *DM*, *KC*, *SV*, and *EM* punish rather than chastise sinners. Consequently few are cured, an element, which does not instil confidence in the reader or listener as to the reality of divine mercy and forgiveness; this aspect invokes fear and reinforces the need to avoid sin in the first place. The intent to chastise is specified on occasion: 'Volens illum pius Dominus a tanto errore misericorditer revocare et reducere ad mentem, infirmitate periculosa coepit eum flagellare' (*DM*, I/XXVII, p. 33). Furthermore, some temporary and self-healing conditions

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[181] According to Jacques Le Goff, however, the soul is capable of feeling pain: 'Once separated from the body, the soul was endowed with a materiality *sui generis* and punishment could then be inflicted upon it in Purgatory as though it were corporeal', *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scholar, 1984), p. 6.

[182] Cf. 'Deducto misero ad loca poenarum, in quibus nihil aliud erat nisi planctus, fletus, et stridor dentium, [...]. Illo valde reluctante, cum nihil proficeret, imo coactus biberet, flamma sulphurea de oculis, auribus, naribusque eius erupit', *DM*, XII/II, pp. 316-7.

[183] Cf. *DM*, XII/XXI, p. 331: 'Infantem hunc concepi et parturivi, animatum interfeci: unde illum indesinenter in tormentis circumfero, et est mihi ignis ardens et devorans'. Also: *DM*, II/VII, p. 72.

[184] Exceptions do occur, however, where God rescues sinners from Hell: *DM*, XII/XXIII, p. 334.

such as bruising through beatings appear to rebuke and prove effective at reforming the individuals concerned; they can simultaneously chastise and reform transgressors of such sin as vainglory and love-sickness.[185] Unusually, medical intervention heals in one account as a man is saved from choking by a blow to the back (*DM*, IV/LXXXIX). In narratives which underline the spiritual benefits of physical pain, saints refuse to cure some sinners despite pleas for intercession, as virtues are learnt through suffering (*DM*, X/LVI). In one instance, a pious scholar instead of praying for healing, requests that the suffering of a knight be doubled as it had changed the knight from a lion into a lamb (*SV*, CIII, 177). Successful methods of invoking healing are evident in the corpus and include belief and baptism, genuine repentance, vows, prayers or choosing monastic life (cf. *DM*, VII/VIII and IV/XXIV). Some of the afflicted in the *LA* receive instructions in visions of angels or saints and are healed upon compliance or simply upon awakening after the experience. Others (or their relatives or friends) seek the intercession of saints or the prayers of religious figures rather than praying directly to God. Those who suffer due to disbelief in relics or miracles are cured if they express belief in such phenomena; others tackle the cause of their affliction by destroying idols or restoring stolen goods. Healing, however, is never permanent as it can be rescinded should the individual lapse back into sin or refuse to keep promises.[186]

Similar to the healing-centred narratives, belief can occasionally be a consequence rather than a prerequisite of a cure (cf. *LA*, CXXVII, p. 577):

> Cum ergo tribus diebus sine cibo et potu ac somno doloribus nimium cruciati mansissent, apostoli venientes ad eos dixerunt: non dignatur dominus habere coacta servitia, ideoque surgite sani et abite habentes liberam facultatem faciendi, quae vultis. Illi autem in militia perdurantes ab iis fugerunt et paene contra eos totam Babyloniam commoverunt (*LA*, CLIX, pp. 709-10)

Others are converted upon witnessing an infliction such as corporate ones, where groups suffer on account of a leader. Here, however, it is the leader who is converted and once this is attained, no further mention is made of the afflicted or whether they are subsequently healed. Overall, healing is mediated through angels or saints in the *LA* and is generally automatic with little detail supplied. It occasionally incorporates surgical-type operations but in contrast to the pain-free ones experienced in the healing-centred paradigm, these cause pain to the sinner and denote its deserved nature.[187] Cures need not be immediate; some are gradual and involve two stages to encourage persistence and dependency (cf. *LA*, CXVIII, p. 504 and CXXV, p. 573). Oddly, some cures involve sinful acts such as the martyrdom of Christians. Here the religiously oppressed stipulate the condition that

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[185] 'Licet gravis esset alapha, prorsus tamen a tentatione per illam fuit liberata. Durus morbus duram requirit medicinam', *DM*, VII/XXXIII, p. 42. Cf. *DM*, VII/LV; *EM*, 121.

[186] Cf. *LA*, II, pp. 21-22; *DM*, III/XVII.

[187] '[…] impetravit statimque sanctus Hyppolitus tibiam de foramine accipiens loco suo quasi surculum arbori in memento inseruit. In qua insitione tantos dolores sensit, ut suis clamoribus totam familiam excitaret, quia surgentes et lumen accendentes Petrum duo crura et duas tibias habere conspiciunt [...]', *LA*, CXVIII, p. 504. Cf. CLIX, p. 709, where snakes cause greater suffering withdrawing their venom than they did injecting it.

they be martyred and thereby attain eternal life, while simultaneously providing the means to a cure for the suffering oppressor. The latter involves post-mortem intercession for healing by the martyr for his persecutor (*LA*, XLVII, pp. 202-203) or alternatively the application of his blood to the affected area of the tyrant, which usually involves the eyes:

> [...] crastina die consummandus sum, tu igitur, tyranne, lutum de sanguine meo facies et oculum inunges et sanitatem recipies. Tunc jussu regis ad decollandum ducitur et ibi fusa oratione decollatur, rex autem modicum de sanguine ejus accipiens et super oculum suum ponens ait: in nomine Dei et sancti Christophori, et continuo sanus effectus est. Tunc rex credidit dans praeceptum, ut, si quis Deum et sanctum Christophorum blasphemaret, continuo gladio feriretur (*LA*, C, p. 434)

One of the very few successful healings of afflictions in the *KC* is detailed in the Crescentia legend; this involves several inflictions as four men - the twin brothers *Dieterîche* and the *herzoge* and the *vizzetuom* – become leprous as a punishment for their unjust persecution of Crescentia. A different framework is evident here as external beauty no longer symbolises internal purity as rather than the *ungetâner Dietrîche*, it is the *scône Dieterîche* who is immoral and lured into sin by the Devil (11489-93). The narrative contains duplicate episodes of infliction and cure with emphasis resting on the culpable actions of the perpetrators rather than on the imposition of disease, which is brief despite its pivotal nature in the text. In both episodes the sinners differ greatly in terms of guilt as one character – the *scône Dieterîche* and the *vizzetuom* – incurs this consciously through merciless maltreatment of Crescentia[188] and the other character – the *ungetâne Dieterîche* and the *herzoge* – unconsciously through a passive failure to defend or to protect her.[189]

Retribution proves swift as the guilty become leprous at the precise moment that Crescentia is pushed to her death. Despite the vast differences in sin between the four characters, their punishment is surprisingly undifferentiated:

> Dô rihte got gelîche
> uber die zwêne Dieterîche:
> si wurden miselsuhtich,
> hart uncreftich,
> an dem selben stunden,
> dô man die frowen warf zuo dem grunde (11890-5)[190]

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[188] 'Dô tet er ir mit flîze / manig itwîze, / des laides nedûht in niht genuoch: / mit der vûste er si in den munt sluoch, / daz si niene mahte sprechen', 12335-9.

[189] The *herzoge* initially desires to release Crescentia without harm for fear of incurring guilt but allows himself to be convinced by the *vizzetuom* that God will not avenge this act: '[...] hêten wir si erhangen, / sô wære iedoch der scade ergangen: / wir nemahten es niht gebuozen. / wir suln si gên lâzen, / werven ir sache, / daz si uns nehaine sunde mêr nemache', 12307-12.

[190] Cf. 'Dô rihte got daz unreht / uber den hêrren unt uber den chneht: / si wurden miselsuhtich, / harte uncreftich, / an allen ir lîbe. / si hêten iz wol verdienet an dem wîbe', 12359-64.

Little description is given of the disease, its symptoms or the suffering experienced by the perpetrators; we learn only that the disease is progressive and fatal (12692-6) and severe in nature (12609-11). Its psychological effects are indicated through the *herzoge*, who appears to lapse into a depression, withdrawing from others, refusing food and breathing shallowly. Despite the correlation in time between misdeed and disease, the lepers fail to realise its significance or react in a spiritual manner.

The sacredness of Crescentia is the antithesis of the immorality of her enemies with her virtue indicated through her willingness to die an undeserved and unjust death on two occasions: 'hêrre, enphâch mînen gaist! / want dû mîn sculde wol waist' (12353-4). Such a disposition is generally considered admirable as Baasch declares Crescentia's response as 'eine echte christliche Haltung',[191] Pesza stresses her rejection of personal retribution and Ohly highlights her disregard for the opinions of others, secure in her innocence before God: 'Die innere Gewissheit der Unschuld vor den Augen Gottes ist mächtig und verleiht solche Ruhe, daß der Gedanke an die Meinung der Menge ganz außer Betracht bleibt'.[192] Nevertheless, it is important to question the motivation of the victim as Crescentia does not die for her faith; in fact her death succeeds only in concealing the villains and her virtual absence of defence creates the impression that Crescentia avails of this opportunity to attain eternal life. Her sanctity is, however, unquestionable and is underlined throughout the narrative through her willingness to forgive her enemies and her sympathy for their deserved suffering. Biblical connotations confirm her holiness, as divine intervention rescues Crescentia from death on two occasions through the medium of a fisherman and St Peter after she floats for three days.[193] Her resilience in the face of such adversity reveals the depth of her spirituality as Crescentia never despairs or considers suicide; despite her temporary belief that God has forsaken her, she accepts her fate. Her exemplary qualities are ultimately validated through the divinely bestowed ability to heal those who openly confess their sins.

Crescentia eventually heals three of her four leprous persecutors.[194] Understandably only those with lesser guilt - the *herzoge* and the *ungetâner Dierterîche* – are willing to comply with the stipulation of an open confession with the rejection or extreme reluctance of the other two symptomatic of their guilt. However, those who incurred unconscious guilt require prompting (the *herzoge*) or divine assistance (the *ungetâne Dieterîche*) to comprehend this fact, as both presume that they released a guilty woman to be punished: 'ich nemach niemer gedenken des ich wider gotes hulden habe getan' (12642-3). Once realized, their repentance is genuine.[195] The magnanimous disposition of Crescentia is particularly evident in her endeavours to secure secular pardon and protection prior to confession for the *scône Dieterîche* and the *vizzetuom*. This fails

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[191] Karen Baasch, *Die Crescentialegende in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), p. 92.
[192] Tibor Friedrich Pézsa, *Studien zur Erzähltechnik und Figurenzeichnung in der deutschen 'Kaiserchronik'*, Germ.Abh., 20 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1993), p. 184; Ohly, *Sage*, p. 197.
[193] The number three is 'die Zahl der Vollkommenheit und der Vollendung, der Schlüssel des Weltganzen und damit das passendste Symbol Gottes [...]', Gerd Heinz-Mohr, *Lexikon der Symbole: Bilder und Zeichen der christlichen Kunst* (München: Diederichs, 1998), p. 337.
[194] Some voice faith in her healing abilities: 'ruorest dû mich sô ungesunden, / sô wird ich sciere enbunden / der suhte joch der sêre. / jâ volge ich gerne dîner lêre', 12629-32.
[195] 'uû riwet iz mich vil sêre / unt wil iz gerne buozen iemer mêre', 12471-2.

with the *vizzetuom*, who is drowned as a worldly punishment for his crime against God and Crescentia: 'dô valten in die sunde' (12570).[196] Nevertheless, the *scôner Dieterîche* is absolved despite the grievous nature of his sin and the fact that he does not seem to be genuinely remorseful. Inner contrition is not a prerequisite, which consists simply of the fulfillment of an open confession.[197] This does not correlate with historical reality as both repentance and penance are necessary; the former to absolve incurred guilt and the latter to annul its punishment. It is the open confession which is not necessary: 'All the theologians of the twelfth century are above all convinced that true sorrow obtains the forgiveness of sins before confession [...] For a long time the obligation to confess lacked a solid basis and was by no means always justified by the ex institutione sacramenti of the Council of Trent'.[198] After confession, the healing procedure evokes NT miracles as the sick are cured upon complying with the instruction to stand: 'diu frowe hiez in ûf stân / gesunt sam er ê was' (12644-5). Crescentia does not claim the glory for these miracles but humbly clarifies that Christ is the *medicus* (12481-3 and 12583-90). The experience appears to successfully chasten *Dieterîche der scône* as he along with Crescentia and the *ungetâne Dieterîche*, is ultimately rewarded with eternal life. Although this legend highlights the divine protection of the righteous, religious propaganda is noticeable in the means of reconciliation as public confession: 'Das Schwergewicht dieser Legende liegt jedoch in der Darstellung des Wunders der Beichte'.[199] Through emphasizing the danger of unconscious guilt, public confession is advocated for all.

5.3.1.2 Suffering as Punishment or Chastisement in *Silvester*, *Parzival*, *Engelhard* and *Armer Heinrich*

Having looked at a number of collections, which generally involve short narratives by anonymous authors, I will now focus on longer works, usually with identifiable authors. In Konrad's *Silv* the heathen emperor Constantine is inflicted with leprosy as a punishment for his persistent and cruel persecution of Christians.[200] This impacts upon his power and reputation:

> des kêrte zuo dem mâle
> got ûf in die râche sîn.
> er tet an im vil harte schîn
> daz er ie was gewaltic

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[196] Different opinions exist as to why he dies, with Baasch, p. 106 claiming that he as 'ain gotes widerwarte' (12104 and 12243) is identified with evil whereas Dieterîche is merely tempted by the devil (11489). In contrast, Ohly, *Sage*, p. 189, believes that Dieterîche survives because he has to become kaiser.

[197] Although Baasch, p. 116, believes that Crescentia forgives the sinner, I agree with Ingo Nöther, *Die geistlichen Grundgedanken im Rolandslied und in der Kaiserchronik*, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Dissertationen, 2 (Hamburg: Lüdke, 1970), p. 198, that it is God, who forgives them.

[198] Rahner, p. 15-17.

[199] Baasch, p. 52. Also Bruno Berger and Heinz Rupp, eds, 'Crescentialegende', in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Biographisch-Bibliographisches Handbuch*, 3rd rev. edn (Francke: Bern, 1969), II, col. 826-28 (col. 826).

[200] 'doch was er ungeloubhaft / und streit vil sêre wider gote. / er hæte dô mit sîme gebote / verderbet vil der kristen, / ern wolte keinen vristen / der an got geloubte. / des lîbes er beroubte / getoufter liute ein wunder / und leite an si dar under / vil marterlicher quâle', 880-9.

und daz vil manicvaltic
ist sîn êre und sîn genuht.
er sluoc in mit der miselsuht
dur sîne bitterlichen art,
sô daz er ûzsetzic wart
und amme lîbe wart entstalt. (890-9)

When advised by a sorcerer of the curative property of blood and the necessity of the sacrifice of 3,000 children, Constantine is initially unperturbed by the thought of such mass slaughter. He first considers its consequences upon witnessing the grief of the mothers of the children. Despite the fact that he is heathen, Constantine comprehends that through this act he will incur guilt in the eyes of God: 'ich weiz ân allen zwîvel wol, / sô vil hie kinde wirt erslagen, / daz ich sô mange schulde tragen / muoz vor gotes ougen' (1022-25). Divine grace permits this insight, which leads to remorse, evident in the tears of Constantine, who is portrayed from the onset as a potential Christian.[201] Unusually for this genre, Constantine is converted by this experience, as he praises God and rejects a cure which would lead to eternal damnation (1073-4). Like Heinrich in the *AH*, the renunciation of healing signifies an acceptance of suffering and correspondingly, divine will: 'gesiget gotes wille an mir, / sô trage ich doch die sigenuft, / wand ich vil strenger sünden guft / mit senften und mit süezen siten / hab an mir selben überstriten (1148-52).

Constantine now becomes 'der keiser tugentsam' (1202) and his merciful compassion towards the children instigates the healing process as he is requited with a divine vision of Peter and Paul: 'daz sô milte wære dû / und alsô tugentrîch gemuot / daz dû der kleinen kinde bluot / niht woltes lân vergiezen, / des sol dîn lîp geniezen / an disem grôzen siechtagen' (1218-23). As instructed, he seeks Silvester and prepares for baptism by declaring his faith, giving alms to the poor, and fasting for three days in haircloth and sackcloth. A new element is evident in the normal pattern of Sin–Suffering–Repentance–Restoration as, rather than repentance for the penalized offence (the persecution of Christians), an unrelated act of mercy (the rejection of the blood cure) triggers the healing process as Constantine is rewarded with the vision of Peter and Paul. Nevertheless, he must express sincere remorse for his persecutory actions before healing occurs: '[...] lâ dich riuwen daz dû bist / gewesen nû vil lange vrist / in alsô grôzer irrekeit / daz diu vil reine kristenheit / zerstœret ist durch dîn gebot' (1559-63). Silvester as the agent of divine intervention commences the miracle through prayer after the baptism of Constantine; a great light appears and Constantine is cured by Christ (1848-51). Similar to *Dieterîche der schône* in the *KC*, the outcome for Constantine is positive, in comparison to the fate of similar transgressors in the exempla collections. This is due to the spiritual role of Constantine as he becomes the first Christian emperor.

[201] 'sus vlôz im âne lougen / diu sælde in sînes herzen grunt / daz in vil sêre bî der stunt / der missetât bevilte / [...] / vil heize bî den stunden / begunde weinen Constantîn: / diu keiserlichen ougen sîn / von rehter milte wurden naz', 1026-39.

The *KC* also contains a version of this legend albeit with significant differences. Rather than constituting a punishment, God imposes an unspecified illness in order to convert Constantine to Christianity. It appears at face value more as a healing-centred paradigm rather than a suffering-centred one as Constantine seems innocent of transgression despite the fact that he is heathen: 'diu kuonen Romære / rewelten sancte Elenen sun, / den tiuren Constantînum. / der hêrre was dannoh haiden, / iedoh was er vil bescaiden' (7807-11). However, several aspects reveal the punitive nature of his suffering as the narrative depicts the moment of infliction (as shown in chapter 3 this is absent from healing-centred paradigms) and hints of the cruelty of this ruler are discernible: 'der wolf wart ze scâfe' (7952).[202] Most sinful elements are, however, repressed by the writer. Aspects of the blood cure differ in that it is advised by a 'wîse man' (7818), who stipulates that all children must be under the age of two. Similar to the version of Konrad, Constantine becomes Christian at the moment he repents and rejects the cure: 'nu verbiete mirz mîn trehtîn: / bezzer ist, daz ih aine resterbe, / ê sô manich menniske von mînen sculden rewerde' (7837-9). In the healing process the purpose of conversion is stressed[203] while the penitential measures outlined in *Silv* are omitted; healing is swift as the stream is blessed and Constantine is immersed three times and cured. As a Christian emperor, he acknowledges the superior power of Divinity: 'gote wart er undertân' (7960).

Parz presents a deviation from the basic paradigm of Sin–Suffering–Repentance–Restoration as neither contrition nor reform play a role in the healing of the infliction. Anfortas receives a symbolic poisonous wound to the groin as a divine punishment for his youthful arrogance in pursuing *Minne* against the rules of the Grail; this wound is indirectly imposed through a heathen in a duel, in which Anfortas participates as a service to Orgeluse (lit. *superbia*). In defiance of the stipulation that he as guardian of the Grail, must remain free from sin and accept the woman divinely chosen for him, Anfortas insolently pursues his own love interests, showing a lack of *diemuot*, and is guilty of *hôchvart*: 'Instead of showing humility to his Creator, he fell prey to *superbia*. [...] He represents symbolically mankind in its fallen state, having broken the law of God'.[204] Curiously, despite its religious calling, the Grail community turns to God only as a last resort after attempting all conceivable medicinal and supernatural cures.[205] Although Anfortas is obviously guilty, neither he nor the community associates his suffering with divine wrath nor does the community intercede in the hope of attaining forgiveness for Anfortas. Indeed there is no mention of Anfortas attempting anything; he remains a passive figure with only the actions of others such as the community and Parzival described. It is interesting that, in contrast to Anfortas, Parzival is not afflicted for his sinfulness: 'Like Anfortas, Parzival is a sinner, a member of the race of Adam, in need of redemption. The sins of Parzival are, it is true, of a different kind from those of

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[202] Cf. also the presumption of Silvester that he will be martyred by Constantine (7878-9).

[203] 'daz hât dir got ze liebe getân. / nû mache dich ime gehôrsam, / volge der gotes lêre / [...] / got hât dirz getân ze minnen: / er wil dich im selbem ze ainem dienestman gewinnen', 7922-31.

[204] H. B. Willson, 'The Grail King in Wolfram's Parzival', *MLR*, 55 (1960), 553-63 (p. 554).

[205] '[...] Munsalvæsche symbolises an especially blessed way of life to which God calls certain of his elect. [...] Their order demands of them a greater self-sacrifice, a more nearly perfect surrender to God, a higher degree of *kiusche* than is required of others', Hugh Sacker, *An Introduction to Wolfram's 'Parzival'* (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), p. 127.

Anfortas, but it is a difference of detail'.[206] For all its religious content, *Parz* remains a 'Roman', reflecting in many ways the secularity of such works as 'Iwein' or 'Erec'. Its focus in this instance concerns the fulfilment of the hero Parzival.

The means to a cure for Anfortas are inscribed upon the Grail and are first noticed by the community when they finally throw themselves before it in despair:

> '[...] dar solde ein ritter komen:
> wurde des vrâge aldâ vernomen,
> sô solde der kumber ende hân:
> ez waere kint magt oder man,
> daz in der vrâge warnet iht,
> sone solt diu vrâge helfen niht,
> wan daz der schade stüende als ê
> und herzelîcher taete wê. / [...] /
> Vrâgt er niht bî der êrsten naht,
> sô zergêt sîner vrâge maht.
> wirt sîn vrâge an rehter zît getân,
> sô sol er daz künecrîche hân,
> unt hât der kumber ende
> von der hôhsten hende.
> dâ mit ist Anfortas genesen,
> ern sol aber niemer künec wesen' (483, 21 – 484, 8)

The cure is complex as only a specific knight can release Anfortas from his suffering through expressing a question of compassion at a particular time. It is unique in the corpus and differs from the typical suffering-centred narrative in disconnecting the actions of the sinner and the healing process. Even if Anfortas is contrite and penitent, it is inconsequential for his illness; despite sin being the causal factor in its infliction, contrition is no longer the causal factor in its healing. Not even the pious efforts of his brother Trevrizent, who becomes a hermit on his behalf, can relieve his pain: 'der vierde hât armuot, / durch got vür sünde er daz tuot' (251, 13-14). As only the next chosen guardian of the Grail can aid Anfortas, community efforts are redirected towards alleviating pain rather than securing a cure and the narrative focus shifts from the suffering sinner to his mediator of healing – Parzival, who must prove his loyalty (477, 27) before replacing Anfortas as guardian of the Grail.[207] In contrast to the other intermediaries of miraculous healing in the corpus, Parzival is the only secular one and it is he, who must mature spiritually rather than the sinner, in order to mediate healing.

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[206] Willson, 'Grail King', p. 562.

[207] Richard Schrodt, 'Anfortas' Leiden', in *Festgabe für Otto Höfler zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Helmut Birkhan (Vienna: Braumüller, 1976), pp. 589-626 (p. 618).

Parzival fails to ask the redeeming question when he first encounters Anfortas. Although Duckworth claims that this omission reveals the self-centeredness of Parzival, his failure is not due to disinterest or dispassion but largely a consequence of the courtly instruction that it is impolite to ask questions (239, 10-17). He makes an error of judgment as he adheres too closely to the courtly code and is exposed as being spiritually immature. Despite the minor nature of his mistake, it is interpreted as a mortal sin: 'iu gap iedoch der wirt ein swert, / des iuwer wirde wart nie wert: / da erwarb iu swîgen sünden zil. / ir sît der hellehirten spil' (316, 21-4).[208] Parzival, now aware that something is amiss with his courtly education,[209] does not turn to religion for an answer; he rejects God in the belief that He has abandoned him.[210] In the meanwhile the horrific pain experienced by Anfortas continues unabated, worsening under particular astrological influences. It is not diminished by religious measures, which seems merciless and harsh; only physical efforts such as the reinsertion of the poisonous spear into the wound bring any relief (490, 15).[211]

Four and a half years pass between the first and the second attempt of Parzival during which Anfortas is forcibly kept alive by the sight of the Grail, which prevents any release through death. Its unbearable nature is imparted through Anfortas' despair and attempted suicide (788, 21-29)[212] and impacts upon the entire community: 'Munsalvaesche ist *erden wunsches riche* [sic] (250, 25), yet, although the community lives in this paradise, they cannot enjoy it. It is, in fact, a paradise lost, for although the Grail remains to them, they are absorbed in their misery and long for the coming of the 'redeemer', who will release their ruler and themselves from the bondage of sin'.[213] Parzival is unable to find his way back to Munsalvaesche and does not seek God until advised to do so by Sigune as a means of reaching Anfortas: 'nu helfe dir des hant, / dem aller kumber ist bekant; / ob dir sô wol gelinge, / daz dich ein slâ dar bringe, / aldâ du Munsalvaesche sihest, / dâ du mir dîner vröuden gihest' (442, 9-14). He visits the hermit Trevrizent in order to gain forgiveness for his sins, having been persuaded to do so by some pilgrims, symbolically on Good Friday (448, 22-24). Following the advice of Trevrizent to trust God and perform penance for his sins, Parzival finally confesses his guilt: 'ich hân sô sêre missetân' (488, 9).[214] He receives absolution after a fifteen day period of sleeping on straw and surviving on herbs and roots and undertakes no further attempt to seek Munsalvaesche until Cundrie informs him that he will be the new guardian of the Grail and the redeemer of Anfortas (781, 15-29).

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[208] Cf. 473, 14-18; 473, 18-19; 255, 1-20; 501, 1-4. As these are 'unbewußte und ungewollte Sünde', Parzival represents fallen man rather than an individual sinner: Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, 6th edn, SM, 36 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1991), p. 130.

[209] 'Sol ich durch mîner zuht gebot / hoeren nu der werlte spot, / sô mac sîn râten niht sîn ganz [...]', 330, 1-3.

[210] 'ich was im dienstes undertân, / sît ich genâden mich versan. / nu wil ich im dienst widersagen: / hât er haz, den wil ich tragen', 332, 5-8. 'ichn suochte niht wan strîten. / ouch trage ich hazzes vil gein gote: / wand er ist mîner sorgen tote', 461, 8-10.

[211] See Groos, 'Grail King', pp. 74-86; ibid., 'Fisher King', pp. 275-304.

[212] According to Willson, his suffering demonstrates the effects of sin: 'Anfortas is a living example of what sin can do and has done to man, made in the image of God and once resembling him', Willson, 'Grail King', p. 550.

[213] Willson, 'Grail King', p. 562.

[214] On the sins of Parzival see: C. H. Myller, 'Wolfram von Eschenbach', *VL*, ed. by Kurt Ruh and others, 2nd rev. edn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), X, col. 1376-97, (col. 1388).

Although faith in the mediator of a miracle is a general requirement in this paradigm, Anfortas is understandably doubtful and asks that Parzival aid him to die in the event of failure.[215] No religious measures are required of Anfortas as he is simply passively present as the bearer of deserved suffering.[216] Narrative focus remains on Parzival, whose spiritual transformation is evident in his humble behaviour as he genuflects three times before the Grail and prays to God to heal Anfortas before asking 'diu vrâge ruowe' (797, 22): 'oeheim, waz wirret dir?' (795, 29).[217] Healing is instantaneous with its divine origin apparent in the rejuvenation of Anfortas, whose beauty now surpasses that of Parzival.[218] Such beauty symbolises his spiritual purity and suggests that his years of extreme suffering substituted for penance. Healing occurs despite the non-compliance of Parzival with the stipulations inscribed upon the Grail; he does not act in accordance with the time specified and has additionally been well-informed about the importance of the question. He, however, places his trust in God and asks the question with true compassion.[219] His effectiveness as a mediator demonstrates his spiritual maturity and sanctity.[220] In spite of its theological inaccuracies, the poem signals the possibility of successfully combining courtly ideals and the requirements of religion in order to attain the mercy of God.[221]

5.3.2 Suffering as a Means of Transmitting Messages

A new category within the suffering-centred paradigm emerges in the *LA* and involves the transmission of divine messages through an infliction of suffering. Both groups and individuals suffer from such conditions as death, plague, possession, injuries, the loss of an eye, paralysis, beatings and stigmata, without any implication that this is deserved. Imposition can be direct or indirect, e.g., through angels, saints or demons, and its purpose is to impart information or meaning, such as the divine wish that particular individuals enter monastic life or become pope, to impart the pain of purgatory, to symbolise the crucified Christ, or to glorify God or convert heathens. Several inflictions concern saints, communicating the wish that an altar be built in their honour, their preferred burial location for their corpses, the location of their spiritual presence, or simply as witness to their holiness. Ironically, sanctity is conveyed through slaughter as numerous

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[215] To achieve this, Anfortas must avoid the Grail for a successive seven nights and eight days (796, 11-14). This would be a sin but Christian Gellinek, 'Die Erlösungsfrage in Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival (Buch XVI 794, 24 – 796, 16)', in *Herrschaft im Hochmittelalter: Essays zu einem Sonderproblem der älteren deutschen Literatur*, German Studies in America, 34 (Lang: Bern, 1980), pp. 103-110 (p. 104), believes that Anfortas asks this as he is not permitted to hint at the healing.

[216] I do not agree with Willson, 'Grail King', p. 558, that the period of suffering experienced by Anfortas is 'appropriate as penance'. It is extreme and does not constitute measured justice.

[217] 'Dieser religiöse Akt unterstreicht Parzivals Bekehrung und hebt den Gegensatz zu der Periode seiner Gottesfeindschaft hervor', Peter L. Johnson, 'Silvester und Anfortas', in *Studien zur frühmittelhochdeutschen Literatur: Cambridger Colloquium 1971*, ed. by L.P. Johnson, H.H. Steinhoff and R.A. Wisbey (Berlin: Schmidt, 1974), pp. 344-357 (p. 346).

[218] Willson, 'Grail King', p. 558-9.

[219] David Duckworth, *The Influence of Biblical Terminology and Thought on Wolfram's Parzival: with Special Reference to the Epistle of St. James and the Concept of 'zwîvel'*, GAG, 273 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1996) p. 278.

[220] See Christoph, J. Steppich, '"Hinweise geben wird euch schaden": Zu Wolframs 'Parzival' 483,24-30', *ZfdA*, 119 (1990), 259-68 (p. 262).

[221] Bumke, p. 130.

innocent people are killed in one narrative: '[...] subito corpus ejus ignoranter aperitur omnesque, qui aderant, tam monachi quam mansionarii, qui corpus ejus viderant, infra X dies mortui sunt' (*LA*, CXVII, pp. 495-6).

The imposition of pain proves an ineffective means of communication as those suffering are frequently bewildered as to its intent; it generally necessitates an explanation, mediated through a human, divine or demonic source, begging the question as to why a messenger was not simply sent in the first place:

> [...] tempore Gumberti regis Italia tota tanta peste percussa est, ut vix unus alterum sufficeret sepelire, et haec pestis maxime Romae ac Papiae grassabatur. [...] Tunc cuidam divinitus revelatum est, quod nequaquam haec pestis cessaret, donec sancto Sebastiano altare Papiae construeretur. Quod quidem constructum est in ecclesia sancti Petri, qui dicitur ad vincula; quo facto statim cessavit illa quassatio (*LA*, XXIII, p. 113)

Its purpose can also be interpreted by the sufferer, such as St Francis, who when he receives a severe beating from demons at the house of a cardinal, concludes that God wishes him to leave this house for fear that his monks may believe that he is living in luxury (*LA*, CXLIX, p. 667). Despite the innocence of those killed or inflicted with incurable suffering, few are cured upon successful implementation of the divine command. Its completion may result in a cessation of plague but the dead are not revived. We do not discover whether the sufferers and the dead are rewarded in the afterlife for their forced participation; the outcome for these souls appears unimportant as focus rests primarily on the execution of divine wishes. In the few instances where healing does occur, it coincides with fulfilment of the objective, thereby confirming its divine origin (cf. *LA*, CXII, p. 465 and CLXXXI, p. 834). The transmission of divine demands through inflictions of suffering on the innocent is the antithesis of NT miracles where the removal of suffering from the innocent reveals the nature of God. It is significant that this interpretation of suffering appears only in the *LA* where limitless violence and cruelty have become thoroughly intertwined with Divinity.

5.3.3 Suffering as a Test of Faith, Perseverance, or Friendship

> [...] ubi eras, bone Jesu? ubi eras? quare non a principio fuisti hic, ut me adjuvares et vulnera mea sanares (*LA*, XXI, p. 104)

Elements of the OT prototype of suffering as a trial are evident in the *LA*, *DM*, *EM*, *Eng*, and *AH*. Various figures are tested including saints in the *LA*, pious figures in the *DM*, and sinners in the *EM*. This constitutes an appraisal of faith, bravery, or resoluteness of purpose, with the patient tolerance of misfortune represented as being pleasing to Christ: 'Tantum gaudebam de tua paciencia, quod te defendere nolui' (*EM*, 97, p. 312). As a consequence of experiencing pain, those

tested will possess a greater appreciation of the joys of Heaven.[222] Its intent tends to be implied rather than stated and the moral goodness of those chosen is likely to be accentuated in the narrative.[223] The divine origin and intent of suffering is, however, occasionally announced by religious figures such as Christ:

> oportet igitur te multa sustinere, ut accipias coronam victoriae; oportet te multa pati, ut de alta saeculi vanitate humilieris et rursus in spiritualibus divitiis exalteris. Tu ergo ne deficias nec ad gloriam pristinam respicias, quia per tentationes oportet te alterum Job demonstrari. Sed cum humiliatus fueris, veniam ad te et in gloriam pristinam restituam te [...] (*LA*, CLXI, p. 713-14).

Similar to the origin of the suffering of Job in the OT, malignant spirits are frequently employed to mediate pain, although instead of leprosy the chosen suffer savage beatings, fever, and horrific injuries. Individuals need not be tested through physical pain as horrific events leading to mental anguish also suffice. One individual in the *LA* is tested thus as a lethal plague kills his household, thieves take all his worldly goods, a captain seizes his wife, and wild animals carry off his two children (*LA*, CLXI). In contrast to the initial reaction of Job, those assessed in the corpus generally accept their lot without complaint or questioning its purpose or justness.[224] Trials imposed by God are never too much for the sufferer to bear (*DM*, IV/IV, p. 176) and indeed not a single character portrayed fails despite the horrific nature of the afflictions, which tend to be gruesomely described: 'Et quia electos suos probat Dominus, tanta illum infirmitate flagellavit, ut vermes de eius corpore indesinenter scaturirent' (*DM*, XI/XIX, p. 288).[225]

Both men and women are tested, the men for bravery or perseverance and the women for their resolve to remain virginal or to enter an order. In addition to the personal pain of St Juliana in the *LA*, many others become diseased and die in order that Juliana's resilience to marriage may be assessed. This annihilation of the innocent continues for seven years until St Juliana prays and drives out the pestilence (*LA*, CXLII, p. 635); why she delays for so long is unexplained but it is presumably to demonstrate her resoluteness of purpose. It appears heartless, however, particularly as there is no indication of healing or a restoration to life for those who suffer on her behalf; their lives are worthless considering that they are killed solely for God to test one individual. Other individuals are tested through beatings, which only cease when Christ is satisfied with the performance of the individual or the demons admit defeat, by which time the victim is usually half-dead. Unlike Job, few of the characters portrayed in these narratives are healed upon meeting

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[222] 'Volens Dominus sponsae suae secreta deliciarum suarum ostendere, bene eam prius permisit aliquibus visionibus horrendis tentari, ut postmodum amplius mereretur laetificari, sciretque distantiam inter dulce et amarum, lucem et tenebras', *DM*, V/XLIV, p. 330.

[223] 'Qui sicut vir prudens, eundem honorem temporalem non suis viribus sed Deo ascribens, omnia restituit, et sodalibus cum saeculo valedicens, in Lucka monasterio nostrae religionis habitum suscepit', *DM*, XI/XIX, p. 288.

[224] Cf. *LA*, CLXI, however, where the sufferer complains that his sufferings are worse than that of Job. He is also divinely prevented from committing suicide in despair.

[225] Cf. 'Statim unus spirituum malignorum propius accedens, et manum pectori eius imponens, ita illud compressit, ut sanguis concitatus per os et nares eius largiter effluerent', *DM*, V/XLIV, p. 330.

divine requirements. In fact, many do not even seek healing: 'Flagellum Domini in tanta patientia sustinuit, ut omnes eius fratres mirarentur' (*DM*, IX/XXX). Some suffer until death when in several cases the presence of a fragrant aroma denotes their state of sanctity (*DM*, IV/XXX and XI/XX). Within this category, only St Anthony attains a cure, brought about through a bright light [Christ], which simultaneously chases away the demons (*LA*, XXI). Those who demonstrate their worth are rewarded but not materially like Job and Heinrich; instead, virgins may remain unmarried or enter a convent, or Christ will spread their names in the world. In one case, a sinner may finally repent after previous efforts were severely hampered through demonic attacks; according to the *EM*, his perseverance and resilience provides a powerful example for others (*EM*, 140, p. 341).

In *Eng* Dietrich in the manner of Job, becomes leprous, although this constitutes a test of human friendship for Engelhard rather than one of religious faith for Dietrich.[226] Nevertheless, unlike Job, Engelhard and Dietrich are not guilt-free despite the acclaimed righteousness of their characters: 'Si solten engel beide sant / und niht menschen sîn genant' (783-4).[227] Sinful elements of their actions are glossed over so that the narrative may stress the value of 'triuwe [...] und inneclîche wârheit' (6472-3). Upon being discovered with Engeltrud by Ritschier, Engelhard repeatedly tells untruths in his desire to avoid the death penalty for betraying royal trust. Unconsidered are the moral implications of this act and the potential repercussions for Ritschier, as Engelhard is concerned solely with saving his own skin and is curiously optimistic that God may assist him in such duplicity.[228] Although Engelhard appears cowardly and irresponsible, it is Ritschier who is reproached on account of his wickedness and disloyalty in disclosing their love: 'er tet ûf sînen falschen munt / vil ungetriuwelîche alsô' (3498-9).[229] As God assists the truthful, Engelhard will die if he participates in the duel (4128-33) but the deceptive involvement of Dietrich is curiously not penalised by death. Such morality appears odd but as in *Parz*, one must consider the question of genre. In this 'Frendschaftsroman', God assists lovers and friends: 'God is on the side of those who embody the virtue which the poet wishes to glorify and against those [...] whose accusations, however true, are to be ignored, since they are the expression of unworthy and evilly motivated hearts [...]'.[230] Divine judgement in such trials appears rudimentary in its concentration on a single question rather than on the reality of the situation,[231] an element at variance with the omnipotent and omnipresent God portrayed in the exempla and legendaries. Undeterred by the immorality of this deception, Dietrich deals excessively with Ritschier, severing a hand and intent on killing him but for the intervention of the king. The consequential loss of reputation and physical disability for Ritschier constitutes just deserts; he is undeserving of pity.[232]

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[226] 'got sælden im erbünne / der Triuwen leides günne, / wan Triuwe ist under künne / ein freudeberndiu wünne', 69-72.
[227] 'gelîche stuont ir beider sin / ûf tugent unde ûf êre. / in was diu schande sêre / entfremdet unde entwildet', 466-69.
[228] 'ob ez mich iht gehelfen kan, / ich wil mîn lougen bieten / und wil mich rede nieten / daz wir beide unschuldic sîn. / daz selbe tuot ir, frouwe mîn, / vil lîhte uns got die sælde gît / daz unser trûren wider gelît' (3436-42).
[229] Frau Minne is also attributed blame for the lovers' difficulties: 3171-73.
[230] Timothy R. Jackson, 'Abraham and Engelhard: immoral means and moral ends', in *Connections: Essays in Honour of Eda Sagarra on the Occasion of her 60th Birthday*, ed. by Peter Skrine and others (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1993), pp. 117-26 (p. 120).
[231] Cf. also the trial of Tristan in 'Tristan and Isolde'.
[232] He is not motivated by loyalty for the king but by jealousy and anger: cf. 3266-85.

The fact that neither Engelhard nor Dietrich confess their guilt or praise God for His assistance implies that God would agree with their greater valuation of loyalty over truth.

Although the sinful actions of Engelhard and Dietrich would typically result in a punishment infliction in the exempla or legendary collections, here God imposes leprosy on Dietrich in order that the fidelity of Engelhard to Dietrich may be tested.[233] There is consequently no correlation in time between participation in the duel and the onset of the disease; its emergence at a much later point dissociates it completely from a context of guilt: 'im schuof des himels keiser / grôz leit an allen enden' (5162-3). Dietrich and Engelhard are both convinced of his innocence and cannot comprehend any possible reason for its infliction:[234]

> 'got herre, wes hât mich gezigen
> dîn râche unmâzen grimmeclich
> diu nû gevallen ûfe mich
> gar ungenædeclichen ist?
> jâ reiner unde süezer Krist,
> waz hân ich gegen dir getân
> dâ mite ich sô gedienet hân
> dînen bitterlichen zorn?' (5374-81)

Deemed incurable, Dietrich yearns for death as a means of escape, rejecting a brief consideration of suicide due to its spiritual implications. Similar to Job, Dietrich attempts no religious measures whatsoever; these are unnecessary as we are assured of his innocence and ultimate reward for his loyalty to Engelhard.[235] Contrary to the reactions of Heinrich in the *AH* and Constantine in *Silv*, Dietrich immediately rejects the blood cure from the onset; he considers it sinful, and disloyal to Engelhard, despite its depiction as the will of God. Engelhard, nevertheless, decides to kill his children in order to heal Dietrich, reasoning that they – like the girl in *AH* – will thus avoid Hell and gain eternal life (6150-5). He does not question the authenticity of the vision experienced by Dietrich and possesses complete confidence in the success of the sacrificial cure.[236] Although he comprehends that he will incur guilt for such a murderous act, he reassures himself that it will possibly be easier to gain forgiveness as he willingly carries it out in accordance with divine will: 'dâ von mac ich gebüezen doch / die sünde lîhte deste baz, / ob ich in triuwen sunder haz / erfülle gerne sîn gebot' (6170-73). The fact that God wills the execution of innocent children is bizarre but is demonstrated in the narrative through the divine assistance Engelhard receives both in reaching

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[233] In the tale of Amicus and Amelius present in the *EM* Amicus contracts the contagious disease from his leprous wife rather than being directly afflicted by God (138, p. 340).

[234] Engelhard voices the possibility of punishment but disregards this in view of the honourable and guilt-free character of Dietrich: 5720-27.

[235] 'nû wolte got bî deme tage / ein wunder an im briuwen / und wolte in sîner triuwen / lâzen dô geniezen, / wan in begunde erdriezen / der bitterlichen swære / die der vil triuwebære / leit ân alle sîne schult', 5426-33.

[236] 'sît daz im unser trehtîn / dis arzenîe machte kunt, / sô wil er daz ich in gesunt / mit ir lîbe mache noch', 6166-69. Dietrich has in contrast, little faith in the cure: 6328-30.

this decision and in performing the killing: 'in hæte enzündet gotes geist / und der wâren minne gluot, daz er sîner kinde bluot / verschüten gerne wolte' (6216-19).[237] The response of Dietrich is not one of joy but of horror and despair that his soul will be accordingly condemned (6312-13). This is the only example in the corpus of the execution of the blood cure; it proves effective, resulting not only in a cure but, in a similar vein to Anfortas in *Parz* and Heinrich in *AH*, in a complete rejuvenation:

> sus hiez in dô der künic guot
> sitzen blôz in eine büten.
> daz bluot begunde er ûf in schüten
> mit flîze enallenthalben.
> von der vil tiuren salbe
> wart sîn lîp rein unde frisch [...] (6340-5)

Several hours after this event, God restores the children to life although they are, in a similar vein to miracles in the *LA*, left with a scar around their necks as testimony to this event.[238] Engelhard praises God immediately for their revival while Dietrich gives thanks for his cure, which is attributed to God rather than to the superstitious blood cure: 'Dieterich begunde jehen / manicvalter wirde gote / und seite gnâde sîme gebote / daz er sô schône was genesen' (6436-9). They live in health and joy for the remainder of their lives as a reward for their admirable loyalty to one another: 'triuw ist ein tugent alsô klâr, / swer si von herzen meinet, / daz er wirt gereinet / von schanden ûf der erden / und er ze himele werden / ûz erwelten lop bejaget' (6484-9).

5.3.4 Suffering as Spiritual Training

> Cum fero langworem, fero religionis amorem. Expers langworis non sum memor huius amoris (*EM*, 100, p. 314)

Several narratives in the *EM*, and *SV* interpret suffering as advantageous in its provision of protection from sin and as an aid to salvation. The sufferers interpret their illness to be divine in origin or are simply ill without explanation with conditions including leprosy, a diseased eye, and an unspecified condition. Due to the perceived beneficial nature of suffering in encouraging a focus on spirituality, there are no healings as the ill appreciate their pain, believing health to be a danger to the soul and physical suffering of value to it; consequently, they do not desire or attempt to be cured (cf. *SV*, CXI, 182 and CV, 178). Indeed one character refuses any worldly assistance in his

[237] This is described in some detail: 'diu houbet er in abe schriet / und nam zwei schœniu beckelîn: / ir bluot enpfienc er allez drîn / und îlte dan mit leide sider', 6288-91.
[238] The children are not restored automatically in the *EM* but in response to the tearful request from Amicus: 'Cuius fidem dominus inspiciens pueros mortuos viuificans; omnibus ortum gaudium ineffabile. Referente[s] igitur deo gracias eidem usque ad obitum eorum partier seruientes', 138, p. 340.

wish to suffer as much as possible in this world in order to receive an even greater reward in the next life: 'Sit deus altissimus benedictus, qui michi donauit hanc infirmitatem, sed timeo, ne michi dominus minuat premium celeste propter tuum humile seruicium' (*EM*, 18, p. 246). In this account, after twenty-five years of intense suffering from leprosy, the soul of the sufferer glides to Heaven accompanied by a choir of angels.

5.3.5 The Presence of Mixed Narratives

Contrary to the Biblical paradigm, some narratives are mixed in that they combine several functions although on the whole one aspect is primary. Suffering can, in addition to punishing or chastising sinners, also operate as a means of conversion for either the victims themselves or those witnessing the infliction, despite the fact that a conversion to the faith through violent displays or experiences of wrath is antithetical to the NT. The punishment and death of the wicked can reveal the innocence of a saint (*LA*, XXIV, p. 115) or indicate the preferred resting place for the remains of a saint (*LA*, CXXV, p. 573). The miraculous healing of an infliction can demonstrate divine greatness (cf. *LA*, III, p. 27) as can the temporary healing of beneficial suffering (*LA*, LXXVIII, p. 232,). The functions of spiritual training and punishment also merge on occasion, whereby for example the beneficial suffering imposed on a monk is transferred as a punishment to an avaricious physician, who refuses to treat the monk because he is incapable of paying a large fee.[239]

Among the single works the *AH* exemplifies a mixed narrative. On the nature of Heinrich's illness scholarly opinion is generally divided into three camps; those who maintain that he is guilty, those who believe he is being tested, and those who maintain that the text incorporates both.[240] I subscribe to the latter view with my belief that the protagonist, Heinrich, is divinely punished and subsequently tested. In an unusual departure from the punishment model, no narrative stress is placed on the sinful nature of Heinrich; by contrast, his guilt is implied through omission as Hartmann accentuates the generous and protective nature of Heinrich, together with his outstanding qualities as a knight, but excludes any reference as regards his religious duty to God. In this omission there is an implicit absence of more spiritual values in the focus on the 'werlt': 'er was der nôthaften vluht, / ein schilt sîner mâge, / der milte ein glîchiu wâge: / im enwart über noch gebrast' (64-67). The moment of imposition is unconnected to specific sin but appears as an end to divine tolerance as regards the secular outlook and spiritual neglect of Heinrich: '[...] er hat das

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[239] The monk only realises its function after healing: 'Quia virtus in infirmitate perficitur, tempore quodam Dominus dilectum suum tam valido dolore capitis, quem etiam glossa una in Apostolo vocat stimulum carnis, tentavit et afflixit, ut illum vivere taederet', *DM*, IV/XCVIII, p. 267.

[240] For a sample of those who interpret his illness as punishment see McConnel, p. 261; H.B. Willson, 'Symbol and Reality in 'Der arme Heinrich'', *MLR*, 53 (1958), 526-36 (p. 527); Timothy Buck, '*Zuht, râche* – und *versuochunge*: Nochmals zum Begriff „Strafe" im *Armen Heinrich*', *Euph.*, 62 (1968), 311-16 (p. 311). For those who maintain it is a test: R. Endres, 'Heinrich's *hôchvart*', *Euph.*, 61 (1967), 267-94 (p. 293); Peter Wapnewski, 'Poor Henry – Poor Job: A Contribution to the Discussion of Hartmann's von Aue so-called »Conversion to an Anti-Courtly Attitude«', in *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. by Harald Scholler (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), pp. 214-25 (p. 221); Ruh, p. 327; for those who believe it is both a test and a punishment see: Haage, 'Prolegomena', pp. 102-3; Fisher, pp. 184-85; Finch, p. 644-45; Werner Fechter, 'Über den "Armen Heinrich" Hartmanns von Aue', *Euph.*, 49 (1955), 1-28 (p. 3); Hunter, p. 361; Wackernagel, p. 240.

Leid und die Schande von Gott verdient; er hat es verschuldet; er hat sich als Welttor benommen, hat nicht daran gedacht, daß er sein Leben und seine Herrlichkeit Gottes Gnade verdankt'.[241] The loathsome disease of leprosy succeeds in destroying his valued courtly life and reputation:

> an hern Heinrîche wart wol schîn:
> der in dem hœhsten werde
> lebet ûf dirre erde,
> derst der *versmâhte* vor gote [...]
> in ergreif diu miselsuht
> dô man die swæren gotes zuht
> ersach an sînem lîbe,
> manne unde wîbe
> wart er dô widerzæme (112-23)

Its punitive nature is additionally underlined through the comparison of Heinrich with ambitious Absalom of the OT, who dies as a result of his attempt to usurp his father David as King of Israel (82-9; II Sm 15.1 ff.).

Despite the narrative assertion that the grief-stricken and despairing reaction of Heinrich is antithetical to the joyful acceptance of OT Job (137-45), it is in fact similar to the initial reaction of Job in his refusal to accept his suffering as the will of God.[242] Comparable to the response of the leprous perpetrators in *Cres*, Heinrich seeks healing through medicinal rather than religious means and fails to reflect on the spiritual significance of the disease.[243] His absolute confidence in the world and in his ability to pay for a cure is exposed through his refusal to accept that any worldly cure could be unobtainable: '*jâ* hân ich guotes wol die kraft; / [...] / ich mache iuch mir alsô holt / daz ir mich harte gerne nert' (207-13). He despairs upon learning the specifics of the cure as even with ample wealth, it seems impossible that a virgin could be found who would willingly sacrifice her life for him. Significantly, the worldly-minded Heinrich does not reject the blood cure on account of its immoral nature and also overlooks or fails to reflect on the important allusion by the physician that God may be able to heal him (203-4); '[...] he simply is not in the habit of seeing God as the source of his well-being'.[244] As the world is incapable of curing him, Heinrich abandons hope and redistributes his wealth to the poor and to the churches in the belief that God may have mercy on his soul (246-56). During the following three years of suffering, Heinrich comprehends

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[241] Friedrich Mauer, *Leid: Studien zur Bedeutungs- und Problemgeschichte besonders in den grossen Epen der staufischen Zeit*, 2nd edn (Bern: Francke, 1961), p. 40. There is no evidence to support the view that the Devil is to blame for 'dazzling the knight with worldly success', Fisher, p. 184.

[242] Fisher, p. 184, falsely maintains that 'Heinrich differs from Job [...] because he does not immediately accept his suffering as God's will'.

[243] For an historical or medical study on Montpellier or Salerno, see Gernot Rath, 'Montpellier im Urteil des deutschen Mittelalters', in *Fachliteratur des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Gerhard Eis*, ed. by Gundolf Keil and others (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1968), pp. 307-10 and Eis, 'Salernitanisches', pp. 135-150.

[244] David Duckworth, *The Leper and the Maiden in Hartmann's Der arme Heinrich* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1996), p. 21.

his leprous state as a divine retribution for his arrogant pursuit of worldly fame: 'got hât durch râche an mich geleit / ein sus gewante siecheit, / die nieman mac erlœsen' (409-11). Despite realising that he can be counted among the 'werlttôren' (396), Heinrich still desires a terrestrial cure.[245] In a similar manner to Job, Heinrich must learn to humbly submit to the purpose of God:[246] 'suffering is not only a punishment but also the means by which God can awaken in Heinrich the insight that he must submit to God's will, that he must display the proper humility in relation to God [...]'.[247]

The willingness of the girl to sacrifice her life for Heinrich is reminiscent of those in the *LA*, who yearn for illness or death as protection from sin: 'ich wil mich alsus reine / antwürten in gotes gewalt. / ich vürhte, solde ich werden alt, / daz mich der werlte süeze / zuhte under vüeze, / als sî vil manigen hât gezogen, / den ouch ir süeze hât betrogen: / sô würde ich lîhte gote entsaget' (698-705). Nevertheless, her decision differs in that it – like the vision experienced by Dietrich in *Eng* – has divine origins, originating in this instance from the Holy Spirit: 'der sin sî ir von gote komen' (874). Her parents, like Engelhard, initially react in shock and horror at the thought that God desires the sacrifice of their child.[248] Despite the reference of some scholars to the girl as a martyr, she is not sacrificing her life for religious belief;[249] instead in her conviction that secularism is incompatible with spirituality, she seizes this opportunity to assist Heinrich in order to escape the world and all its temptations. In her desire for personal salvation, she fails to see that the sacrificial cure constitutes a denial of a basic Christian principle. As Heinrich must learn to accept divine will, the girl must realise that a religiously orientated secular life is possible.

The initial rejection of the sacrificial offer by Heinrich is not due to spiritual considerations but on account of his concern that the girl has not comprehended the nature of death and significantly, his fear of increased societal derision should he attempt yet another cure. Heinrich is still preoccupied with his worldly reputation (944-48) and so self-absorbed in his suffering that he is incapable of objectivity and the realisation that to accept this offer would be selfish, cruel, and immoral. However, despite the reluctance of Heinrich to accept his suffering as the will of God, one cannot infer as Fisher does that he is evil: 'Heinrich becomes a monster, both morally and physically'.[250] When Heinrich realises that the girl is resolute and has the consent of her parents, he is unsure what to do, in contrast to Dietrich in *Eng*, who immediately rejects the measure in abhorrence. The fixation with procuring healing seems to lead to distraction as Heinrich's decision – dissimilar to that of Constantine in *Silv* – is unaffected by the obvious grief of the parents at the

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[245] This is clear in his complaint to the parents of the girl: 'nû ist genuoc unmügelich, / daz ir deheiniu durch mich / gerne lîde den tôt', 454-57. In a deviation from the typical punishment narrative, Heinrich attempts no religious measures.
[246] The testing element is absent from the *EM*'s *de leproso curato*, p. 233.
[247] Hunter, p. 364. For more on the analogy with Job, see: Wapnewski, pp. 214-25.
[248] 'von jâmer erkaltet in der lîp', 874.
[249] Marianne Wynn classifies the girl as 'a *mulier religiosa*', who is forced into marriage as a means of control: 'Heroine without a Name: The Unnamed Girl in Hartmann's Story', in *German Narrative Literature of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century: Studies Presented to Roy Wisbey on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Volker Honemann and others (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), pp. 245-260 (p. 250). In contrast, Willson 'Symbol and Reality', p. 529, views her as 'an analogue of Christ himself'. For a contrasting view, see Ernst Rose, 'Problems of Medieval Psychology as Presented in the "klein gemahel" of Heinrich the Unfortunate', *GR*, 22 (1947), 182-87.
[250] Fisher, p. 184.

prospect of their daughter's death: 'ir vater und ir muoter, die / *h*uoben michel weinen hie; / weinens *gienc* in michel nôt / umbe ir vil lieben kindes tôt' (995-8). Despite his tears of sorrow, Heinrich rapidly reaches a decision with no evidence to suggest that he has learned of the girl's motivation for self-sacrifice or that according to the parents, her decision is divine in origin. To kill a child in order to be healed is horrifically unjust and would not be palatable to Heinrich were he thinking logically. His acceptance indicates that 'he still clings to the values of this life and will resort to any means in order to win them back'.[251] The preparations for the journey are swiftly made, without any reflection on the repercussions of this cure for Heinrich's soul (1011-18). As God assisted Engelhard to enable him to kill his children, He now strengthens the parents to leave their daughter go to her death.

In contrast to Heinrich, the physician does his utmost to alter the decision of the girl, describing in great detail the horrific pain she will experience – an aspect Heinrich has not even considered – agreeing only when convinced of her commitment. Although he does not know the girl, he feels such compassion for her that he is almost unable to carry out the procedure.[252] Sound finally awakens Heinrich from self-pity; upon hearing the sharpening of the knife, he considers for the first time a ramification of the sacrifice – the death of the girl – and the prospect of never seeing her again pains him greatly. When he glimpses her beauty through a crack in the wall, Heinrich experiences a revelation and realises the foolishness of resisting God:

> in dûhte dô daz niht guot
> des er ê gedâht *hâte*
> und verkêrte vil *drâte*
> sîn altez gemüete
> in eine niuwe güete (1236-40).

In abandoning healing through the blood cure, Heinrich accepts his divinely imposed leprosy and in the manner of Job, submits to God's purpose: 'gotes wille müeze an mir geschehen!' (1276).[253] His spiritual transformation (*metanoia*) is evident in his lack of concern for the ridicule that awaits him as he returns home uncured; he now believes that God will take care of it (1351). Like Job, both Heinrich and the girl have been divinely tested and in a typical manner, both pass (1360-4).[254] Heinrich succeeds through his acceptance of suffering and the girl through her willingness to die for Heinrich.[255] Her actual death is unnecessary in her role as the instrument of redemption for Heinrich.

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[251] Seiffert, p. 389.
[252] 'sô gar erbarmete sî in, / daz im daz herze und der sin / vil nâch was dar an verzaget', 1201-3.
[253] Also: 'swaz dir got hât beschert, / daz lâ allez geschehen', 1254-5.
[254] I find no evidence to suggest that the girl 'was tested, was found to be wanting, and was ultimately forgiven', as put forward by Wynn, p. 246.
[255] Wackernagel, p. 228 views her test like that of Abraham, see: Gn 22.12.

As a reward for their loyalty and compassion, Christ heals Heinrich of leprosy[256] and the girl of her deep sorrow on their journey home:

> [...] dô erzeicte der heilic Krist,
> wie liep im triuwe und bärmde ist,
> und schiet sî dô beide
> von allem ir leide
> und machete in dâ zestunt
> reine und wol gesunt (1365-70)

As with Constantine, Anfortas, and Dietrich, Heinrich is restored not only to health but to a state of beauty (1394-95). He succeeds like Parzival in combining Christianity with a courtly existence as he rebuilds his reputation and wealth while acknowledging the divine origin of such blessings (1430-36). After a long married life together Heinrich and the girl attain eternal life: 'Like secularism in general, worldly love represents a positive contribution to Christian life as long as it is not allowed to distort or overshadow man's proper relationship with God, the focal point of all Christian consciousness'.[257] This tale is a cautionary one, told by Hartmann in order to make courtly society more God-fearing. The text does not condemn secularism but rather the exclusive devotion to it to the detriment of spirituality, as Heinrich is punished on account of his perceived self-sufficiency in his failure to realise his dependence on God. In his role as a punished sinner, Heinrich is comparable to Absalom (85), while when divinely tested, he is analogous to Job (128, 139, 140, and 1364). Despite their difference in morality (Job is innocent, Heinrich is not), both figures must learn to submit to divine will through the disease of leprosy. As confirmation of success and in line with the testing paradigm, Heinrich, like Job, is miraculously healed at the moment of acceptance. No forgiveness of sin is necessary for Heinrich as he has already attained forgiveness through his years of pain, his compassion for the girl and his submission to God.

Summary

This section analysed the presence of the suffering-centred paradigm in the medieval corpus, comparing deviations from Biblical models in order to reveal the purpose of this paradigm in the Middle Ages. I identified a five-fold system within this medieval paradigm, comprising punishment, chastisement, test, spiritual training and a new non-Biblical category, as a means of communicating demands. Although sin is the cause of suffering in only two of these categories, the overwhelming majority of suffering narratives in the corpus detail suffering as a punishment or chastisement. Most examples are contained within two collections, the *LA* and the *DM*. The saints

[256] I don't agree with Seiffert, p. 386, on several points; principaly that the *AH* 'differs from so many mediæval leprosy legends precisely in showing not only God's judgement and punishment, but also His willingness to make clean'.
[257] Fisher, p. 193.

and demons emerge as the most prolific deliverers of divine justice; the re-emergence of the demonic realm in a mediatory role is unusual when one considers their absence from this role in the NT. Despite an expectation of a chronological development, the suffering-centred paradigm in the corpus is overall more reminiscent of the OT than the NT. This is manifest in the re-emergence, predominantly in the *LA*, of such elements as corporate, mass, or hereditary inflictions, which are typical of the OT punishment narratives. A large variety of disorders is sent to sinners but contrary to expectation, leprosy is rarely imposed and I find no evidence in the corpus of 'the traditional tie between leprosy and pride [or sin in general] in ecclesiastical and homiletic writing'.[258] As in the OT, death emerges as the most common condition. As death eliminates any chance of redemption, such judgements cannot constitute chastisement; indeed most narratives appear to involve punishment with the majority of ailments remaining unhealed. This aspect particularly reinforces an image of a wrathful, unforgiving God. A range of everyday characters feature as sinners in the *LA*, *DM*, *SV*, and *EM*, increasing the likelihood of character identification among the medieval audience and correspondingly the impact of the literature. The *KC* differs in this respect in its depiction largely of powerful figures; the focus here is on compiling an historical chronicle, rather than seeking to exert influence over medieval Christians: 'Der Verfasser ist nicht in erster Linie ein als Propagandist tätiger Geistlicher, nur indirekt wirkt er auf sein Publikum'.[259]

Conscious rather than unconscious sin predominates in the collections with those in the *LA* largely related to acts against the saints and those in the *DM* to the sins of religious figures. This corresponds with their respective aim as the *LA* chronicles the lives of the saints in order to increase the popularity of their cult while the *DM* is an instruction manual for religious orders. When one considers the popularity of both works, especially the *LA*, during this period, one can presume many people, particularly the illiterate classes, received moral instruction through such works.[260] Frequently, however, the misdeeds depicted as being punished through sickness and death, are minor and unwarranting such judgement. Contrary to claims in some narratives (cf. DM, X/XVII, p. 231), vengeance rarely fits the crime, with those guilty of criticism of saints or of blasphemy struck dead. These narratives explain events, edify and provide a moral code of behaviour, encouraging an increased reflection on sin, which heightens awareness of guilt among those who perceive that they have broken this code: 'The public exemplum had a propensity toward the evil exemplum, toward narratives which demonstrate the efficacy of their sententiae by enacting violations of them'.[261] This creates a need for forgiveness, which increases reliance on the Church for absolution. It is an attempt to control society through manipulating guilt, which produces fear due to an expectation of swift retribution: 'Often it is the wildness of the pendulum's

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[258] Brody, p. 150.
[259] Marta Maria Helff, *Studien zur Kaiserchronik*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 41 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930), p. 67.
[260] 'Through the sermon exemplum, the Church attempted to establish its ideological authority among subordinate classes it had previously largely ignored', Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 58.
[261] Ibid.

arc, the imbalance between the minor or unwitting crime and maniacal punishment [...] which appalls and solicits reflection'.[262]

One would expect accurate theological knowledge to be disseminated through such a medium as the 'content of exempla is varied but it is naturally concerned with the punishment of the wicked, the reward of the righteous, the means of salvation – the efficacy of prayer, of confession and of the intervention of the saints'.[263] However, with a preoccupation with punishment and death, legendaries convey several non-theological ideas, including the existence of unforgivable sin, excessive punishment for minor misdeeds, the deliberate withholding of grace to prevent the redemption of a sinner, the destination of Hell for such condemned souls, and the emergence of judgement before death. Additionally, the nature of sacred figures alters considerably. The only wrathful figure in the OT is God, yet in some collections, this attribute extends to Mary, Jesus, and the saints. The frequent employment of assaults by the saints casts them in a particularly harsh light. Such depictions are unchristian and further reinforce an image of a cruel God. It is difficult to justify the mentality behind such tales. Their strategy clearly involves the creation of fear and encouragement of a particular view of the world and God in order to foster obedience and conformity, to the detriment of theological accuracy. The excessive use of violence and death reflects an image of an authoritarian regime, which discourages or forbids personal, independent or dissident opinion. Criticism of the Church, its cult of the saints or its clergy is discouraged, while a heightened awareness of sin is encouraged as a means of modifying behaviour through fear of retribution. Simultaneously, praise of God and the saints is encouraged through a confirmation of their strength or sanctity and the focus on spiritual measures and sacraments as the means of salvation legitimises the constant intervention of the church in everyday life. The existence of multiple retributive narratives reveals the existence of tensions between the clergy and the laity with the concerns of the medieval church exposed through vices and sins represented in an attempt to regulate society and repress various manifestations of secularity. The frequent disastrous end for so many transgressors, however, perhaps indicates that medieval Christians did not respond as expected to this strategy.

Various narrative strategies impart the punitive function of suffering. Most in the *LA* indicate this purpose through a correlation in time between sin and retribution while those in the other collections tend to stress this through direct statements. The motif of a warning or announcement emerges in some works, although punishment frequently follows this immediately, eliminating any opportunity to attain pardon. Where time is granted and the sinner responds appropriately, punishment is not annulled but altered from an eternal one to a temporal one or through a temporary postponement to permit penance. The warnings in the *SE* differ in that they involve pain as the sinner is transported before God in visions reminiscent of the Final Judgement, and are burnt in the process. Many of the afflicted fail to react to their condition and remain

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[262] Ohly, *Elect*, p. xi.

[263] Margaret D. Howie, *Studies in the Use of Exempla: with Special Reference to Middle High German Literature* (London: University of London Press, 1923), p. 13.

uncured. Those who attain a cure do so through religious gestures, such as baptism, repentance, vows or prayers, with healing normally mediated through the saints. This role strengthens their cult through the encouragement of reliance and adoration. The means depicted to attain a cure are therefore more reliable than the image of God portrayed through infliction.

In the legends of Crescentia and Silvester, leprosy is imposed on transgressors as a consequence of persecution. Two of the afflicted in *Cres*, however, incur unconscious guilt, which is not punished any more leniently. The outcome for these sinners is mostly positive in contrast to those in the collections as three of the afflicted in *Cres* and the solitary victim, Constantine in *Silv*, are cured of this ailment. Both healing procedures incorporate religious measures successfully with an open confession required in *Cres* and contrition, penance, and baptism in *Silv*. Constantine initiates the process through his merciful act of abandoning the blood cure, which is rewarded ultimately by healing. In contrast, the persecutors of Crescentia do nothing to initiate healing as they simply lapse into a state of self-pity and depression. Their healing provides an opportunity to demonstrate the sanctity of Crescentia and the power of confession. Although Constantine seeks out Silvester, it is Crescentia who seeks out her persecutors. The remorse of Constantine for his heinous crimes against Christianity is stressed as integral to the healing, yet it appears to be irrelevant in *Cres*, as the sinners need only confess openly in order to be restored to health. The procedures for forgiveness are more reliable in *Silv* through the need for contrition and penance in order to gain divine forgiveness. The requirement in *Cres*, however, is unorthodox and inaccurate as without remorse for guilt, sin will not be forgiven. This legend, in contrast to *Silv*, advocates open confession.

The final text representing the Sin–Suffering–Repentance–Restoration paradigm is the secular poem, *Parz*, which details the indirect infliction of a grievous wound on Anfortas for his disobedience of the rules of the Grail. The means to healing differ considerably as neither Anfortas, nor indeed any of his relations or his community on his behalf, is capable of atoning for his culpable transgression. Instead God has decreed that a particular knight, Parzival, will release Anfortas from his suffering, and replace him as guardian of the Grail. Rather than the typical focus on the sinner and his response, *Parz* concentrates predominantly on the mediator of healing, Parzival. As he is spiritually immature, several years pass before he successfully releases Anfortas, who in the meantime suffers horrifically. Anfortas retains his passive presence in the healing ritual, as Parzival genuflects, kneels, and prays for divine healing. The successful healing of Anfortas demonstrates the spiritual maturity of Parzival and his worthiness as guardian of the Grail. Anfortas' state of beauty manifests his spiritual purity after his long-lasting penitential suffering. The inability of Anfortas to personally atone and attain forgiveness, in addition to the ineffective efforts of his brother is of course untheological. Due to its secular nature, the poem is primarily concerned with entertainment rather than the transmission of religious instruction. However, exemplary romances included in the corpus, portray piety and devotion as essential qualities for a knight. Despite the lack of recourse to the church and her ministers as essential intermediaries in

the event of spiritual difficulty, these works underline the direct relationship of the penitent with God and indicate ultimately the successful integration of secular life with religion through their heroes.

In addition to punishing and chastising, suffering-centred narratives in the medieval corpus also depict the divine imposition of disease and death as a means of communicating commands, testing, and increasing spirituality. They are few in comparison with those connecting sin with suffering. Narratives which depict the imposition of pain as a means of transmitting instruction are only present in the *LA*. There is no evidence to suggest this suffering is deserved, it simply constitutes a means of transmitting wishes such as new altars and preferred burial places for the saints. It proves ineffective, leaving sufferers bewildered as to its cause and generally necessitates the mediation of announcements to explain its meaning. Why this could not be done in the first place is left unanswered. After execution of the divine orders, few of those diseased, maimed, or killed are restored. A hierarchical system is evident in such depictions, as the lives of the victims, who remain unnamed, are worthless in comparison to the demands of the saints. The function of suffering as a divine test is more widespread as examples are present in the *LA*, *DM*, *EM*, *Eng*, and *AH*. The moral goodness of the chosen tends to be stressed in these narratives as it is their very virtues that are placed on trial. Demonic spirits are frequently employed to deliver suffering, which generally involves beatings, fever, and injuries. The afflictions tend to be gruesomely described in the wish to demonstrate the strength and perseverance of those tested. As highlighted in the NT, Christ never tests individuals more than they can tolerate and correspondingly, all those tested in this category pass. The horrific nature of the suffering underlines the exemplary nature of those selected, as such pain would be unendurable to the majority of individuals; these narratives seek to inspire by example of such perseverance and faith. *Eng* also incorporates a divine test although in this instance it is loyalty that is assessed. It is unusual as the protagonists are not innocent but this aspect is glossed over with the testing element stressed; the presented moral standard, however, has to be understood within the framework of the work. As in *Silv*, the superstitious blood cure is recommended as a secular cure for leprosy, although in this instance, it is advocated by God through a vision. Despite this origin, it is rejected by the victim Dietrich but his reaction is irrelevant as it is that of Engelhard, which is important. It is the loyalty of Engelhard towards his friend Dietrich, which is being tested, and not the submission of Dietrich to the will of God. With divine assistance, Engelhard kills his two children as the narrative details the only enactment of the blood cure in the corpus. It proves effective because it is the will of God and the children are restored to life as a reward to Engelhard for his unwavering loyalty to his friend.

The beneficial nature of suffering is highlighted in the final category where suffering operates as a means of spiritual training. It can be divinely imposed or earnestly requested as Christians recognise its value for the soul; consequently few conditions are healed. The five categories to explain suffering in the suffering-centred paradigm merge with one another on occasion, leading to mixed categories, whereby suffering can entail two functions for one or more

within the one narrative. The *AH* is an example, as the protagonist Heinrich is punished for sin through the imposition of leprosy, while in a similar vein to Job, his willingness to accept the disease as the will of God is tested. The motif of the blood cure as a cure is also proposed here, although in contrast to *Eng*, it is not carried out and differs from *Eng* and *Silv* in that the blood from the heart of a virgin is required rather than the blood of children. It is only after Heinrich feels pity and mercy for the girl, resulting in his abandonment of a secular cure and implicitly a submission to divine will that he is rewarded with healing.

In conclusion, the suffering-centred paradigm is complex, involving a taxonomy of reasons for the emergence of suffering. The individual works differ in their selection. The *LA*, *DM*, *EM*, and *SV* focus on the punitive aspects of suffering, emphasizing the wrathful nature of God with a view to influencing the behaviour of Christians. In contrast this element is scarcely evident in the *KC*, which highlights predominantly the punishment of the powerful, or in the *SE*, which concentrates on the Final Judgement, in order to encourage people to amend. Few are healed in such narratives but where this occurs, the means of attaining forgiveness that are portrayed are usually plausible. In the larger texts, *Silv*, *Cres*, and *Parz*, most of the punished perpetrators are cured although only *Silv* details the correct procedure for attaining forgiveness. In contrast with its insignificant role in exempla or legendary collections, leprosy features strongly in the larger narratives, appearing generally in connection with the superstitious blood cure. Its prominence in such works may account for the mistaken yet widespread belief among modern scholars as to its popularity in the Middle Ages as a punishment for sin.

6. CONCLUSION

Writers in the early Middle Ages lost the distinction between physical disease and sin.[1]

This thesis has focused on religiously-determined concepts of suffering, identifying and tracing their development in the OT, the NT, early Christian figures, certain Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church, medieval commentators, and in a selected corpus of MHG and Medieval Latin texts, dating from ca. 1135-1275 of either a secular or sacred nature. Although the topic of sickness in the Middle Ages has been much researched from various perspectives, including medical-historical and social-historical, the results are not clear-cut. As outlined in Chapter 1, scholars differ on certain aspects predominantly as a consequence of their respective chosen corpus and sources. This has led to presumptions on such topics as the prevalence of a belief in sin as a cause of sickness in medieval medical, theological or literary texts and in society in general, the emergence of leprosy as its paradigmatic disease, and the existence of alternative reasons for transcendentally imposed suffering. Although the predominance of religiously-determined concepts of suffering in medical texts has to a large extent been challenged in modern studies, the presumption that a belief in suffering as a consequence of sin is prevalent in the Bible and correspondingly in medieval literature has prevailed. This is one of a number of presumptions which I wished to challenge in this study; a systematic analysis of suffering in the Bible and in medieval literature has enabled me to establish a taxonomy of beliefs associated with sickness.

Among modern scholars, opinions differ as to the extent of a belief in a moral cause of suffering in the Middle Ages, i.e., as a consequence of sin. Some such as Rössler, and Doob, maintain this belief to be widespread in society, others such as Mackinney and Rubin question the validity of this claim while Grmek restricts it to the uneducated masses. Diepgen asserts that medical practitioners believed in this cause while Rawcliffe also extends it to the medieval Church. However, such blanket assertions have been challenged by both Schipperges and Rubin with regard to the medieval church, and by Kroll and Bachrach with regard to the condition of madness. The matter is further complicated by the systems of reasons for the imposition of transcendental suffering which have been proposed; these range from two- to five-fold schemes, incorporating among others such functions as chastisement or a means of damnation, a test of faith, a stimulus to spiritual growth, protection from sin, or a means of glorifying God. When evaluating the existence of religiously-determined concepts of suffering among Church Fathers, Grmek claims guilt predominated as the impetus for suffering, while Matoušek believes it was interpreted as a punishment or test of virtue with the consequence that several early church figures including Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Basil, and Ambrose rejected the use of medicine. Schadewaldt, however, asserts that the Church Fathers believed that all medicinal or spiritual measures should be employed to fight the disease, regardless of its purpose. Such diverse claims simplify a complex

[1] Ell, 'Concepts of Disease', p. 161.

issue as no consensus emerges in the writings of such figures. In general the Church Fathers recognise suffering as a consequence of the Fall and therefore the common lot of humanity. However, the motivation for the divine imposition of suffering is frequently lacking in narratives dealing with this topic as emphasis rests on its positive spiritual affects or the need to be compassionate towards those suffering. Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom among others explain sickness through a variety of three- to twelve-fold schemes, which incorporate such reasons as punishment, improvement or atonement, spiritual guidance, spiritual protection, a means of serving God, or of demonstrating the reality of resurrection and eternal life.

Medieval commentaries and commentators also propose teleological reasons for suffering on occasion. According to Diepgen, a medieval gloss to Matthew 9.2 outlines five reasons, consisting of a means to increase the service of the righteous, to protect virtue, to proclaim the glory of God in healing, to improve sinners, and to commence the damnation of the wicked. Among medieval commentators, Alcuin highlights four potential religious reasons for the emergence of suffering, which comprehend chastisement, a spiritually protective measure, a test, or a means to portray divine might through healing. It is noteworthy that in the gloss three of the five categories involve the suffering of the innocent or righteous in addition to three of the four circumstances outlined by Alcuin. His student Hrabanus, in contrast, appears non-judgemental towards those suffering, through emphasising the positive nature of sickness when accepted with patience. Despite the frequent citation of a particular paragraph in his *De Universo* (*De Rerum naturis*) as belief in sin as the origin of leprosy, this is an allegorical rather than a literal interpretation, referring to heresy. Overall, no established systemization is evident in these medieval sources to explain why God imposes suffering.

The attitude towards secular medicine and physicians held by early Christians and the Church Fathers is generally a positive one. Jesus brings healing into the world invoking a new principle of life – *Imitatio Christi* – among the early Christian church; this involved offering healing, sanctuary and care to the sick and needy and commenced the long Christian tradition of institutional care. Several figures such as Cosmos and Damien successfully combined Christianity and medicine while certain Church Fathers incorporated natural history and practical medicine into their writings. The Fathers generally valued medicine as a divine gift, bestowed out of concern for the fragility of the human body; its effectiveness or that of a physician is therefore entirely dependent upon God. An absolute reliance on medicine is, nevertheless, discouraged as suffering could incorporate a spiritual function and the soul must always take precedence over the physical being. Despite general Christian support for secular medicine, some such as Tatian voice concern that medicinal effectiveness could on occasion stem from a demonic source and therefore advises turning to God in such times of need. Others such as the Desert Fathers largely rejected everything worldly including medicine in order to pursue an ascetic lifestyle.

While acknowledging that sickness can be imposed on occasion transcendentally, the Fathers on the whole explain suffering through the naturalistic theory of humoral pathology.

Accordingly a range of diagnostic, prophylactic and therapeutic measures are given in some patristic works with suggested treatments including dietetics, cauterisation, surgery, and pharmacology. The ethos and obligations of this profession evident in such sources correspond in general to the Hippocratic Oath. Physicians are generally viewed benevolently as servants of God with certain qualities such as compassion and philanthropy praised on occasion. Not all are competent and conscientious though as some prove incompetent out of a lack of experience or sheer badness. The consultation of Jewish doctors is forbidden out of fear of spiritual decline together with the employment of superstitious, magic, wicked or satanic practices. There are few spiritual obligations outlined in patristic writings with no requirement to advocate that the ill confess or reflect upon previous behaviour that may be linked to the emergence of illness. This absence of religious stipulations with regard to secular healing indicates that an absolute belief in sin as a cause of suffering did not prevail among the Church Fathers.

Monasteries continued the work of the early church in their spiritual and physical care of the sick and needy, in addition to becoming the dominant force in medical learning during the period 600-1100. The Benedictines were particularly involved in medical practice as this was viewed as a means of serving Christ. Monastic practitioners largely practised secular medicine, deriving theories, diagnostic techniques and therapeutic procedures from Latin translations of Greek medical works such as those by Hippocrates, Galen, Sorranus and Dioscorides. This care was primarily intended for monastic communities but was extended on occasion to the general population. Some medical practitioners practised outside the monastery although church legislation was eventually introduced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to curb such activities in order to refocus attention on spirituality. Contrary to the claims of some modern scholars the church did not at any point forbid the practice of medicine to clerical members nor did its legislation affect all clergy. Canon 9 of the Second Lateran Council (1139) forbids the study of medicine for the sake of temporal gain to monks and canons regular; it is concerned with the danger of avarice and excludes the majority of clerics who were secular. It questions the motivation of those interested in medicine for financial gain rather than forbidding its practice for any clerical member. Canon 8 of the Council of Tours (1163) forbids the departure of monks and canons regular for the study of medicine or secular law in order to prevent secular distractions. In contrast the practice of surgery is forbidden by the Fourth Lateran Council to subdeacons, deacons and priests due to the danger of incurring guilt upon the death of a patient, which would hinder spiritual duties.

This council also stipulates religious obligations for secular Christian physicians in canon 22 – *cum infirmitas*. This expresses a belief in the possibility that sin causes ill-health and recommends that physicians advise all patients to consult a priest prior to receiving treatment in order to remove this possibility; this aspect had previously been voiced in Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and also in the statute of certain hospitals such as the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Canon 22 does not stipulate what physicians should do if patients are reluctant to confess; this aspect does not appear to be addressed in Church legislation until the early 16th

century in *super gregem*, when Pope Pius V stipulates that physicians should cease treatment after three days unless patients can produce documentation, signed by a confessor, confirming that spiritual issues have been addressed. Ill Christians also have religious responsibilities and these are outlined in Gratian's *Decretum*; a state of ill-health should not be ignored nor should one rely upon a miracle; to do so would endanger life and constitute a mortal sin. Instead one should consult a Christian physician and heed his advice.

Some researchers claim that a hostile attitude towards medicine and secular healers is discernible in the Bible. In contrast to the NT, a considerable amount of medical detail is present in the OT, which implies an acceptance of the existence of natural causative factors at least for some ailments. Additionally Biblical law incorporated preventative medicine and hygienic measures as a means of maintaining health while the knowledge and availability of medicinal plants constituted a divine gift. Ben Sirach associates certain lifestyle choices with sickness and suggests prophylactic and countermeasures. In line with Israelite monotheism, traditional healers are viewed as healing helpers to the only true healer, God. Like the availability of medicine, their skills are a divine gift to cure or alleviate suffering and in performing this role, physicians deserve to be respected. Despite the description of an archetypal physician in Ecclesiasticus 38, the OT contains no embodiment of such a figure, as focus remains on miracles attained through the medium of prophets. Only one OT character, King Asa, and one NT character, an unnamed woman, consult physicians in the event of ill-health. Neither consultation results in healing. King Asa dies upon the failure of medics in a passage generally interpreted by biblical scholars as a condemnation of misplaced trust, or consultation of non-religious medics. However, the passage expresses no criticism of the medical profession; there is also no mention of the integration of spiritual measures with medicinal ones nor any reflection upon possible spiritual causes of the affliction. The response is purely secular and as such denies the dependence of humanity upon the omnipotent God. The NT woman also remains uncured despite spending all her money upon physicians and undergoing long and painful treatment. Such failure need not constitute criticism as medicine is incapable of curing all ills. The incurability of the woman's condition serves to highlight the tremendous power of Jesus, who in contrast to the medics, easily cures the woman. In both the OT and the NT, it is submission to divine will that results in healing rather than an integration of religious and medicinal measures as envisaged by Sirach. However divine healers or mediators occasionally incorporate medicinal-type substances into miraculous cures, an element which indicates an acceptance rather than rejection of medicine.

The majority of texts in the medieval corpus under investigation in this thesis shows a belief in a natural rather than a supernatural causation of disease. Suffering is recognised on occasion as a consequence of the Fall or an imbalance of humours in line with the ancient humoral theory. Natural factors held accountable for the onset of mental or physical illness include among others impoverishment, excessive fasting, overexertion, extreme emotions, weather conditions, poison, contagion. Superstitious beliefs are also present, with for example an outbreak of bubonic

plague being associated with the rotting corpses of serpents, dragons, and locusts. Prophylactic, diagnostic, and therapeutic measures are detailed in the corpus, including the importance of an adequate diet and bloodletting in preventing ill-health, and the effectiveness of pulse measurement and hair analysis as indicators of disease. Therapeutic procedures, although not always effective, include medication, simple surgical procedures and dietary measures. Some are superstitious in nature such as the employment of magic words or chopped up puppies to restore health. Both secular and sacred characters consult medics and comply with their instructions in their quest for a cure, indicating a general confidence or hope in the healing abilities of such figures. Some scholars argue that medics are portrayed negatively in such works as the *KC*, based largely on their inability to heal. I, however, find little evidence suggesting disparagement of this profession in the corpus; a failure to heal need not necessarily indicate incompetence on behalf of the physician, as a secular failure to heal a certain condition can confirm its irremediable nature in order to increase the greatness of the ensuing miracle. Some criticism of individual medics may be discernible in the account of Nero in the *LA* due to the omission of any mention of sympathy on the part of the physicians for the pain experienced by Nero as a result of their deceptive experiment.

On occasion religious-minded physicians are portrayed, who distinguish between natural and transcendental illness, refusing to treat the latter, as it incorporates a divine purpose. They embody a spiritual role in identifying this source, clarifying its meaning to the sufferer, and recommending religious measures; the outcome is utterly dependent upon the response of the patient. Religious figures such as monks, priests, and saints also operate as medics. Some such as St Elisabeth prepare themselves and their patients spiritually prior to employing medicinal therapies, while others incorporate medicinal substances into miraculous healings. Overall, there are few examples in the corpus of immoral or incompetent physicians. Monk-physicians can neglect religious duties in zealously practising medicine, while some physicians may endanger the souls of religious figures through prescribing immoral treatments such as the medieval therapy of sexual intercourse. Other negative characteristics of individual practitioners detailed on occasion include greed, incompetence, cruelty, or jealousy. Besides medics, other characters possess medical knowledge; in *Parz* certain women such as Cundrie and Arnive emerge as competent healers, and knights and pages, such as Gawan and Parzival, are also described occasionally as medicinally knowledgeable. Not all characters accept or seek medicinal assistance. While some lay figures reject surgery on account of the high risk of death involved, sanctified figures reject the services of physicians or the use of medication as they believe their suffering to be of spiritual benefit or they wish to die speedily in order to be reunited with God. They do not do so because they have no confidence in medics or medication. On occasion neglect of the physical being is advocated for the good of the soul, and several saints are described in the *LA* as enduring long watches and excessive fasting for this purpose. Finally, the frequent employment of medical metaphors in certain works such as the *SE* and the *DM* indicates an acceptance of secular medicine and a belief in its potential

as a means of healing. The recurring reference to Jesus as the divine physician imparts a positive image of physicians.

The presence of a healing-centred paradigm of suffering in the Bible and in the medieval corpus contradicts the scholarly opinion that sickness is continuously interpreted as a consequence of sin. The ill depicted within this paradigm are undeserving of the pain that they experience, a fact indicated through the absence of penitential actions in its healing; the actual sickness is presented in a neutral manner and has, unlike the suffering-centred paradigm, no purpose for its victim as its meaning lies in its miraculous healing. The morality of the sufferer, if at all stated, is always favourable, dismissing any interpretation of guilt. Details of the condition are frequently omitted although the duration and incurability of a condition is occasionally stressed in order to increase the greatness of the miracle. Its origin is usually natural as opposed to supernatural, a consequence of humanity's physical fragility on account of the Fall. The victims in the OT suffer such ailments as infertility, leprosy or an incurable boil or they are dead. They are cured by God, either spontaneously or in response to invocation for assistance through prayer. The former miracles demonstrate divine omnipotence and commitment to the everlasting covenant while the latter exhibit the compassion of God towards His suffering people. The miraculous nature of the conception of barren women could also indicate the future importance of their sons as leaders of the Israelites. Healing is occasionally mediated through prophets serving to confirm their role as divine messengers and validating their communications. Although such figures occasionally combine prayer with therapeutic measures, such as artificial cardio-respiratory resuscitation, bathing or the use of figs, such use is arbitrary and not of necessity, but rather a means of aiding association with regular secular healings and encouraging belief. The solitary requirement on behalf of the victim is religious faith in God or in the healing ability of His prophets.

This paradigm in the NT incorporates the healing activity of Jesus and to a lesser degree some of His followers. Unlike the OT, which details the healings of individuals, those in the NT consist of both individual and group healings. A much wider range of conditions are cured including deafness, blindness, leprosy, dropsy, paralysis, fever, haemorrhage, a withered limb, a severed ear, demonic possession, and death. The role of the Devil greatly expands within this paradigm in the NT in contrast with that of the OT as he now operates autonomously with intent and together with his legion of demons causes much suffering through possession; the victims are seemingly chosen at random and not on account of a weakened state due to sin or guilt as attested by the absence of gestures of atonement or penance. Those miracles performed by Jesus confirm His identity as the Messiah and fulfil the OT prophecy of Isaiah in addition to signalling the commencement of the Kingdom of God and the ultimate victory of the divine over the demonic realm. Such acts can support preaching or provide spiritual guidance or alternatively, simply constitute a compassionate response towards the sight of those suffering, particularly those whose requests for healing express faith in Jesus as a thaumaturge or the Son of God. Such acts succeed in the conversion of many and in spreading the word of God. Miracles initiated by the apostles

function in a similar vein to those of the OT prophets in that they confirm their divine role and validate the truth of their preaching. Healing generally occurs in response to command, the name of Jesus, or touch, although medicinal-type substances such as spittle or clay are occasionally integrated by Jesus. However, like those employed by the OT prophets, such measures have no therapeutic value as the miracle occurs on account of the transfer of healing energy. Such energy can also be transmitted from material objects such as the bones of a prophet, or handkerchiefs and aprons after contact with an apostle; this energy is released upon the touch of the ailing faithful. In contrast to the Gospels and Acts, Epistles contains no account of miraculous healing despite the description of certain suffering righteous individuals; this aspect imparts the fact that suffering is a fact of existence. In the fourth century, however, Christianity emerges as a religion of healing largely due to the encouragement of belief in miraculous healing through such important figures as Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose.

The healing-centred paradigm of suffering is widespread in several texts of the medieval corpus, in particular the legendaries. Like its Biblical antecedent, there is little detail supplied on the ill or their condition as the paradigm focuses on the healing, which is now largely mediated through such sacred figures as the saints, martyrs, hermits, holy men, popes, abbots, and monks; their depiction in this role emphasises or demonstrates their blessedness or sacredness and in contrast to the sufferer, their name is always contained within the narrative. Once invoked, they can intercede on behalf of the sufferer and possess a far greater chance of success on account of their sanctity. Both the fact that they were human and are depicted as non-judgemental makes them approachable. A vast range of conditions are cured within this paradigm, of which the cause is often omitted. Additional to those conditions cured within this paradigm in the Bible, ailments include disorders, both of a minor and serious nature, such as cancer, elephantiasis, dropsy, large growths, miscarriage, gout, quartan fever, ruptured veins, goitre, kidney stones, ulcers, infected limbs, headaches, toothaches, and eczema. Those depicted as being miraculously cured are frequently secular, thereby serving to address the needs of the listener and to increase their religious conviction. As in the Bible, healing is frequently initiated through the faithful or devotional actions of the sick or their representatives. The invocation of the saints need not be a first response to suffering as several initially consult physicians, Jews, or sorcerers; their failure increases the spectacular nature of the ensuing miracle in addition to underlining divine omnipotence.

The Devil and his demons assume an endless variety of forms in the medieval corpus, appearing among others as children, women, Ethiopians, animals, priests, angels and saints. They do so in order to tempt or deceive Christians into sin. As opposed to the Bible, they can be summoned at will and communicate easily with people. Their powers of torment appear greatly enhanced as one demon proves capable of torturing thousands of men. Although their usual method of imposing suffering remains possession, they also physically attack individuals, inflicting mortal blows on occasion. Although technically demonic agencies can only act in accordance with divine

wishes, they are frequently depicted as operating in an autonomous manner and with their own agenda. They prove relentless, persistent and patient in their stake-out of their chosen victims. However, in contrast to those possessed in the Bible, victims in the medieval corpus seem partially possessed as they retain a certain amount of self-control in their ability to seek assistance or perform religious gestures. The Devil and his demons are not, however, invincible; they can be easily dispelled, through religious sounds, objects and rites, such as the tolling of church bells, the name of Jesus, crosses, holy water, mass, and prayer.

Sacred figures can also bind and inflict physical pain on these malignant beings. Nevertheless, despite such protective measures, the overall impression and ubiquitous and deceptive nature of these spirits as derived from their presentation in the corpus greatly encourages a fear of attack with the solitary hope for protection and defence lying with the church, its representatives, and its sacramental procedures.

Few miracles are initiated or performed by God as He often mediates healing through particular saints, who can perform this role both during their life on earth and posthumously. In general He is only directly approached by suffering religious figures. During their lifetime, sacred figures can initiate such acts at the sight of the suffering, or in response to requests for healing or gestures of faith; the latter can be either religious conviction or simply trust or confidence in the mediatory ability to heal of the figure in question. Similar to the NT, some miracles result in a conversion to Christianity although preconditions can also be stipulated prior to the event of a miracle. Healing methods vary, incorporating prayer, touch, tears, command, or a sign of the cross. Healings can additionally be transmitted through religious or personal objects of sanctified figures. Their success rate is impressive as practically all are cured in the first attempt although sometimes healing is temporally withheld in order to encourage perseverance or to test conviction. Furthermore, not all succeed in mediating a cure as some fail on account of unrepented sin. The divine gift of mediating miracles can also be transitory in that it can be withdrawn at will.

Most miracles contained within this paradigm are performed posthumously by sanctified figures. Some are initiated spontaneously in recognition of the steadfast devotion of those suffering ill-health; messages or demands are transmitted in dreams and visions, and compliance results in a restoration to health. Most miracles, however, are a response to intercessory requests from the Christian faithful, who often visit sacred tombs, places of martyrdom or the churches of particular saints. Here the very sacredness of the site suffices to cure them or their actions involving prayer, vows or offerings swiftly bring about a cure. Alternatively, some lie upon the tomb, or ingest or place its earth upon themselves. Assistance can also be successfully invoked from home or at the time of an accident. Relics prove particularly effective and are generally touched by or applied to the sick. Even false relics can mediate a cure as God wishes to honour the saint to whom it is ascribed and also satisfy the individual who employs it in good faith. Curiously, threats to destroy churches or discourage visits to a particular shrine are also portrayed as effective in producing a cure, which further confirms the capricious nature of the saints in such sources. Not all pray to be

healed in order to be relieved of suffering as some religious desire for recovery in order to carry out their duties. Healing is refused to some religious figures as it is claimed that they, unlike the martyrs, are afraid to die.

Saints can operate both individually or in pairs. Although healing can be experienced immediately, some are healed in visions or dreams where they are touched or operated upon by the invoked figure. A change in healing methodology is evident in the integration of surgical-type procedures involving incision and manipulation. Surgical procedures involve the painless reattachment of limbs, deflating of an abscess or amputation and transplantation of a limb; scars remain on occasion as testimony to the miraculous event. Unspecified ointments are additionally employed on occasion. Some of the cured request to be ill again for the sake of their spiritual health and such requests are granted, as the saints prove equally adept at the imposition as at the removal of suffering. In contrast to the situation in the OT, where most of the ill presented in this paradigm pray directly to God for healing, it is striking that in the medieval corpus, there is only one instance involving lay people where this occurs; this implies that the requests of ordinary Christians are offensive to God as they are, unlike the saints, are not pure in spirit. This creates an impression of an intolerant and fundamentally unapproachable God. Rather than impart religious instruction, the medieval paradigm aims to encourage reliance on the saints, who are depicted as offering practical assistance when invoked in times of suffering. The reaction of those cured is therefore irrelevant and rarely mentioned.

The suffering-centred paradigm is present in the OT, to a lesser degree in the NT, and in the medieval corpus. Narratives embodying this paradigm generally specify why an individual suffers; sickness emerges as a deliberate and significant event, which can be imposed transcendentally, or through a natural or human medium. This pain, in contrast to that experienced by those depicted in the healing-centred paradigm, has meaning for its victim. It can function among others as the onset of eternal damnation, as an opportunity for atonement, or as a test of faith. While there is a chance of healing in the case of the latter two categories, it is a virtual impossibility for those in the first, regardless of their actions. In suffering-centred narratives, a variety of incurable conditions are imposed, which are usually sudden in onset and severe in degree, often in contradiction of the nature of certain progressive diseases, e.g., leprosy. Narrative focus rests in this paradigm on the impact of pain upon the individual or group; such texts tend to be edificatory, expounding a framework for the comprehension of suffering, and potential means of attaining a restoration to health.

Multiple examples of this paradigm exist in the OT with the overwhelming majority detailing the onset of suffering as a consequence of moral or religious transgression. Such pain can constitute vindictive punishment and later signifies the onset of eternal damnation or offers an opportunity for correction in the form of atonement and repentance. Alternatively and rarely, suffering can operate as a means of testing the faith of exemplary figures, or as sacrificial propitiation for the iniquity of others. In the early books of the OT, Israel is generally rewarded or

punished collectively as a community, sometimes in enormous numbers, while in the writings of the post-exilic prophets a doctrine of personal retribution is developed, ensuring that only the guilty suffer. Divine intervention in the form of infliction demonstrates to sinners the immorality of certain actions, and thus enlightened, they can attempt to restore their relationship with God through conciliatory gestures. Conditions inflicted as eternal punishment or chastisement, while varied, are limited, incorporating leprosy, bowel disease, melancholy, stroke, plague, tumours, infertility, snake-bites, a withered limb, physical injuries, and madness; the most frequently imposed state, however, emerges as death, a state from which there is generally no return. Such destruction clearly demonstrates divine power and intolerance of the punished acts. Despite the emphasis on divine mercy and forgiveness, only a minority of narratives detail the imposition of suffering as a chastising opportunity. The imposed condition appears unconnected to the culpable offence with, for example, leprosy being inflicted for deception, usury, and jealousy.

The guilty are described together with their culpable act and usually the manner of infliction; while God imposes suffering directly on occasion, it is also mediated through angels, demons, humans, animals, and the elements. Certain actions can also have an automatic response such as immediate death for those who touch the ark. Both ceremonial and moral transgression is attributed to the onset of sin although the latter predominates in these narratives. The punitive purpose of the infliction is conveyed through various strategies, incorporating narrative statement, direct speech by God or the prophets, prophetic interpretation, supernatural media, the concurrence of crime and suffering, or its assumption by the offender. Pre-infliction announcements are occasionally given, conveying meaning and perhaps an opportunity for repentance and restoration. However, this element is absent from the majority of narratives. Particularly harsh elements are also evident in the existence of unforgivable sin, the divine withholding of efficacious grace, the hardening of hearts, or the dispatch of false prophecies or evil spirits in order to condemn the sinner. Although the OT proclaims that contrite sinners can be restored to God, there is a dearth of successful healings within this paradigm. Atoning actions can bring forgiveness but rarely result in a reduced or annulled sentence, as the culpable act is generally punished regardless. For those already suffering, several methods of invocation exist, involving guilt-offerings, vindication for crime, or prophetic intercession, although these do not automatically guarantee a restoration to health or life. Most successful healings in the OT are attained through the prophets, who intercede on behalf of the ailing sinner.

In contrast to the numerous punitive sufferings, only two OT characters, Tobias and Job, suffer as a test of faith through the imposition of blindness and leprosy respectively. Their moral uprightness is emphasised in these narratives to clarify that they do not suffer on account of sin; the absence of atoning procedures prior to healing further compounds their state of innocence. These OT accounts indicate that sickness is not continuously a punishment or chastisement for sin; alternative reasons also exist, which can be impenetrable to humanity; the sick are therefore not always guilty of sin. What is required in a test of faith is submission to divine will, regardless of the

severity and seemingly senseless nature of suffering. The healing procedure differs considerable in both instances as Job is restored to health directly by God while Tobias is cured through the medium of the Archangel Gabriel, who integrates fish entrails into the procedure. Finally, within this paradigm, it is possible to suffer in a sacrificial manner as propitiation for the iniquity of others. The prophet Ezekiel endures physical discomfort for the punishment of Judah and is struck dumb in order to prevent him from warning the rebellious community. He is cured in demonstration of divine power at the siege of Jerusalem. When such exceptions are excluded, the overall framework proposed in the OT to explain human suffering proves inadequate as it is evident in everyday life that suffering is not distributed fairly; the innocent can suffer and the wicked prosper. A solution to this problem begins to form in later books of the OT in the evolvement of a doctrine of life after death; in this realm both the good and the evil can receive their just deserts.

The NT contains far fewer suffering-centred narratives than the OT, although the correlation between suffering and sin is still latent. Alternative explanations are also evident such as participation in the Passion of Christ and protection from sin. Jesus is compassionate and forgiving and preaches the message of love of God and of one's neighbour and consequently, does not impose a single sickness. He establishes a new relationship between God and humanity, which no longer involves forced obedience through threats of destruction but a choice of whether to follow Him or not. Furthermore just deserts no longer need to be temporal in character as an ideology in an Afterlife evolves; retribution becomes increasingly eschatological as eternal life is promised to the faithful and perpetual suffering to the wicked. Jesus does not deny the dangers of sin, however, and some retributive episodes of suffering still exist in the NT, as individuals rather than groups are afflicted on account of moral transgression. Similar narrative strategies to the OT are evident in imparting the function of the suffering. Conditions are limited incorporating in addition to unspecified illness, death, blindness, palsy, muteness, which are imposed directly or through angelic or demonic media. However, retribution now differs in accordance with severity of sin. In contrast to the OT, the majority of these are chastising rather than punishing in nature and result in a restoration to health; accordingly death is no longer the most imposed condition. Some pre-infliction announcements are made but unlike the OT, present no opportunity for reflection and action as suffering is imposed immediately upon its pronouncement. Although there is no evidence of the divine withholding of grace, or the hardening of hearts, the belief in the existence of unforgivable sin is maintained. Although various means to attain forgiveness are highlighted, including prayer, repentance and the sacraments of baptism and confession, they rarely emerge in suffering-centred narratives. Jesus readily forgives and heals sinners without insisting upon such measures. A further explanation for suffering is revealed through the sufferings of Jesus. His willing acceptance of the cross provides expiation for the sins of humanity. This brings about a new order but does not mean an end of suffering or wrath. Suffering is an inescapable reality for humanity; even the righteous suffer as participation in the Passion or as spiritual training. Paul

interprets his suffering both as participation in the Passion of Christ and as a means of maintaining his humility in light of his ecstatic experiences. He prays on three occasions for healing but his pleas are refused, as it is in weakness that divine strength is revealed; he endures such pain through the bestowal of grace.

Many examples of the suffering-centred paradigm exist in the medieval corpus, and most differ significantly from the Biblical models. I identify a five-fold explanatory system for the emergence of suffering within the corpus, which comprises punishment, chastisement, test, spiritual training and the new non-Biblical category of communicating demands. Sin is the cause of suffering in just the two categories of punishment and chastisement but these make up the overwhelming majority of narratives containing the suffering-centred paradigm, especially those in the *LA* and the *DM*. The concept of sin encompasses moral, social, and monastic offences. The saints and demons are the most frequent intermediaries in delivering divine justice; the re-emergence of the demonic realm in this role is unusual in view of its absence in the NT. This aspect together with further elements typical of the OT rather than the NT such as the re-emergence of corporate, mass, or hereditary inflictions and death as the most frequent infliction reveal the general development of this paradigm in the medieval corpus to be non-chronological; these elements are, however, largely confined to the *LA*. Most inflictions aim to punish rather than chastise and consequently few sufferers are cured. Furthermore, despite the development of post-mortem suffering in Purgatory or Hell, most inflictions are temporal in nature. A large variety of disorders are imposed in the *LA* although these are few in number in the *DM*, *EM*, and *SV*. Contrary to the popular misconception of the popularity of leprosy as the punishment disease, it is rarely evident in this context within these works. It does, however, feature in the *KC*, *Silv*, and *AH*. A new means involves brute force, occasionally inflicted by demons or saints in the presence of God, a development which indicates a debasement of the Biblical paradigm. The purpose of suffering is generally imparted through the coincidence of suffering with sin, or through direct statements. Similar to the NT, pre-infliction announcements (which can now involve pain) generally present no atoning opportunity, or result in an altered rather than annulled sentence.

A large variety of figures are depicted as punished or chastised; transgression in the *LA* relates largely to secular acts against the saints while in the *DM* sin largely consists of clerical impieties. The minor or ordinary misdeeds depicted in such contexts are of sociological interest as they reflect the excesses of medieval Christians. Despite their insignificant nature, they are often severely and inordinately punished, indicating an absence of divine mercy or compassion. Furthermore, a harsh depiction of sacred figures such as Mary, Jesus, and the saints, is disseminated, which reinforces a perception of a merciless and cruel God. The saints appear to operate autonomously on occasion, protecting their devotees or punishing offences against them in narratives which clearly have propagandistic overtones. This aspect is theologically unsound and aims to generate fear of retribution in order to encourage non-critical behaviour towards the church. Although both the *LA* and *DM* were frequently used as a means of religious instruction,

theologically inaccurate material is transmitted, such as the depiction of severe retribution for minor misdeeds, the existence of unforgivable sin, the withholding of grace to condemn sinners, and the judgement of Christians before death: 'But in a period when even the most literate of families possessed a mere handful of books, which were read again and again and when vernacular bibles were still relatively rare, the contents of the *Legenda Aurea* must have exerted a profound influence on the religious outlook of many laypeople'.[2] The strategy of such narratives clearly aims to create fear in order to encourage Christian obedience and conformity of opinion and behaviour. Criticism of the Church, its cult of saints or clergy is thereby actively discouraged. Many of the afflicted fail to respond or do so inappropriately. Even those who are penitent are not always healed as some may remain in pain for their spiritual good, or remain dead as a warning to others. Additionally, certain conditions such as madness or possession hinder response, while the necessary divine grace may also be withheld in order to condemn the sinner. Post-mortem suffering is also evident with only the spiritual acts of the living proving of assistance. A reliance on the church is encouraged through the constant depiction of spiritual or sacramental measures as necessary to the procurement of healing. The minority who are cured, do so by means of prayer, vow, repentance or baptism; saints frequently emerge as intermediaries in this healing process, which strengthens belief in and devotion towards their cult. Occasionally healing means involve surgical procedures, although these now cause pain to the sinner. Not all cures are immediate as some are gradual in order to encourage persistence. Some unusually stipulate sinful acts such as the martyrdom of Christians.

The suffering-centred paradigm in *Cres* and *Silv* differs in some respects to those in the legendaries as leprosy is inflicted in both narratives and most of the sinners succeed in re-attaining health through religious means. However, religiously accurate procedures are described in *Silv* which stipulates the need for contriteness and penance in contrast to that outlined in *Cres* where the perpetrators must simply confess openly without remorse in order to be cured. In *Parz* the punished sinner Anfortas is also healed, although through no action of his own. He remains a passive figure as God decrees that Parzival will release Anfortas from his pain and replace him as guardian of the Grail. Parzival is, however, spiritually immature and requires several years development and reflection, and ultimately repentance and forgiveness for his sins, in order to do so, while Anfortas continues to helplessly suffer in an horrific manner. The faith in the healing abilities of the intermediary that is usually required is noticeably absent as Anfortas requests of Parzival that he aid his attempt to die in the event of failure. The eventual cure through Parzival demonstrates both his sanctity and worthiness as guardian of the Grail while Anfortas' physical beauty indicates his spiritual purity.

Non-punitive reasons for suffering in the medieval corpus are few in number. Narratives which depict suffering as a means of communicating demands are present in the *LA* and prove ineffective as the victim is generally unable to comprehend its meaning, which usually necessitates

[2] Reames, p. 50.

an announcement. Multiple reasons exist for such innocent suffering, such as the divine wish that the sufferer enter monastic life or become pope. Some transmit the desires of particular saints, e.g., that an altar be built in their honour, or indicate the preferred burial location for their corpses. Upon execution of the demand, few are restored to health or to life, and there is no mention of any reward in the Afterlife; they are simply a means to an end and their outcome is unimportant. Where healing does occur, it coincides with execution of the demand, thereby confirming its divine origin. To suffer as a test of faith is more widespread, emerging in the *LA*, *DM*, *EM*, *Eng*, and *AH*. Figures tested include saints, the pious and the sinful, who are tested through suffering in an appraisal of faith, bravery, friendship, or resoluteness of purpose. Tolerance of pain is appreciated by God and those who endure will be rewarded. Demonic spirits usually impose the pain, which involves beatings, fever, and injuries; steadfast endurance emphasises the exemplary nature of those selected, who all pass the test. In contrast to the OT Job, the victims generally accept their lot without complaint and most remain unhealed. *Eng* describes a test of loyalty rather than faith, which is demonstrated in the willingness of Engelhard to kill his two children in order to cure his leprous friend Dietrich. Although previous deceitful actions of both constitute sin, this aspect is glossed over in order to stress the value of loyalty. Unusually, God recommends the blood cure in this instance, despite its immoral nature; it proves effective in restoring and rejuvenating Dietrich.

The *EM* and *SV* additionally detail the imposition of transcendental suffering as spiritual training. The sufferers interpret their pain as spiritually beneficial and hence seek no healing in the belief that they will be consequently rewarded in the Afterlife. Contrary to the Biblical paradigm, some narratives are mixed in their combination of several functions although one tends to be primary; the purpose of pain can, for example, be punishing or chastising in intent, in addition to operating as a means of conversion. A sickness can also be transferred from one individual to another with differing intent. The intent of an infliction can also alter in the same individual such as Heinrich in the *AH*, who through the disease of leprosy is initially punished for his lack of spiritual values and subsequently tested. During his three years of suffering, Heinrich realises the error of his former ways but still does not give up hope of attaining a worldly cure. He pursues the worldly cure until he experiences a revelation through espying the girl through a hole in the wall of the physician's room. He realises the foolishness of resisting God and submits to His purpose in rejecting the cure. He passes the test and is miraculously cured on his way home.

In conclusion, through the identification of two Biblical paradigms of suffering, this thesis has revealed the supposed predominance of the interpretation of suffering as sin in the Middle Ages to be false. A comprehensive analysis of both the Bible, select patristic writings, medieval commentaries and the corpus of medieval literary texts reveals a taxonomy of reasons for the onset of suffering; additional to the recognition of natural causes, these include various religious reasons such as punishment, chastisement, a test, and a means of demonstrating the power of God. The disease of leprosy, although evident within punishment narratives, also emerges in healing-centred narratives, without any indication of guilt. It is the condition of death rather than leprosy, which

emerges as the most frequently imposed punishment. An examination of references to physicians and medicine within the chosen corpus confirms that these are on the whole valued in their own right as divine gifts for the welfare of humanity. In instances where secular medicine fails, this does not constitute criticism of this profession but serves to confirm the incurability of the condition which is subsequently miraculously healed. Individual medieval works differ in their selection of religious reasons associated with suffering in accordance with narrative intent; while the presence of healing-centred narratives in legendaries supports the cult of saints, their depiction of frequent punishment narratives seeks to control society through the dissemination of fear. In contrast, the portrayal of religiously-determined suffering in *Romane* indicates the possibility of combining religion with secular life.

Appendix 1

Physicians and Secular Medicine in the Bible

Reference	Healer	Victim	Condition	Treatment	Success
OT: Gn 50.2	Egyptian physicians	Jacob	Preparation of his corpse for burial	His corpse is embalmed for forty days after which the Egyptian physicians mourn his passing for seventy days.	Yes
OT: II Par 16.12-13	Unnamed physicians	King Asa	Possible gangrene of the feet	Unspecified treatment	No, King Asa dies as he relies on physicians rather than on God.
OT: Tb 2.10 (in Septuagint only)	Unnamed physicians	Tobias	White spots on the eyes caused by sparrow droppings	Various ointments are applied, which worsen the condition and eventually lead to complete blindness.	No, Tobias is finally healed by the angel Raphael.
NT: Mc 5.25-26 and Lc 8.43	Unnamed physicians	Unnamed woman	Haemorrhage	Unspecified treatment	No, treatment causes additional suffering and a worsening of the condition.

Appendix 2

Physicians and Secular Medicine in the Medieval Corpus

Reference	Healer	Victim	Condition	Treatment	Success
AH, 196-202	Unnamed physician at Montpellier and then at Salerno	Heinrich	Leprosy	Salerno physician advises two 'therapies': Heinrich should turn to God or employ the blood of a maiden's heart.	Procedure is not carried out as Heinrich has sympathy for the girl. He is cured by God.
Eng, 5200-04	Unnamed physicians	Dietrich	Leprosy	No details are provided.	No, he is healed by God.
Parz., 480, 5-9	Unnamed physician	Anfortas	Poisoned wound	The metallic point of the spear and splinters of bamboo shaft embedded in the wound are removed.	No, the wound festers. Numerous medical books are consulted and all remedies against snake bites are attempted. Healing is attained through Parzival.
KC, 7815ff. and *Silv*., 400-08 and 902-25,	It is unclear whether physicians are involved as 'ein wîse mân' is mentioned in *KC* and a 'kapitôliô'in *Silv*.	Constantine	Leprosy	It is recommended in the *KC* that he bathe in the blood of two year old children. In *Silv*., there is no age specified for the children involved.	No, in both accounts Constantine rejects the proposed cure and he is healed through St Silvester.
KC, 695ff.	Unnamed medics	Tiberius	Worms in the head	All medicines and measures (unspecified) prove futile.	No, he is healed by a picture of Christ.
KC, 13172ff.	Unnamed physicians	Astrolobius	Demonic possession	Unspecified advice and	No, he is healed by

				measures.	Eusebius.
LA, LXIII, p. 289	Unnamed physician	Rufinius	Ruptured vein	No details are provided.	No, he is healed by St Peter the Martyr.
LA, LXIII, p. 289	Unnamed physician	Nun	Gout on the knee	No details are provided.	No, she is healed by St Peter the Martyr.
LA, CXLV, p. 646	Unnamed physicians	Aquilinus	Fever	He is given a potion to break the fever.	No, this is ejected as he is unable to keep anything down. He is near death when he is cured by St. Michael.
LA, XI, pp. 67-68	Unnamed physicians	Nero	Multiple debilitating illnesses	He is placed in a bath of oil but is almost dead when removed.	No, he dies in pain.
KC, 4115-18	Unnamed physician	Nero	He demands to be made pregnant.	He is given a potion, which makes a worm grow.	No, a toad bursts out through his throat.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 376	Unnamed physicians	Nero	He demands to be made pregnant.	He is given a potion, which contains a frog.	No, he is given a further potion, which results in the ejection of the frog.
KC, 7564-72	Unnamed physician	Roman citizens	Thousands are dying as a consequence of poisoned water.	Upon realising that the Tiber is poisoned, the physician forbids anyone to drink from it. With the use of dogs, he is able to see where the water is safe to drink.	Yes, it prevents any further deaths.
SV, LXXXII, pp. 169-70	Unnamed physicians	King's son	Unspecified condition	He is told to avoid the sun and fire for ten years to prevent blindness.	This is arguably effective as the child retains his sight.
EM, 75, p. 293	Unnamed physicians	Bishop Germanus	Unspecified condition	A spa treatment is recommended.	This is presumably effective.
SV, CCXI, p. 220	Unnamed physician	Female patient	Facial black mark	The juice of a special herb is applied to the	It is effective in removing the mark but

				mark.	proves too harsh in that it also removes skin.
DM, IV/XV, p. 186	Pagan physician	Christian crusader	Fever	He is treated with rare fruits.	Yes
LA, CXXIV, p. 559	Unnamed physician	St Augustine	He is dying.	Unspecified but presumably involves pain relief.	No information given as to its effectiveness.
LA, XXIX, p. 139	Unnamed physicians	St Paula	Violent Fever	She is urged to drink a little thin wine to prevent dropsy.	She refuses to comply with this instruction.
DM, VI/XXVII, p. 33	Unnamed physician	Landgrave Ludwig	Unspecified	He is informed that any medical attempt is futile as the illness constitutes a divine punishment. He is recommended to perform penance and good works.	No, Ludwig dies a sinner as he fails to repent.
DM, XII/V, p. 320	Unnamed physician	Knight	Heart failure	He is advised to take back his wife and release a knight he imprisoned.	No, he refuses, dies and goes to Hell.
DM, IV/XCVIII, p. 267	Unnamed physician	Priest	Violent pains in the head.	The physician refuses to treat the priest as he does not have enough money for his fee.	No, he is healed by God, Who transfers the violent pains to the greedy physician.
EM, 6, p. 234	Unnamed physicians	Albertus	Leprosy	Unspecified but treatment ceases when he Physicians runs out of money.	He is healed by God.
LA, CXLIII, p. 637	Unnamed physician	Unnamed woman	Unspecified	Unspecified but treatment ceases when she runs out of money.	She is healed by Cosmas and Damien.

Appendix 3

The Healing-Centred Paradigm in the Old Testament

Reference	Healer	Victim	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Success
Gn 16.1	God	Sarai	Barrenness	None. God blesses Abram and Sarai with a child as a sign of the eternal covenant.	She is blessed by God to bear a son Isaac.	Yes
Gn 25.21	God	Rebekah	Barrenness	Isaac prays to God on behalf of Rebekah.	She is blessed with twins.	Yes
Gn 29.31	God	Rachel	Barrenness	Rachel prays to God.	She is eventually blessed with a son, Joseph.	Yes
I Sm 1.5-20	God	Hannah	Barrenness	Hannah prays to God.	She is eventually blessed with a son, Samuel.	Yes
Idc 13.3-5	God	Wife of Manoah	Barrenness	None. An angel announces that she will bear a son, who will be God's nazirite.	She is blessed by God with a son, Samson.	Yes
IV Rg 20.3	Divine cure mediated through Isaiah	Hezekiah	Fatal boil	Hezekiah prays and cries to God for assistance.	Isaiah heals him with a fig poultice. 15 years have been added to his life.	Yes
IV Rg 5.1	Divine cure mediated through Elisha	Naaman	Leprosy	He approaches Elijah with faith in his healing ability.	He is instructed to dip seven times in the Jordan.	Yes
IV Rg 4.16-17	Divine blessing mediated through	Unnamed woman	Barrenness	None. She is blessed with a son in	She bears a son.	Yes

	Elisha			gratitude for her hospitality to Elisha.		
III Rg 17.24	Divine cure mediated through Elijah	Unnamed son	He dies as a result of an unspecified illness.	His mother believes this occurred on account of her sins.	Elijah questions divine justice and pleads for the restoration of the boy to life.	Yes
Ex 4.8	Powers granted by God to Moses	Moses	God grants him the ability to make his own hand leprous at will.	This is granted in response to the fear of Moses that people will not accept him as a divine messenger.	He also has the ability to heal himself at will.	Yes. He succeeds in convincing people of his divinely-designated role.
IV Rg 4.27-35	Cure mediated through Elisha	The Shunamite boy	He is dead.	His mother seeks out Elisha and takes hold of his feet.	Gehazi attempts unsuccessfully to restore the boy to life using the staff of Elisha. The prophet restores the boy, having first prayed to God.	Yes

Appendix 4

The Healing-Centred Paradigm in the New Testament

Note: 'Individual' refers to the miraculous healing of one person, 'group' to the miraculous healing of crowds with various illnesses and 'general' to multiple unspecified healing events.

Reference	Healer	Victim	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Success
Mt 9.27-31	Jesus	Two men	Blindness	They follow Jesus, addressing Him as the Son of David and asking him to have pity on them.	Jesus asks if they believe He can cure them and when they affirm this, he touches their eyes and states that their faith has healed them.	Yes
Mc 7.31-37 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He suffers from deafness together with a speech impediment.	He is brought before Jesus with the request that He lay His hand on him.	Jesus takes him aside, puts His fingers into the man's ears and touches his tongue with spittle. He looks up to heaven, sighs and says 'be open'.	Yes. The man is healed instantly.
Mc 8.22-26 (individual)	Jesus	A man of Bethsaida	He is blind.	People bring him before Jesus and beg Him to touch him.	He takes man aside, puts spittle on his eyes and lays His hands on him.	Yes, healing is gradual. After this first phase, the man can recognise shapes. When Jesus lays His hands on the man's eyes a second time, he is

						completely cured.
Lc 13.11-17 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed woman	She suffers a spirit of weakness for 18 years; she is bent double and unable to stand up.	Jesus sees her and calls her.	He states that she is freed from her disability and He lays His hands on her.	Yes. She straightens up at once and glorifies God. She is healed on the Sabbath.
Lc 14.1-6 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He suffers from dropsy.	Jesus sees him while having a meal in the house of a leading Pharisee.	He takes the man, cures him and sends him away.	Yes. He is healed on the Sabbath.
Lc 17.11-19	Jesus	Ten men	They are leprous.	They come to meet Jesus when He enters a village, asking Him to have pity on them.	He tells them to go and show themselves to a priest.	Yes, on their way to the priest they are cleansed. One turns back, praises God, throws himself at the feet of Jesus and thanks him.
Lc 22.50-51 (individual)	Jesus	Malchus, the high priest's servant	His ear is severed off with a sword.	Followers of Jesus cut off his ear when Judas betrays Jesus.	Jesus tells His followers to stop. He touches the man's ear and heals him.	Yes
Io 4.46-54 (individual)	Jesus	The son of a royal official at Capernaum.	He is ill with fever and at the point of death.	His father seeks out Jesus and asks Him to come and heal his son.	Jesus tells him to go home, that his son will live.	Yes
Io 9.1-41 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He is blind from birth.	When Jesus and His disciples come across him, the disciples enquire why he is blind.	After explaining the reason why, Jesus makes a paste with His spittle, which he places on the eyes of the man.	Yes. Jesus tells him to wash in the pool of Siloam and when he does, he is healed. He believes in Jesus as the Son of God and worships Him.
Mt 8.5-13, and Lc 7.1-10	Jesus	A servant of a centurion at	He is paralysed and in great pain.	In Mt, the centurion sends Jewish elders	In Mt, Jesus meets the messengers and	Yes

(individual)		Capernaum		to Jesus to ask him to come and heal his servant; in Lc, he personally asks Jesus to heal his servant by word as he is he is unworthy to receive Jesus in his home.	when they return home, the servant is healed. In Lc, Jesus is astounded by the man's faith, and tells him to go home as his servant has been cured on account of his faith.	
Mt 8.14-15, Mc 1.30-31, and Lc 4.38-39 (individual)	Jesus	Peter's mother-in-law	Fever	In Mt, Jesus finds her at Peter's house; in Mc, He is told about her and in Lc, Jesus is asked to help her.	In Mt, Jesus touches her hand and heals her; in Mc, He takes her by the hand and helps her up and in Lc, Jesus stands over her, rebuking the fever and heals her.	Yes. She gets up and serves him.
Mt 8.1-4, Mc 1.40-45, and Lc 5.12-15 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He is leprous.	In Mt, he bows low before Jesus and requests healing; in Mc, he falls on his knees and in Lc he falls on his face.	In Mt, Jesus agrees to heal him; He touches him, stating 'be cleansed'. In Mc, Jesus feels sorry for the man.	Yes, he is healed instantly. Jesus tells him to tell no-one, show himself to a priest and make an offering as prescribed by Moses.
Mt 12.10-13, Mc 3.1-6, and Lc 6.6-11 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He has a withered right hand.	In Mt, he is present in the synagogue when the Pharisees ask Jesus if it is permitted to cure on the Sabbath. In Mc and Lc the Pharisees hope to accuse Jesus for healing on the	In Mt, Jesus tells the man to stretch out his hand and at once it is restored. In Mc and Lc, He orders the man to stand in the middle before healing him.	Yes. He is healed on the Sabbath.

				Sabbath but Jesus knows their thoughts.		
Mt 9.20-22, Mc 5.25-34, and Lc 8.43-48 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed woman	She suffers a flow of blood for 12 years.	She touches the fringe of the cloak of Jesus in the belief that she may be healed.	In Mt, Jesus tells her that her faith has healed her. In Mc and Lc the woman is healed the moment she touches the cloak; Jesus is unaware who has done this until she admits to it.	Yes, she is cured instantly.
Mt 20.29-34, Mc 10.46-52, and Lc 18.35-43 (individual)	Jesus	In Mt, two men of Jericho. In Mc and Lc one man, Bartimaeus	Blindness	In Mt, they address Jesus as the Son of David and call upon Him to have pity on their plight and to cure them. In Mc and Lc, Bartimaeus cries out to Him and goes over (or is taken) to Him when He calls.	In Mt, Jesus feels pity for them, touches their eyes, healing them at once. In Mc and Lc, Jesus tells him that his faith has healed him.	Yes. They follow Jesus or Bartimaeus follows Him.
Lc 7.11-18 (individual)	Jesus	The only son of the widow of Nain	He is dead.	Jesus sees his corpse being carried out.	Jesus feels sorry for the widow, touches the bier and orders the dead man to get up.	Yes. He sits up and begins to talk. Jesus gives him to his mother and all glorify God.
Io 11.1-46 (individual)	Jesus	Lazarus of Bethany	He is ill and dies.	Lazarus' sister Mary sends a message to Jesus to come as he is ill. Jesus tells her that it will not end in	Jesus returns a couple of days after he has died. Martha expresses her belief in Jesus as the son of	Jesus sighs and weeps. He raises his eyes and prays aloud to God for the benefit of those

				death but will used to glorify God.	God. Mary weeps at His feet.	listening. He orders him to come out of the cave, which he does.
Mt 9.18-19, 23-26, Mc 5.22-24, 35-43, and Lc 8.41-42, 49-56 (individual)	Jesus	The daughter of Jairus	She is dead.	In Mt, Jairus comes to Jesus, asking Him to lay His hand on his dead daughter and save her. In Mc and Lc, Jairus falls at His feet, begging Him to save his sick daughter.	In Mt, Jesus takes her by the hand and she stands up. In Mc and Lc, Jesus tells them to have faith, and orders the girl to get up while holding her hand.	Yes
Mt 9.32-34 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He is possessed by a demon and is dumb as a consequence.	He is brought before Jesus.	The demon is driven out.	Yes
Mt 12.22-24, and Lc 11.14-16 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He is possessed by demon and is blind and dumb as a consequence.	He is brought before Jesus.	The demon is driven out.	Yes, the man can see and speak.
Mc 1.21-28, and Lc 4.31-37 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed man	He is possessed by a demon.	The demon calls out to Jesus, revealing Him as the Holy one of God when Jesus teaches in the synagogue.	Jesus orders demon to be quiet and to come out of the man.	Yes, in Mc, the demon throws the man into convulsions and with a loud cry leaves him. In Lc, the demon throws the man into the middle and comes out of him without hurting him at all.
Mt 15.22-28, and Mc 7.24-30 (individual)	Jesus	The daughter of a gentile Canaanite woman	She is possessed by a demon.	In Mt, her mother shouts at Jesus to take pity on her. In	Jesus initially refuses but as she shows great faith, He	Yes. From that moment on, her daughter is well

				Mc, mother falls at His feet and begs Jesus.	tells her that her desire is granted.	again.
Mt 8.28-34, Mc 5.1-20, and Lc 8.26-39	Jesus	In Mt, two men; in Mc and Lc one man.	Demonic possession, causing violent behaviour. In Mc, the man howls and gashes himself with stones.	In Mt, they come out of tombs towards Jesus. They reveal Him as the Son of God and plead with him that if he drives them out, to drive them into a nearby herd of pigs. In Mc and Lc, the man falls at the feet of Jesus.	Jesus simply says 'go then' to the request to be sent into a herd of pigs.	Yes, in Mt, the herd charges down cliff and perishes. In Mc and Lc, the man sits at the feet of Jesus afterwards, properly dressed and in his full senses. He wishes to stay with Jesus but Jesus sends him home.
Mt 17.14-21, Mc 9.14-29, and Lc 9.37-43 (individual)	Jesus	An unnamed boy	He is an epileptic demoniac	In Mt and Lc, his father goes down on his knees before Jesus, begging Him to have pity on his son. In Mc, his father professes his faith.	The disciples had initially attempted to heal the boy but failed due to their lack of faith. Jesus orders the boy to be brought before Him, rebukes the demon, who leaves him.	Yes, the boy is instantly cured. In Mc and Lc, the demon causes violent convulsions in the boy and shouts as it leaves him.
Lc 5.15	Jesus	Large crowds in a Galilean town	Unspecified illnesses	People gather around Jesus to hear Him and be cured.	No details are given.	Unclear if he cures them before going off to some deserted place to pray.
Mt 21.14	Jesus	A crowd in a temple	Blind and lame people	They come to Jesus in the temple to be cured.	No details are provided.	Yes
Mt 9.35	Jesus	Crowds on a tour in Galilee	All kinds of illnesses	No details are given.	No details are provided.	Yes
Mt 11.1-6, and Lc 7.18-23	Jesus	Crowds	Blindness, lameness, deafness, skin-	These healing acts are a response to the	No details are given.	Yes

			diseases and raising the dead to life. In Lc, Jesus also heals the possessed.	question of John the Baptist as to whether Jesus is the expected one.		
Mt 14.35-36, and Mc 6.54-56	Jesus	Crowds at Gennesaret	Unspecified illnesses	People bring the sick to Jesus, begging Him to let them touch the edge of His cloak.	All who do so are cured.	Yes
Mt 15.30-31	Jesus	Large crowds in Galilee	Conditions mentioned include blindness, lameness, and muteness.	People bring the sick to Jesus and place them at His feet.	He cures them.	Yes. All praise God.
Mt 19.2	Jesus	Large crowds in Judea	Unspecified ailments	People follow Jesus there.	No detail is given.	Yes
Mt 8.16-17, Mc 1.32-3, and Lc 4.40-41	Jesus	People in Capernaum	Demonic possession and unspecified sicknesses	The possessed and sick are brought to Jesus.	He drives out the demons with a command and cures the sick. In Lc, He lays His hands upon them.	Yes
Mt 4.23-25 and Mc 1.39	Jesus	People in Galilee	All kinds including possession, epilepsy and paralyses. Mc just mentions possession.	Large crowds follow Him	He cures them – no detail is supplied.	Yes
Mt 12.15-16, Mc 3.10-12, and Lc 6.17-19	Jesus	Crowds	Unspecified in Mt and Lc. Mc mentions possession.	The sick follow Him. In Mc and Lc, the sick reach out to touch Jesus and the demons announce Him as the Son of God.	He cures them all – no detail is supplied although Lc states that it the power which flows from Jesus that cures all illness.	Yes
Mt 13.58 and Mc 6.5	Jesus	People in Nazareth	Unspecified ailments	They are present in	Jesus does not cure	Yes

				the synagogue.	many here because they lack in faith. In Mc, He heals some by laying His hands upon them.	
Mt 14.14 and Lc 9.11	Jesus	A large crowd	Unspecified illness	They follow Jesus.	Jesus has pity on them and He heals their sick.	Yes
Act 3.1-10 (individual)	Peter	A man at the gate of the Temple	He is lame.	He is carried to the gate of the temple every day in order to beg. He begs from Peter and John.	Peter orders him to walk and takes him by the right hand and helps him to stand.	Yes. His feet and ankles become firm, he jumps up, stands, and begins to walk, praising God.
Act 9.32-35 (individual)	Peter	Aeneas at Lydda	He is paralysed for eight years.	Peter comes across him.	He tells him that Jesus cures him and to get up.	Yes. Aeneas gets up immediately. All who see this are converted.
Act 14.8-11 (individual)	Paul	A man in Lycaonia	He has crippled feet from birth	He listens to Paul preaching	Paul looks at him and sees that he has the faith to be cured. He orders him to get up.	Yes, the man jumps up and begins to walk. The crowd believe that Barnabus and Paul are gods until they convince them otherwise.
Act 28.8 (individual)	Paul	The father of Publius in Malta	He suffers from a fever and dysentery.	Publius entertains Paul hospitably for three days. His father is in bed sick	Paul goes to see him and after a prayer, he lays his hands on him and heals him.	Yes.
Act 9.36-41 (individual)	Peter	Tabitha (Dorcas) at Jaffa	She becomes ill and dies.	Tabitha was a disciple who looked after those in need. After she dies, the disciples send for	Peter orders everyone out of the room. He kneels down by the woman and prays. He then	Yes. She opens her eyes and sits up. After this miracle many believe in the Lord.

				Peter.	orders Tabitha to stand up.	
Act 20.9-12 (individual)	Paul	Eutychus at Troas	Eutychus falls asleep during a sermon of Paul's. He falls and dies.	He falls near Paul.	Paul clasps the boy to him and reassures people that he is alive.	Yes.
Act 16.16-18 (individual)	Paul	A slave girl at Philippi	She is possessed.	The girl follows Paul and his men for days announcing them as the servants of God.	Paul becomes exasperated and orders the spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to leave the girl.	Yes, the spirit departs immediately.
Act 5.15-16 (group)	Peter	Crowds in Jerusalem	Unspecified illnesses and demonic possession	The sick are taken out into the street and laid on mats in the hope that the shadow of Peter might fall across them as he passed. Others crowd around him.	All are cured.	Yes.
Act 8.6-7 (group)	Philip	People in Samaria	Demonic possession, paralysis and crippled limbs.	Crowds arrive to hear him preach, having heard of the miracles he works.	Many are cured - no detail is supplied.	Yes.
Act 19.11-12 (group)	Paul	People in Ephesus	Unspecified illness and demonic possession	Handkerchiefs and aprons which had touched Paul are taken to the sick.	This action heals all.	Yes.
Act 28.9 (group)	Paul	People in Malta	Unspecified illness	After Paul has cured the father of Publius, other sick people arrive to be healed.	They come to Paul and are cured.	Yes.
Act 2.43	Apostles	People in Jerusalem	Unspecified illness	No detail supplied.	The apostles work	Yes, these fill people

(general)					many miracles.	with awe.
Act 5.12 (general)	Apostles	People in Jerusalem	Unspecified illness	No detail supplied.	The apostles work many miracles.	These signs convince many to believe in the Lord.
Act 6.8 (general)	Stephen	People in Jerusalem	Unspecified illness	No detail supplied.	Stephen is filled with grace and power, which enables him to work great miracles and signs.	Yes.
Act 14.3 (general)	Paul and Barnabus	People in Iconium	Unspecified illness	No detail supplied.	They preach and perform signs and wonders through the gift of grace.	Yes.

Appendix 5

The Healing-Centred Paradigm in the *Legenda Aurea*

Reference	Healer	Victim	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Success
LA, II, p. 15	Saint Andrew	A young man	He is killed by seven devils in the form of dogs while he is in bed. These dogs were ordered out of Nicaea by Andrew.	Andrew sees the body being carried out and when told what has happened, he cries out in tears to God that it was the demons he chased from Nicaea..	He asks the father of the young man what will he give him if he restores his son to life; he tells Andrew he will give him his son.	Yes, Andrew prays to God, the young man rises and follows him.
LA, II, p. 15-16	Saint Andrew	Forty men	They were on their way by sea to listen to the preaching of Andrew when the devil raised a storm and all were drowned.	Their bodies are washed up upon the shore.	Andrew brings them back to life and they tell what had befallen them.	Yes.
LA, IV, p. 30	Saint Lucy	Lucy's mother, Euthicia,	She suffers from an incurable flow of blood for four years.	They hear of the fame of Saint Agatha and go to her tomb. While there, they hear in the gospel of a woman similarly afflicted.	Lucy tells her mother to have faith and touch the tomb of Agatha. They pray at the tomb and Lucy has a vision in her sleep, where Agatha informs her that her faith has healed her mother.	Yes. Euthicia is healed and Lucy requests to be released from her espousals and for her dowry to be given to the poor.
LA, V, p. 36	Saint Thomas, the apostle	All the sick, the lame and the feeble among the poor in	Various conditions	Saint Thomas summons them.	He prays over them, and those who received the faith	Yes. Thomas gets up and orders them to stand up, informing

		the region			respond 'amen'. A great light comes from heaven and flashed over them for half an hour. They fall to the ground.	them that God has healed them. They stand up and are healed. They glorify God and Thomas.
LA, VIII, p. 54	Saint Stephen	Unspecified people	Some are dead while others suffer from various illnesses.	No details are given.	He raises six dead people to life and cures others. Flowers and cloths from his alter cure many, e.g. a blind woman, to whom they are applied.	Yes.
LA, VIII, p. 54	Saint Stephen	A woman named Petronia	She suffers from a very serious illness for a long time.	She consults a Jew, who gives her a ring to wear, claiming the stone had power to heal her.	The ring is useless. She goes to the church of Saint Stephen and prays earnestly for help.	Yes, the ring falls to the ground and the woman's health is restored instantly.
LA, IX, p. 57	Saint John, the apostle	A dear friend of John, a woman named Drusiana	She dies.	He sees her being carried out for burial. Her kinsmen inform him that she was looking forward to seeing him.	He orders them to set down the bier and unbind her. He requests that Jesus raise her to life and orders her to rise and prepare food for him.	Yes, she gets up and goes home as he commands.
LA, IX, p. 58	Saint John, the apostle	A young man	He dies.	He is carried out for burial and his family and mourners prostrate themselves at the apostle's feet and beg him to	John weeps and prays for a long time and raises the man to life.	Yes. He orders the man to tell two misguided apostles how great a penalty they have incurred. All three perform

				revive the man in the name of God as he had done for Drusiana.		penance for thirty days and receive grace.
LA, IX, pp. 59-60	Saint John, the apostle	Two criminals	They are poisoned to death.	The high priest Aristodemus requests that they be restored to life in order that he may believe.	John gives him his cloak and instructs him to lay it upon the dead men and ask that they may be risen in the name of Christ.	Yes. The high priest does this as instructed, the men are revived and the high priest and the proconsul are converted and baptized. They build a church in honour of the apostle.
LA, XI, p. 69	Saint Thomas of Canterbury	Numerous sick people	They suffer from blindness, deafness, lameness or have died.	No details are given.	God works many miracles through him. By the merit of Thomas the blind see, the deaf hear, the lame walked and the dead are restored to life.	Yes, even the water in which cloths stained by his blood were washed bring healing to many.
LA, XI, p. 69	Saint Thomas of Canterbury	A man for whom Thomas has great affection.	He falls gravely ill.	He goes to the tomb of the saint and prays for health.	He is healed.	Yes but when he gets home, he reflects whether this is in the best interests of his soul. He returns to the tomb and prays that if health is not favourable for his soul, he would rather be ill. He promptly becomes ill again.

LA, XVI, p. 96	God	A hermit	He had lost the sight of his eyes.	He prays for peace in France and an angel appears and announces the birth of Remy to an old woman named Cilina. Remy will free his people from enemy attacks.	He tells Cilina about the vision but as she does not believe him, he informs her that when she is nursing Remy, she will restore the hermit's sight by anointing him with her milk.	Yes.
LA, XXVII, p. 128	Peter, a former tax collector	A doorman	He is deaf and mute.	Peter comes across him.	He states 'be open', and a flame comes out of his mouth and touches the tongue and ears of the doorman. He could hear and speak immediately.	Yes. This confirms Peter's identity as a servant of God.
LA, XXXVIII, p. 167	Saint Blaise	Birds and wild animals	Some ailing.	They bring Blaise food and would not leave until he lays his hands on them in blessing. Those who are ill go to him.	They are cured.	Yes.
LA, XXXVIII, p. 167	Saint Blaise	A child	He is dying because a fish bone is stuck in his throat	The mother lays the boy at Blaise's feet, and tearfully begs him to cure her son.	Blaise lays his hands on him and prays that the child and anyone else who seeks help from God in his name be cured.	Yes. The boy is cured instantly.
LA, XXXIX, p. 171-172	Saint Peter the apostle	Saint Agatha	She is tortured as a result of her belief by Quintianus and	She is thrown into prison.	An aged man appears with medication but she	Peter tells her who he is and in the name of Jesus he restores

			her breast is cut off.		refuses to be treated as Jesus can heal her without medicine – with a single word.	her to full health.
LA, XL, p. 174	Saint Vaast	Two beggars	One is blind and the other is lame.	They ask Vaast for alms.	He tells them he has neither gold nor silver but will give them what he has. He then prays and makes them whole.	Yes.
LA, XL, p. 174	Saint Vaast	An old man, Audomatus	He is blind.	When Vaast is being transferred for burial, Audomatus laments that he could not see his body.	He is instantly healed.	Yes but he later prays and becomes blind again.
LA, XLI, p. 175	Saint Amand	A man	He suffers from blindness.	A bishop saves the water in which Amand has washed his hands.	The bishop uses this to cure the blind man.	Yes.
LA, XLII, pp. 176-177	Saint Valentine	The prefect's daughter.	She has been blind for a long time.	Valentine is held in custody at the prefect's house and he refers to Christ as the true light.	The prefect questions this and asks him to give light to his daughter. Valentine prays over her and her sight is restored.	Yes. The whole household is converted.
LA, XLIII, p. 178	An angel	Saint Juliana	She is stretched on a wheel until all her bones are broken.	An angel appears and shatters the wheel.	He heals her instantly.	Yes. People are converted and martyred for their faith.
LA, XLIV, pp. 179-180	Saint Peter, the apostle	The son of Theophilus, governor of the city.	He is dead for fourteen years.	Peter is imprisoned by Theophilus. Paul pleads for his	Peter states that this is easy for God. He is led to the tomb.	Yes. All are converted and they build a church in

				release. Theophilus states that if Peter raises his son to life, he'll go free.	He prays and the son immediately came to life. (Jacobus doubts that this is true.)	which Peter could preach.
LA, XLIV, p. 180-181	Saint Peter, the apostle	Various people	They suffered from unspecified illnesses and possession.	They are brought before Peter.	Peter has them laid out in front of him. He calls down God's blessing upon them.	Yes, an immense light appears and all are cured. Over 10,000 are baptised. Peter's power is greater than the other apostles because his shadow can heal.
LA, XLVI, p. 187	Saint Matthias, the apostle	Various people in Judea	They were suffering from ailments such as leprosy, possession, blindness, lameness, deafness. Others were dead.	Matthias accompanies his preaching in Judea with miracles.	He heals lepers, the possessed, the blind, the lame, the deaf, in addition to raising the dead to life.	Yes. He thus converts many to the faith.
LA, XLVI, p. 188	Saint Matthias, the apostle	Various people in Macedonia	250 people were blinded by drinking a poisoned potion.	Matthias also drinks poison in Christ's name and it has no effect on him.	He restores their sight by laying his hand on each of them.	Yes. The devil, however, appears in the likeness of a child and persuades them to kill Matthias. The demons are unable to harm him and he is freed by God and continues preaching.
LA, XLVII, p. 202	Christ	Saint Longinus, a centurion	He is almost blind due to old age and infirmity.	He stands by Christ on the cross and obeys orders to pierce Christ's side	The blood runs down the shaft of the spear and touches his eyes. At once he	Yes. He is converted.

				with a spear.	sees clearly.	
LA, XLIX, p. 207-208	Saint Benedict	A young monk	The devil overturns a wall and crushes him dead.	The devil appears first to Benedict to inform him that he's going after his monks at work. They receive the message too late.	Benedict has the mangled body brought to him in a sack and restores the monk to life.	Yes.
LA, XLIX, p. 210	Saint Benedict	A boy	He is so badly afflicted with elephantiasis that his hair is falling out and his scalp is swollen.	His father sends him to Benedict.	Benedict swiftly restores him to life. The family are very grateful to God.	Yes. The boy performs good works for the rest of his life.
LA, L, p. 213	Saint Patrick	The king of Scots	Patrick accidentally pierces the king's foot with his staff while preaching.	The king presumes that this is part of the conversion procedure.	The saint is impressed with this willingness to suffer and he prays and heals the king's foot.	Yes.
LA, LIII, pp. 232-233	The image of Jesus	Tiberius Caesar	He suffers from a serious illness.	Tiberius hears of the miracles of Jesus and sends Volusian to Pilate to send Jesus at once but Volusian discovers through Veronica that Jesus has been put to death.	She has in her possession an image of Jesus' face on linen and if Tiberius looks devoutly upon this image, he will be healed. He does so and is cured.	Yes. Tiberius sentences Pilate to death but he commits suicide before this can be carried out.
LA, LV, p. 246	An angel	Saint Secundus	Sapritius has him bound on a rack and stretched until his arms are drawn out of his sockets	There is no reaction from Secundus.	An angel appears and repairs the injury.	Yes. The angel removes him from prison and takes him to Jesus, who blesses him. Seundus is martyred and his

						body is taken by the angels.
LA, LIX, p. 266	Saint Mark, the evangelist	A cobbler	The man wounds his left hand gravely while repairing Mark's shoe.	He exclaims 'One is God' in Mark's presence.	Mark makes a clay with his spittle and spreads it on the cobbler's hand.	Yes. He is healed in an instant. The man and his household are baptized.
LA, LIX, p. 268	Saint Mark, the evangelist	A young man	He suffers from cancer.	He implores Mark's help with heartfelt devotion.	While he sleeps, Saint Mark appears and touches him. He awakes fully cured in the morning.	Yes.
LA, LIX, p. 269	Saint Mark, the evangelist	A man	He falls from the top of the bell tower of Saint Mark's while working on it.	As he falls, he beseeches the aid of the saint.	He lands on a plank and all his hurts are mended.	Yes. He devoutly goes back up to finish the work he started.
LA, LIX, p. 270	Saint Mark, the evangelist	A knight	His arm is grievously wounded in battle so that his hand hangs from his wrist.	He's advised to have it amputated but has it tied in place instead and invokes the aid of Saint Mark.	The injury is immediately healed.	Yes. All that is left of the wound is a scar as evidence of the miracle and reminder of the great blessing granted to the knight.
LA, LXIII, p. 280	Saint Peter, the martyr	A man named Asserbus	He has been paralysed for five years.	He is brought to Saint Peter in Milan.	Peter makes the sign of the cross over him and he is immediately healed.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 280	Saint Peter, the martyr	The son of a nobleman	He has a large growth in his throat, making it difficult for him to breathe or to speak.	No details are given.	Peter raises his hands over him and places his mantle on him. He is cured instantly.	Yes. He, however, has violent convulsions at a later point and places the saint's mantle on himself. He vomits a worm with two heads, which is

						covered in thick hairs. He's now completely cured.
LA, LXIII, p. 280	Saint Peter, the martyr	A young man	He suffers muteness.	No details are given.	Peter places his finger into the mouth of the young man and breaks the string that ties his tongue.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 283	Saint Peter, the martyr	A woman	She suffers from dropsy.	She comes with the help of her husband to the place where Peter was killed	She prays to him and quickly recovers her health.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 283	Saint Peter, the martyr	Unspecified people	Women suffer from demonic possession while others suffer from fevers and other ailments.	No details are given.	He forces the demons out of the women with much vomiting of blood and cures fevers and other afflictions.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 283	Saint Peter, the martyr	A man	He suffers from a skin disease, which punctured a finger on his left hand in many places.	No details are given.	Peter cures him and gives him wonderful comfort.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 283	Saint Peter, the martyr	A child	It suffers a fall and has consequently no feeling or movement.	Some of the earth that was splattered with the martyr's blood is taken to him.	This is placed on his chest and he stands up unhurt.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 283	Saint Peter, the martyr	A woman	She suffers from cancer.	This earth is also brought to her.	It is applied to the affected area and she is cured.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 283	Saint Peter, the martyr	Unspecified people	They suffer from various diseases.	They are brought to Peter's tomb in wagons.	They are cured.	Yes.

LA, LXIII, p. 285	Saint Peter, the martyr	A woman in Flanders.	She suffered three miscarriages, which made her husband hate her.	She asks Peter to come to her aid and bears a fourth child also dead. She prays and begs devoutly to Peter.	The child is revived to life.	Yes. He is called Peter in recognition of the saint.
LA, LXIII, p. 286	Saint Peter, the martyr	A girl in Sens	She falls into a stream and is pulled out dead.	People carry her to the church of the friars and commend her to Saint Peter.	She is restored to life and health.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, pp. 286-287	Saint Peter, the martyr	Friar John of Poland	He suffers quartan fever in Bologna when he was due to preach on the feast of the saint.	He turns to the saint's altar and prays that he might preach the glory of Peter.	The fever leaves him and he never suffers from it again.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 287	Saint Peter, the martyr	A woman named Girolda	She is possessed for thirteen years.	She goes to a priest for assistance but he is frightened and fails in his efforts to heal her. She then goes to Peter while he is alive and beseeches his help.	He tells her to have confidence and not to despair. He cannot heal her now but he will at some point. After his passion, the woman goes to his tomb and is completely delivered from demons.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, p. 287	Saint Peter, the martyr	A woman, named Euphemia.	She is possessed for seven years.	She is brought to Peter's tomb and the demons disturb her more than usual. They cry out the names of Mary and Peter.	The spirits go out of her, leaving her for dead but after a short while she arises completely cured.	Yes. She declares that the demons had harassed her most on Sundays and feast days.
LA, LXIII, pp. 287-288	Saint Peter, the martyr	A woman of Beregno, named	She is possessed by demons for six	She is brought to Peter's tomb, where	The demons cry out the sins of a heretic	Yes. The heretic is converted upon

		Verbona	years.	a dozen men cannot hold her.	present. Then they tear the skin of the woman and go out of her, leaving her half dead. She arises cured after a while.	witnessing this event.
LA, LXIII, pp. 288-289	Saint Peter, the martyr	A nun in Germany	She suffers painful gout in her knee for over a year for which no remedy is found.	She is unable to visit Peter's tomb so she travels there mentally with sincere devotion.	Knowing the trip would take 13 days, she recites 100 'our Fathers' in Peter's honour for 13 days. She feels better day by day and on last day reads the entire Psalter.	Yes. When she mentally makes the return trip home in a similar manner, she is completely cured.
LA, LXIII, p. 289	Saint Peter, the martyr	A man named Rufinus from Canapicio	A vein ruptures in the lower part of his body and blood flows out continuously. No doctor is able to find a remedy.	After six days Rufinus devoutly invokes the aid of Saint Peter.	He is immediately cured.	Yes. That night he has a vision of a friar, who holds out his hands filled with blood and sweet smelling ointment, instructing him to visit Peter's tomb. He does so.
LA, LXIII, p. 290	Saint Peter, the martyr	A nun in a monastery in Florence.	She suffers a long and serious illness.	She has a vision of Peter on the day of his death. She devotes herself in prayer to him.	She is soon completely restored to health.	Yes.
LA, LXIII, pp. 290-291	Saint Peter, the martyr	A schoolboy in Italy	He jumps and falls, suffering a painful rupture in his groin. He is unable to walk.	He hears from a preacher how a woman was cured of cancer by placing earth, which	He picks up some dirt and prays to God to make it just as powerful as that with Peter's blood. He	Yes. He's healed at once.

				contained Peter's blood, upon it.	makes the sign of the cross over it, invokes Peter and spreads it on the injured part.	
LA, LXIII, p. 291	Saint Peter, the martyr	A man named Benedict in Apostella in 1259	His leg are swollen, his belly is bloated, and his face covered with sores.	He begs alms from a woman, who advises him to go to the house of the friars, confess his sins and invoke the aid of Saint Peter.	He goes early the next day but the door of the church is locked. He falls asleep and has a vision in which a monk appears, covers him with a cloak and leads him inside the church.	Yes. Benedict awakes inside the church, completely cured. People are amazed at this miracle.
LA, LXVII, pp. 299-300	Jesus	Vespasian, governor of Galatia.	Since childhood, he has suffered from worms in his nose.	Pilate's envoy Albanus is shipwrecked and taken to Vespasian, who orders him to cure him; Albanus informs him that if he believes in Jesus, he will be cured.	Vespasian states that he believes and the worms fall out of his nose. He is restored to full health immediately.	Yes. Convinced that Jesus is the son of God, he destroys Jerusalem in vengeance for the death of Christ.
LA, LXVIII, p. 304	The cross upon which Jesus will be hanged together with an angel	Unspecified sick	Various illnesses	Solomon buries the wood and a pond wells up on that spot.	The occasional descent of an angel upon it together with the power of the cross heals the sick.	Yes.
LA, LXVIII, pp. 308-309	The Holy Cross	A young man	He's dead.	He is being carried past when Judas sees him.	Judas has three crosses. He holds the first two over the man and nothing happens.	Yes. He is revived to life when the true cross is extended towards him.
LA, LXVIII, p. 309	The Holy Cross	A leading woman in	She is close to death.	Macarius, the	The first two have	Yes.

		Jerusalem		bishop, brings in three crosses.	no effect but when he places the third beside the woman, she opens her eyes and is cured.	
LA, LXXIX, pp. 343-344	Christ through Saint Peter, the exorcist	The daughter of the jailer Archemius	She is possessed.	Saint Peter, the exorcist, is being held by the jailer Archemius. He informs him that if he believed in Christ, his daughter would be healed.	Archemius states that if God frees Peter from chains and cures his daughter, he will believe. This happens.	Yes. Archemius prostrates himself at Peter's feet and his whole household is baptized. He and his family are martyred.
LA, LXXXI, p. 349	Saint Barnabus, the apostle	Various people	Various illnesses	Barnabus goes to Cyprus with John, taking the gospel of St Matthew with him.	He holds this over sick people and cures many by the power of God.	Yes.
LA, LXXXV, p. 355	Saints Gervasius and Protasius	A man	He is blind.	He touches the coffin of the saints.	He immediately receives his sight.	Yes. Many others were also cured by the merits of the saints.
LA, LXXXV, p. 356	Saints Gervasius and Protasius	A young man near Hippo	He is bathing his horse when he is suddenly seized by a demon, tormented and thrown into the river as if he were dead.	During vespers in the church of Saints Gervasius and Protasius, the man comes in screaming and clings to the altar.	The demon is conjured to go out of him and does so violently; one of the man's eyes hangs down his cheek by a thin vein.	Yes. It is put back in place and is completely healed within a few days by the merits of the saints.
LA, LXXXVII, p. 365	Gallicanus, commander of the Roman army	Unspecified	Those demonically possessed.	Gallicanus is converted by John and Paul. He resigns his position and serves God in	At the very sight of him, demons flee from the bodies of the possessed.	Yes. He also performs other unspecified miracles. He is eventually martyred.

				poverty.		
LA, LXXXVIII, p. 367	The Blessed Virgin	Saint Leo, Pope	A woman inflames lust in him when she kisses his hand. He cuts off his hand and throws it away.	As people wonder why he no longer celebrates the divine mysteries, he commits himself to the care of the Blessed Virgin.	She appears at his side and reattaches his hand, making it firm.	Yes. She instructs him to proceed as before and to offer sacrifice to Jesus. He tells everyone about the miracle.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 367 Biblical account	Saint Peter, the apostle	Aeneas	He is a paralytic.	No details are given.	He is cured.	Yes.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 367 Biblical account	Saint Peter, the apostle	Tabitha	She is dead.	No details are given.	She is restored to life.	Yes.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 367 Biblical account	Saint Peter, the apostle	Unspecified	Unspecified sickness.	No details are given.	His shadow heals the sick.	Yes.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 367	Saint Peter, the apostle	One of his disciples.	He dies while preaching on his travels.	A disciple returns and informs Peter.	Peter gives him his staff and orders him to go to the dead man and lay it upon him.	Yes. The disciple does this and the man who had been dead for forty days promptly rises.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 371	Saint Peter, the apostle	Unspecified	Unspecified sickness	No details are given.	Peter preaches and heals a great many people of their illnesses.	Yes. Many are converted to the faith.
LA, LXXXIX, pp. 372-373	Saint Peter, the apostle	A young Man	He is dead.	Simon the magician attempts to raise the man to life with incantations but only succeeds in moving his head with the help of a demon.	Peter stands at a distance, prays and orders the man to get up and walk in the name of Jesus Christ.	Yes, the man arises instantly and walks about.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 378	Saint Peter, the apostle, mediated through a holy man Agiontius	A girl	She is a paralytic.	She has been imploring Saint Peter for a long time to cure her.	He finally appears to her, instructing her to see Agontius, a man who lives in the	Yes. Agonius orders her to stand, giving her his hand and helping her to her

					church where Peter is buried, as he will restore her to health. She drags herself to the church to see him and tells him what Peter has said.	feet. She is completely cured.
LA, XC, pp. 380-381 Biblical account	Saint Paul, the apostle	A man at Lystra	He is crippled.	No details are given.	He makes him walk straight.	Yes.
LA, XC, pp. 380-381 Biblical account	Saint Paul, the apostle	A youth	He falls from a window and is killed.	No details are given.	He is restored to life.	Yes. Paul also performs other unspecified miracles.
LA, XC, p. 381 (presumably repetition of above)	Saint Paul, the apostle	Nero's cup-bearer, Patroclus	He dozes off and falls from a windowsill during a sermon of Paul's. He is killed.	Paul hears about this from the spirit and asks that the boy be brought to him.	He restores the boy to life.	Yes. The boy is thrown into prison by Nero as he has converted to Christianity.
LA, XC, p. 398	Saint Theodora	A man	He has been mauled to death by a wild beast.	No details are given.	She brings him back to life through her prayers.	Yes. She also tracks down the beast, cursing it so that it drops dead.
LA, XCIV, p. 403	God	A religious couple, Euphmianus and Aglaë	They are childless.	They pray to God for a child.	God grants them a son, Saint Alexis.	Yes. After his birth they agree to live in chastity.
LA, XCIV, p. 406	Saint Alexis	Unspecified townspeople	The sick, the blind and the possessed.	After the death of Alexis, all run to be near him.	All who touch him are cured instantly.	Yes.
LA, XCVI, p. 408 Biblical account	Jesus	Lazarus	He is dead.	No details are given.	Jesus raises him to life out of love for his sister, Mary Magdalene.	Yes.
LA, XCVI, p.409 Biblical account	Jesus	Martha	She suffers a flow of blood for seven years.	No details are given.	Jesus heals her out of love for her sister, Mary Magdalene.	Yes.

LA, XCVI, p.409	Jesus	Blessed Cedonius.	He has been born blind.	No details are given.	He is healed by Jesus.	Yes.
LA, XCVI, p. 410-412	Saint Mary Magdalene	The governor and his wife	They are infertile. Later on the woman dies.	He tells Mary Magdalene that if she can obtain a son for them from God, they will do whatever she wishes.	She prays to God and the woman conceives. The wife dies in labour and is left on a desert island with her son. The father commends himself to God.	Yes. He finds his child healthy two years later and prays to Mary Magdalene to revive his wife. She does so. They later perform miracles and convert many.
LA, XCVI, p.415	Saint Mary Magdalene	A knight	He dies in battle.	As he visited the relics of Mary Magdalene every year, his parents make a pious complaint to her at his bier, that she allowed him to die without confession and penance.	The dead man rises up, calling for a priest.	Yes, temporally. He makes his confession and receives viaticum before resting in peace.
LA, XCVI, p.416	Saint Mary Magdalene	A man	He has lost his sight.	He gets a guide to take him to visit Mary Magdalene's body.	He exclaims to her his wish that he may be worthy to see her church. His eyes are opened at once.	Yes.
LA, XCVII, p. 417	Saint Apollinaris	The wife of a tribune at Ravenna	Unspecified	No details are given.	He cures her.	Yes. Her whole family is baptized afterwards.
LA, XCVII, p. 417	Saint Apollinaris	A girl at Classe	She is possessed.	Apollinaris enters the house to cure a noble man but the possessing demon shouts at him to	He rebukes the girl and drives out the demon.	Yes.

				leave.		
LA, XCVII, p. 417	Saint Apollinaris	A nobleman	He is mute.	No details are given.	He invokes the name of Jesus over the man and cures him instantly.	Yes. More than 500 are converted when they witness this.
LA, XCVII, p. 418	Saint Apollinaris	The daughter of Rufus, a patrician of Ravenna	She is in failing health.	Rufus calls upon Apollinaris to cure her.	As he enters the house, the girl dies. Apollinaris gets Rufus to swear that if she is revived, he will not prevent her from following Christ. Rufus agrees.	Yes. Apollinaris prays and the girl arises and confesses the name of Christ. She is baptized with many others and remains a virgin.
LA, XCVII, p. 418	Saint Apollinaris	The son of a judge, Taurus.	He is blind.	Apollinaris is presented to the judge after he has crushed idols.	He restores sight to his son.	Yes. Taurus is converted and keeps Apollinaris on his estate for four years.
LA, XCVII, p. 419	Saint Apollinaris	A young girl	She is dead.	No details are given.	She is restored to life by Apollinaris.	Yes. He works miracles on behalf of those who believe.
LA, XCVII, p. 419	Saint Apollinaris	People	They are blind.	No details are given.	Their sight is restored.	Yes.
LA, XCVII, p. 419	Saint Apollinaris	Unnamed individual	He/She suffers from muteness.	No details are given.	He/She is healed by Apollinaris.	Yes.
LA, XCVII, p. 419	Saint Apollinaris	A woman	She is possessed.	No details are given.	She is healed by Apollinaris.	Yes.
LA, XCVII, p. 419	Saint Apollinaris	A man	He suffers from leprosy	No details are given.	He is healed by Apollinaris.	Yes.
LA, XCVII, p. 419	Saint Apollinaris	Unspecified person	He/She suffers weak limbs from the plague.	No details are given.	He/She is healed by Apollinaris.	Yes.
LA, XCIX, pp. 422-423	Saint James, the Greater	Philetus	He was a follower of the magician Hermogenes until	Philetus sends words to James. James sends his kerchief,	As soon as Philetus touches the kerchief, he is freed of his	Yes. He joins James.

			converted by James. Hermogenes makes him immobile in a rage.	telling Philetus to hold it while stating that the Lord sets free all prisoners.	invisible bonds.	
LA, XCIX, p. 424	Saint James, the Greater	A man	He is paralysed.	He calls out to James, begging him to heal him when James is being lead away to be beheaded.	James orders him to stand up cured in the name of Jesus Christ and to bless God.	Yes. The man stands up and does so.
LA, XCIX, pp. 426-427	Saint James, the Greater	The son of a German They are on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James.	He is hung to die on account of a false accusation in Toulouse.	The father continues on to Saint James grief-stricken.	When he returns 36 days later, he laments the death of his son, who still hangs there.	Yes. The son is alive and well because James has held him up and refreshed him with heavenly sweets.
LA, XCIX, p. 427 Deception of the devil	Saint James, the Greater	A pilgrim on his way to Saint James	He commits suicide as the Devil in the guise of James tells the pilgrim to kill himself in James' honour. He does so with a sword.	James meets the devil and the pilgrim on their way to hell.	He snatches the pilgrim away and appearing before the heavenly judge, he obtains the restoration to life of the pilgrim.	Yes.
LA, XCIX, p. 427 Deception of the devil	Saint James, the Greater	A pilgrim from the Lyon district	He commits the sin of fornication and the devil again in the guise of the saint tells him to castrate and to kill himself in James' honour. He does so.	Demons take him away but James rides after them and upbraids the evil spirits for lying.	He takes them to a nearby meadow where the Blessed Virgin sits with a large number of saints. James appeals to her on behalf of the pilgrim.	Yes. The Blessed Virgin rebukes the demons severely and commands that the pilgrim be restored to life. He is restored to health with nothing left of his wounds except the scars.
LA, CII, p. 441	Saints Nazarius and	The daughter of a	She is paralysed.	The saints appear to	The man asks them	Yes. The girl is

	Celsus	man named Ceratius		the man to tell him to bury their bodies under his house away from Nero.	to cure his daughter first.	cured immediately and he buries the martyrs as they commanded.
LA, CV, p. 445	Saint Martha	A youth	He swims across a river in order to hear Martha's preaching and drowns.	His body is found two days later and brought to Martha. He is laid at her feet.	Martha lays prone on the ground, her arms extended in the shape of a cross and prays to Jesus in recognition of the faith of those gathered there to raise the boy to life.	Yes. She takes the boy's hand and he stands up. He received baptism shortly afterwards.
LA, CV, p. 445	Jesus	Unspecified people	Various illnesses	A woman who had been miraculously cured of an issue of blood erects a statue of Christ in her garden.	The grass around garment of statue is filled with curative power.	Yes. This cures many of their illnesses.
LA, CV, p. 447	Saint Martha	Clovis, King of Franks	He suffers a grave malady of the kidneys.	He goes to Marta's burial place.	He recovers his health there.	Yes. Many other miracles occur at this tomb.
LA, CVII, p. 449	Saint Germain, bishop	People in Britain	They are possessed.	Germain arrives with bishop Lupus. Their arrival had been foretold by demons.	He drives them out of the possessed.	Yes.
LA, CVII, pp. 449-450	Saint Germain, bishop	One of his disciples	He falls ill and dies in Tonnerre.	On his way home, Germain has his tomb opened.	He calls the dead man and asks him if he wants to come back and continue working with him.	Yes, temporarily. The dead man answers that he is happy where he is and Germain agrees and the disciple lies down again and dies.
LA, CX, p. 457	Pope Alexander	The son of Hermes,	He has died.	No details are given.	He is revived to life.	Yes, this miracle

		a prefect of Rome				appears convert Hermes.
LA, CX, p. 457	Saint Peter in Chains through Alexander	The daughter of Quirinus, the tribune. Her name is Balbina.	She suffers goiter.	Hermes tells Quirinus how Alexander has raised his son to life. Quirinus asks Alexander to heal Balbina and he will accept the faith.	Alexander tells him to bring the girl to his cell quickly. The girl kisses his chains devoutly in the hope of being cured. Alexander tells her to kiss the bonds of Saint Peter instead.	Yes. The bonds are found. The girl kisses them and is cured immediately. Alexander is released from jail and the household of Quirinus is baptized.
LA, CX, p. 459	Saint Peter in Chains	One of the counts of Emperor Otto in 964	He is seized by the devil.	The emperor orders the man to be brought to Pope John so that Saint Peter's chain can be placed upon him.	A normal chain is initially used to no effect. When Peter's chain is used, the devil cries out and departs.	Yes.
LA, CXII, p. 463	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	70 people	Unspecified illnesses	Stephen appears to bishop John to tell him to rebury his tomb in a more suitable place.	When the spot where the tomb is, is dug, the earth shakes and a sweet odour is emitted.	Yes, this fragrance by the merits of the saints heals 70 people of their infirmities.
LA, CXII, p. 464	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	Eudoxia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosius.	She is possessed by a demon.	Her father orders her to touch the relics of Saint Stephen in Constantinople but the possessing demon cries that the relics must come to Rome as this is Stephen's wish.	In accordance with the demon's instructions, Stephen is placed with his brother Laurence. Eudoxia touches the body and is freed of the demon.	Yes.
LA, CXII, p. 465	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	A man	He is dead.	Stephen's name is invoked over him.	He immediately comes to life.	Yes.
LA, CXII, p. 465	Saint Stephen, the	A boy	He is crushed to	His mother carries	He is restored to life.	Yes.

	first martyr		death by a wagon.	him to St Stephen's church.		
LA, CXII, p. 465	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	A nun	She dies.	She is carried to St Stephen's church.	She is restored to life.	Yes.
LA, CXII, p. 465	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	A girl in Hippo	She dies.	Her father takes her tunic to St Stephen's church and later places it on the dead girl.	She arises immediately.	Yes.
LA, CXII, p. 465	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	A youth	He is dead.	His body is anointed with St Stephen's oil.	He comes to life immediately.	Yes.
LA, CXII, p. 465	Saint Stephen, the first martyr	A boy	He is dead.	He is carried into St Stephen's church.	He is restored to life immediately.	Yes.
LA, CXIII, pp. 472-473	The Blessed Virgin through the prayers of Saint Dominic	Master Reginald, dean of St Amianus in Orleans	He wishes to enter an order but is stricken with a grave fever.	Saint Dominic prays to Mary and implores her assistance.	Reginald has a vision of Mary with two maidens. He commends himself to Mary and she anoints him with an ointment.	Yes. She anoints him again 3 days later and he is restored to health. He becomes a preacher.
LA, CXIII, p. 473	Saint Dominic	The nephew of Cardinal Stephen of Fossa Nova	He falls with his horse into a ditch and is killed.	He is taken to Dominic.	Dominic prays and restores him to life.	Yes.
LA, CXIII, p. 473	Saint Dominic	A master builder	He is crushed by a falling ceiling and dies.	Dominic has his body brought up from the vault.	Dominic prays and restores him to life.	Yes.
LA, CXIII, p. 474	Saint Dominic	A man	He is possessed by many demons.	He is brought to Dominic.	Dominic places a blessed stole around his neck and that of the possessed.	Yes, he expels them and gets a surety that they will not enter the man again.
LA, CXIII, p. 479	Saint Dominic	The son of a nobleman in Hungary	He dies on a journey to visit the relics of the saint.	The father carries the boy's body before the saint's	The boy returns to life at midnight and walks around.	Yes.

				altar and prays for him to be restored to life.		
LA, CXIII, p. 480	Saint Dominic	The slave of a noble lady in Hungary	He falls into the river and drowns.	The lady prays to St Dominic to restore him, promising to go barefoot to venerate his relics and to give a slave his freedom.	The youth is immediately restored to life.	Yes. The lady fulfils her vow.
LA, CXIII, p. 480	Saint Dominic	A boy	He dies.	His father weeps and calls upon St Dominic to restore his son to life.	At cockcrow the boy opens his eyes and tells him that Dominic took pity on his grief and by his merits obtained the boy's return to life.	Yes.
LA, CXIII, p. 480	Saint Dominic	A man	He has lain sick and blind for 18 years.	He wants to go and visit the relics of St Dominic.	He feels a surge of strength and his condition improves daily on his journey.	Yes. When he reaches the relics, he is completely cured.
LA, CXIII, pp. 480-481	Jesus and Saint Dominic	A scholar named Nicholas in Bologna	He suffers pains in the loins and knees and his left thigh is withered. He cannot get out of bed.	He dedicates himself to God and St Dominic.	He binds his body with the thread from candles. He binds it around his knee calling out the names of Jesus and Dominic.	Yes. He gains relief and goes to visit St Dominic's body, where God works numerous miracles through Dominic.
LA, CXIII, p. 481	God and Saint Dominic	A girl in Augusta in Sicily	She suffers from the stone and was about to have it cut out.	Her mother commends her to God and St Dominic.	The saint appears to the girl the following night and places the stone in her hand.	Yes, she awakes cured.
LA, CXIII, p. 481	God and Saint Dominic	A nun called Maria in a monastery in	She is gravely ill with an infected leg.	She prays to God to mediate healing	She sees St Dominic with two friars. After	Yes, it is cured instantly.

		Tripoli		through St Dominic.	hearing she wishes to be healed in order to serve God more devoutly, he anoints her leg with ointment.	
LA, CXV, p. 484-485	Saint Donatus	The son of a prefect	He is possessed.	The prefect brings him to Donatus.	Donatus prays and expels the spirit.	Yes.
LA, CXV, pp. 485-486	Saint Donatus	The daughter of the emperor Theodosius	She is possessed by a demon.	She is brought to St Donatus.	He orders him to leave 'this handiwork of God' and to go back to the desert.	Yes. The demon shakes the whole house as he leaves.
LA, CXV, p. 486	Saint Donatus	A man	He is dead and as he is being carried to his grave, a man claims he owes him money and refuses to let him be buried until the bill is paid.	The dead man's wife tells Donatus about this in tears.	He touches the dead man's hand and asks him about it. The man sits up and proves that he doesn't owe the money.	Yes, temporarily. He asks Donatus to let him sleep again and Donatus agrees.
LA, CXVI, p. 487	Saint Cyriacus	The daughter of Diocletian, Arthemia	She is tormented by a demon.	The demon announces that he won't leave her unless Cyriacus is brought there.	He arrives and commands the demon out of her and to Babylonia.	Yes. Arthemia claims that she saw God and the saint baptizes her. Diocletian provides him with a safe house.
LA, CXVI, p. 487	Saint Cyriacus	The daughter of the king of Persia	She is possessed.	He sends a messenger to Diocletian to send Cyriacus to assist her and he sails to Babylonia.	He states that Jesus commands him to leave the girl.	Yes, the girl is cured and the household is baptized.
LA, CXVII, p. 490	Saint Laurence	A caring widow,	She has long	No details are given.	Laurence lays his	Yes.

		who often hid Christians in her house	suffered from pains in her head.		hands on her and frees her from the pain.	
LA, CXVII, p. 490	Saint Laurence	A man	He is blind.	Laurence arrives at the house of a Christian and finds the man there.	He make the sign of the cross over him.	Yes, his sight is restored.
LA, CXVII, pp. 490-491	Saint Laurence	A pagan named Lucillus in jail	He has wept so much, he has lost his sight.	Laurence is thrown into the same jail and meets the man there.	He tells him that he will cure him if he believes in Christ and receives baptism. Lucillus agrees.	Yes, presumably. He believes and is baptised. After this many come who are blind and are healed.
LA, CXVII, p. 494	Saint Laurence	Unspecified sick	Various infirmities	A priest repairing Saint Laurence's church needs more wood and prays to the saint for it.	Timber grows. Some is left over, which is cut into pieces and cures the sick.	Yes.
LA, CXIX, p. 516	Blessed Virgin	Monk	He drowns on his way to commit a sin.	Angels and demons fight over soul. Mary appears as the monk was very devoted to her.	God decides the monk should be restored to life to perform penance.	Yes. The man is restored to life and lives out his days in good works.
LA, CXIX, p. 521	Blessed Virgin and Peter	Unspecified	Various illnesses	Peter plucks a date from a palm branch that was on Mary's bier.	He gives it to a reformed sinner, telling him to go and touch the sick in the city with it. Those who believe will be cured.	Presumably so.
LA, CXX, p. 528	God	Saint Bernard	He falls seriously ill with pains in his head as a child.	A woman tries to cure him with incantations.	He shouts at her and pushes her away.	Yes. He rises healed of his illness as God has mercy on him.
LA, CXX, pp. 535-	Saint Bernard	A women in Pavia	She is possessed.	Her husband brings	Bernard prays and	Yes. But when he

536				her to Bernard. He sends her to the church of St Syrus but she comes back unhealed.	the demon goes out of the woman.	leaves the demon takes possession of her again. Bernard tells the husband to tie a sign around her neck forbidding the demon in the name of Jesus to come near her.
LA, CXXIII, p. 541	Saint Bartholomew, the apostle	A man	He is possessed by a demon.	The demon cries out to Bartholomew that his prayers are hurting him.	He orders him to leave the man.	Yes, the man is freed at once.
LA, CXXIII, pp. 541-542	Saint Bartholomew, the apostle	The daughter of the king Polemius	She is possessed and prone to violent fits.	The king hears about this previous miracle and sends for Bartholomew.	The girl is tied down but Bartholomew orders her to be released, stating he has already freed her from the possessing demon.	Yes. He destroys all idols, sends the demon to the desert and cures the sick. This results in the conversion of the king's household.
LA, CXXIV, p. 552	God	Saint Augustine	He suffers from severe toothache.	He can't speak so he writes on wax tablets asking all to pray for him to God to relieve his suffering.	Everyone kneels in prayer and the pain subsides at once.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, p. 559	Saint Augustine	A man	Unspecified infirmity	He gets in to see Augustine on his death bed and asks him to cure him, stating he had been ordered to do so in a vision.	Seeing his faith, Augustine prays for him and he is healed.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, p. 559	Saint Augustine	People	They are possessed.	No details are given.	He cures them.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, p. 559	Saint Augustine	A girl in Hippo	She is possessed.	She anoints herself	She is instantly	Yes.

				with oil, which contains a teardrop of St Augustine.	healed.	
LA, CXXIV, p. 559	Saint Augustine	A youth	He is possessed.	No details are given.	Augustine prays for him without seeing him and the boy is cured.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, p. 559	God and Saint Augustine	A man	He is about to undergo surgery and fears for his life.	He prays to God with much weeping and Augustine prays with him and for him.	The man recovers completely without the need for an operation.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, p. 562	Saint Augustine	A miller who has special devotion to Augustine	He suffers from an abscess in the leg.	He prays earnestly to the saint for help.	Augustine appears in a vision, rubs the affecting leg and cures it.	Yes, the miller awakes to find himself completely cured. He gives thanks to God and to St Augustine.
LA, CXXIV, p. 562	Saint Augustine	A boy	He is sick with the stone and a physician recommends that it be cut out.	The mother invokes St Augustine's aid, fearing that her son will die.	As soon as she finishes the prayer, the boy passes the stone and is cured.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, p. 564	Saint Augustine	The provost of a church	He suffers from a serious illness	He prays to St Augustine on the saint's feast day.	St Augustine appears and addresses him three times by name, ordering him to get up and celebrate office in his honour.	Yes, the provost arises cured and devoutly conducts the evening service.
LA, CXXIV, p. 564	Saint Augustine	A shepherd	He has a malignant ulcer between his shoulders and is very weak.	He prays to St Augustine.	He appears in a vision, lays his hand on the afflicted spot and heals it instantly.	Yes.
LA, CXXIV, pp.	Saint Augustine	The same shepherd	He becomes blind at	He beseeches the	The saint appears	Yes, his sight is

564-565		as above	a later point.	saint's aid.	and rubs the man's eyes.	restored instantly.
LA, CXXIV, p. 565	Saint Augustine	About 40 men from Germany and France	They suffer from a variety of ailments including blindness and lameness.	They set out for Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles.	St Augustine comes out of a church and tells them to go to the monastery of St Peter in Pavia. Here they find St Augustine's body and they pray to him.	Yes, their arteries burst and the floor becomes awash with blood. When they reach his tomb all are cured.
LA, CXXV, p. 573	Saint John the Baptist	Unspecified people in Poitiers in France	They are dead.	No details are given.	John the Baptist's head is here. By his merits many are restored to life.	Yes.
LA, CXXVII, p. 577	Saint Savinian	A woman	She has been blind for 40 years.	She hears about a miracle of his and asks to be taken to the place where he was martyred.	She prays there and her sight is restored.	Yes.
LA, CXXVII, pp. 577-578	Saint Savina (sister)	Four men	Two are blind and two are paralysed.	No details are given.	St Savina is baptised in Rome and she cures these four.	Yes.
LA, CXXX, p. 582	Saint Giles	A man	He is sick.	Giles comes across him, begging at the side of the road, on his way to church.	He gives him his coat and as soon as the man puts it on, he is cured.	Yes.
LA, CXXX, p. 582	Saint Giles	A man	He has been bitten by a snake.	Giles comes across him on his way home from church.	He prays for him and drives out the poison.	Yes.
LA, CXXX, p. 582	Saint Giles	A man	He is possessed by a demon.	He is in the church disturbing the faithful.	Giles drives out the demon and cures the man.	Yes.
LA, CXXX, pp. 582-	Saint Giles	A man	He has been stricken	No details are given.	He cures him.	Yes.

583			with fever for 3 years.			
LA, CXXX, p. 584	Saint Giles	The son of the chief man of Nîmes	He is dead.	No details are given.	Giles restores him to life.	Yes.
LA, CXXX, p. 584	Saint Giles	A person in Tiberone	He/She suffers from paralysis.	No details are given.	He/She is cured by Giles.	Yes.
LA, CXXXI, pp. 587-588	God	Joachim and Anna	They are barren.	They pray to God. Joachim tries to offer sacrifice but the priest does not allow this.	An angel appears and tells him that God closes a womb in order to open it miraculously later on as a sign of His generosity.	Yes, they conceive and bear a daughter Mary as the angel predicted.
LA, CXXXII, pp. 595-596	Saint Cornelius	A soldier's wife	She has been paralysed for 5 years.	As he is on his way to be executed, a soldier asks him to come to his house and pray for his wife.	He prays and the woman is cured.	Yes, the woman, her husband and 20 soldiers are converted, and are martyred with him.
LA, CXXXVII, p. 607	The Holy Cross	Unspecified people	They suffer from paralysis, leprosy, blindness, possession and other infirmities. Some are dead.	No details are given.	The cross is put back in its rightful place and the miracles of old begin again.	Yes.
LA, CXXXVII, p. 609	Jesus	Jews	They are sick.	Jews thrust a spear into a picture of Christ and copious amounts of blood and water flows from the wound.	They anoint their sick with it and all are healed. .	Yes, they accept Christianity and are baptized.
LA, CXXXVII, p. 611	Blessed Equitius	A nun	She is possessed by a demon after she forgets to make a	Equitius finds her and the demon cries out what has	Equitius orders him out of the nun.	Yes.

			sign of the cross before eating a lettuce.	happened. (He had been sitting on the lettuce.)		
LA, CXXXVIII, p. 617	A holy man Epiphanius	Unspecified people	They are possessed by demons.	No details are given.	They are driven out at his tomb.	Yes.
LA, CXL, p. 623	Saint Matthew, the apostle	A king's son	He is dead.	The sorcerers fail to revive him and a eunuch calls Matthew.	Matthew prays and the boy is restored to life.	Yes, all are baptized and a church is built.
LA, CXLIII, p. 637	Saint Cosmas and Damian	A lady named Palladia	Unspecified	She had spent all she had on doctors to no avail. She comes to the saints.	They restore her to health.	Yes.
LA, CXLIII, p. 638	Saint Cosmas and Damian	A peasant	He falls asleep in the field after work with his mouth open. A snake slips in and down to his belly.	By evening the man suffers from severe stomach pains. He invokes the aid of the saints but as the pain gets worse, he runs to their church.	He suddenly falls asleep here and the snake slips out of his mouth.	Yes.
LA, CXLIII, p. 639	Saint Cosmas and Damian	A man, a devoted servant of the saints.	His leg is totally consumed with cancer.	He is asleep in the church of the saints in Rome.	The saints appear, bringing salves and surgical instruments. They need to find a replacement leg and decide to take one from an Ethiopian buried that day.	Yes. They cut off the sick man's leg and replace it with the Moor's, carefully anointing the wound. They then attach the amputated leg to the Moor's corpse.
LA, CXLV, p. 646	Saint Michael, archangel	A man named Aquilinus	He has a raging fever. The doctors give him a potion but he can not keep it down.	Near death, he has himself carried to the saint's church.	St Michael appears to him, instructing him to prepare a mixture of honey, wine, and pepper and to dip	Yes, he does so and is cured.

					everything he eats into this mixture.	
LA, CXLV, p. 649	Saint Michael, archangel	Unspecified individuals	Unspecified sickness	They enter a cave dedicated to saint, where water flows.	They drink from this water after communion and are cured.	Yes.
LA, CXLIX, p. 668	Saint Francis	A man devoted to the saint	He is attacked and a sword is pushed through his throat.	When his wife calls him for matins at midnight, he tries to get up.	The sword flies out and man stands up restored.	Yes. The man states that St Francis touched his wounds with his stigmata, healing them instantly. He pulls out sword and touches the wound with the stigmata, healing it perfectly.
LA, CXLIX, p. 669	God	Saint Francis	His eyesight is impaired from constant weeping.	He uses a iron surgical instrument heated in the fire, praying to God before the procedure that the instrument will work.	He makes the sign of the cross over the instrument and places it over his eyes. He feels no pain.	Presumably although it is not mentioned whether this is successful or not.
LA, CXLIX, p. 669	God	Saint Francis	He is struck with a serious illness in the desert.	There is no wine so he is given water, which he blesses with the sign of the cross.	The water changes into wine and at the first sip, he is healthy again.	Yes.
LA, CXLIX, p. 671	Saint Francis	Unspecified people	Unspecified sickness	St Francis blesses bread, which is brought to him.	This restores health to many people.	Yes.
LA, CXLIX, p. 671	Saint Francis	A man	Unspecified sickness	No details are given.	St Francis changes water into wine and when this is tasted	Yes.

					by the sick man, he recovers his health.	
LA, CXLIX, pp. 672-673	Saint Francis	A woman devoted to the saint.	She dies a sinner.	She sits up in her bier, announcing that she wishes to confess.	She states that St Francis prayed for her and obtained permission for her to be restored to life in order to confess.	Yes, temporarily. She confesses, receives absolution and dies again.
LA, CXLIX, p. 673	Saint Francis	A man	His leg is consumed with disease.	He calls upon St Francis for assistance in recognition of his devotion and service to him.	The saint appears carrying a small stick shaped like a T. He touches the leg with the stick, which breaks the abscess and heals it immediately.	Yes. The mark of T remains imprinted on the leg. St Francis used to sign his letters with this mark.
LA, CXLIX, p. 673	Saint Francis	A young girl in Pomereto	She dies.	Her mother is devoted to the saint. She is beside herself with grief.	St Francis appears to her, and tells her not to cry as her daughter will be returned to her as a consequence of his intercession.	Yes. The mother insists that the corpse is not taken away. She invokes the name of the saint, takes her daughter's hand and raises her up.
LA, CXLIX, p. 673	Saint Francis	A little boy in Rome	He falls out of a window and is killed.	Saint Francis is invoked.	The child is restored to life.	Yes.
LA, CXLIX, pp. 673-674	Saint Francis	A young man in Susa	His house collapses and he is crushed.	His mother beseeches St Francis with her whole heart.	Around midnight the man yawns and arises in praise.	Yes.
LA, CLIII, p. 683	Saints Paul and Dionysius	A man	He is blind.	He passes by as Paul and Dionysius are debating. Dionysius states that if Paul	He dictates the words that Paul must say as he doesn't want magic words to	Yes, he does so and the man is instantly healed. Dionysius and his household

				restores the sight of the man, he will believe.	be said but Paul insists that Dionysius says the words.	are baptized and Dionysius is made bishop 3 years later.
LA, CLIII, p. 685	Saint Dionysius	19 people in A.D. 815	Unspecified illnesses	Dionysius' books 'On the Hierarchy' are brought to King Louis.	The books are received with joy and 19 people are cured that night in the church of saint Denis.	Yes.
LA, CLIV, p.687	Jesus and the converted consul Palmatius	The wife of a soldier	She is paralysed.	Palmatius prays and fasts and the soldier promises him that he will accept the faith if Palmatius cures his wife.	Palmatius prays and the woman is healed. She claims Jesus took her by the right hand and lifted her up.	Yes, the pair along with others are baptized by Callistus.
LA, CLV, pp. 688-689	Saint Leonard	A queen	She is seized by birth pangs and her life is in danger.	Leonard hears her cries and is moved to pity. The king, filled with hope, asks him to pray for the well-being of his wife and child.	Leonard prays and his petition is granted,	Yes. Leonard advises the king to distribute his money to the poor. A monastery is built.
LA, CLIX, 706-707	Jesus	King Abgar of Edessa	He suffers from leprosy.	He writes a letter to Jesus, having heard of His miracles, asking him to cure him.	Jesus writes back that He can't heal him now but will do soon through an apostle after the ascension. Abgar sends an artist to paint Jesus but is unable to do so. Jesus presses his image onto a linen	Yes. After Christ's assumption, Thomas sends Thaddeus, who tells him that if he believes, he'll be cured. He expresses belief and Thaddeus rubs his face with the letter from Jesus and he is healed.

					cloth instead.	
LA, CLIX, p. 711	Saint Simon, the apostle	30 people	They are dead.	No details are given.	They are raised to life by Simon.	Yes.
LA, CLX, p. 712	Saint Quentin	A noble Roman lady	She is blind.	She has a vision of an angel while praying and is instructed to find the body of the saint and to bury it with honours.	The saint's body has been in a river for 55 years. The lady and others pray at the spot and the saint's body rises to the surface.	Yes. In return for this service, her eyesight is restored. She builds a church there.
LA, CLXIII, pp. 732-733	Paschasius, a man renowned for his sanctity and virtue	A man	He is possessed.	When Paschasius dies, the man touches a sacred vestment that hung over his bier.	He is cured instantly.	Yes.
LA, CLXIII, p. 733	God (unspecified)	A knight	He dies.	No details are given.	His soul is restored to his body so that he may tell all about the importance of almsgiving for the dead in the Afterlife.	Yes.
LA, CLXVI, p. 743	God (unspecified)	Saint Martin, bishop	He eats the poisonous plant hellebore by mistake and becomes very ill.	He prays.	He dispels all pain and danger by the power of his prayer.	Yes.
LA, CLXVI, p. 743	Saint Martin, bishop	An unbaptized catechumen at his monastery	He dies.	Martin has the man's body brought into his cell.	He prostrates himself upon the body and by his prayer, recalls the man to life.	Yes.
LA, CLXVI, p. 743	Saint Martin, bishop	A man	He falls into a pit and dies.	No details are given.	Martin restores him to life.	Yes.
LA, CLXVI, p. 744	Saint Martin, bishop	A young man	He dies.	His mother weeps	Martin knees down	Yes, the boy arises

				and pleads with Martin to revive her son.	and prays in the sight of pagans.	and all witnesses are converted to the faith.
LA, CLXVI, p. 745	Saint Martin, bishop	A man in Paris	He has leprosy.	Martin comes across him.	All shrink from him but Martin kisses and blesses him.	Yes, he is cured by Martin's humility
LA, CLXVI, p. 750	Saint Martin, bishop	Two men	One is blind and the other is a cripple	They hear of many who have been cured by Martin and fear being cured themselves as they make a good living from begging.	They, however, meet the body of the saint in a procession and both are cured.	Yes. This healing is completely against their will but God bestows blessings even on those who do not ask for them.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 757	Saint Elizabeth	A poor woman	She is given an elegant dress and is so overwhelmed that she appears dead.	The dress is given to her by Elizabeth.	Elizabeth prays and the woman stands up fully recovered.	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 766	Saint Elizabeth	A Cistercian monk in Hildesheim named Henry	He is ill and suffers much pain.	He has a vision of a lady two nights in a row who advises him to dedicate himself to St Elizabeth if he wishes to recover.	Henry makes his vow and the next night the lady appears, makes the sign of the cross over him and he is cured. His abbot fears that the apparition may be a demon and recommends that he confess.	Yes but the lady appears the next night, informing him that he will always be ill unless he fulfils his vow. His illness returns again. The abbot gives him permission and a wax image is made and he is cured.
LA, CLXVIII, pp. 766-767	Saint Elizabeth	A young woman named Benigna in Mainz	She asks her servant for water, who gives it to her, telling her to drink the devil. She suffers pains	After two year she is brought to St Elizabeth's tomb and a vow is made for her.	She is laid upon the tomb and when she is given bread and blessed water, she arises cured.	Yes.

			and has a swollen belly and is thought to be possessed.			
LA, CLXVIII, p. 767	Saint Elizabeth together with Saint Nicholas	A man Gederic in Utrecht	His hand is paralysed.	He goes to St Elizabeth's tomb twice without being cured. He goes a third time with his wife with much devotion.	He meets an old man, who blesses him and tells him to go with confidence and to place his hand into an opening in the tomb. He should think of St Nicholas at that time.	Yes. The saints like to see perseverance. Gederic does as instructed and is cured upon withdrawing his hand.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 767	Saint Elizabeth together with Master Conrad	A man in Cologne, named Herman	He is sentenced to death and is hanged.	Prior to his death, he commends himself to God and calls upon Elizabeth and Conrad to come to his aid. They appear and console him.	When he is being buried, his father and uncle invoke the patronage of St Elizabeth in favour of Herman and he arises alive.	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, pp. 767-768	Saint Elizabeth	A school boy named Burchard from Mainz	He drowns.	The merits of St Elizabeth are invoked.	He is restored to life	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 768	Saint Elizabeth	A young child Hugolin from Mainz	He dies on the road.	His mother carries him four miles, imploring St Elizabeth with devotion.	The boy is restored to life.	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 768	Saint Elizabeth	A young child	He drowns after falling into a well.	The man who finds him pronounces a vow to St Elizabeth, invoking her aid for the deceased.	The boy is restored to life.	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 768	Saint Elizabeth	A girl	She drowns after falling into a river.	No details are given.	She is restored to life by St Elizabeth's	Yes.

					merits.	
LA, CLXVIII, p. 769	Saint Elizabeth	A lay brother named Volmar in a monastery in Mainz.	His hand is mangled in a mill.	He frequently invoked St Elizabeth's aid, having been devoted to her throughout his life.	She appears one night, asking him if he wants to be healed. He responds yes and she mends the sinews, bones and restores the flesh, rejoining the hand to the wrist.	Yes, in the morning he awakes and finds his hand perfectly repaired. All are amazed.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 769	Saint Elizabeth	A 5 year old named Dietrich in Mainz	He is born blind. He has no eyelids and skin grows over his eyes.	His mother brings him to St Elizabeth's sepulchre and rubs his face with earth from the tomb, invoking the saint's merits on his behalf.	The skin splits open and two eyes look out.	Yes, his sight is restored.
LA, CLXVIII, pp. 769-770	Saint Elizabeth	A girl, named Beatrice, from Mainz	She has a hump on her back and a tumour in her chest. She cannot stand straight.	Her mother carries her to St Elizabeth's tomb and stays there for 10 days. She remains unhealed. The mother gets angry and tells the saint that she's going home to turn people away from visiting her tomb.	She carries the child, who falls asleep and has a vision of a lady, who touches her back and chest, ordering her to get up and walk. She awakes and is cured.	Yes, they go back to the tomb and give thanks to God.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 770	St Nicholas and Saint Elizabeth	A woman, named Gertrude, from Mainz	She is paralysed in both legs and suffers curvature of the spine for many years.	She has a dream in which she is advised to go to St Nicholas and implore the help of his merits. She has herself carried to	One of her legs is cured. Later in pain, she is brought to St Elizabeth's monument and placed upon her	Yes, she is completed cured immediately.

				his church.	tomb.	
LA, CLXVIII, p. 770	Saint Elizabeth	A woman, named Scintrude, from Mainz	She lost her sight for a year.	She commends herself to St Elizabeth with devotion.	She recovers her sight.	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 770	Saint Elizabeth	A man, named Henry, in Mainz	He is blind and later suffers a haemorrhage.	He visits St Elizabeth's tomb.	His blindness is cured immediately.	Yes. When he later suffers a haemorrhage, earth from St Elizabeth's tomb is brought to him. He mixes it with water, drinks it and is healed.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 770	Saint Elizabeth	A girl, named Mechtilde from Trier	She is blind and deaf and is unable to talk or walk.	Her parents dedicate her to St Elizabeth.	She is cured.	Yes.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 770	Saint Elizabeth	A woman, named Hedwig, from Trier	She is blind for a year.	She is led to the saint's tomb and invokes her merits.	She recovers sight in one eye. She has severe pain in the other upon returning home and invokes the saint's merits again.	Yes. Elizabeth appears, telling her to go to the altar and wipe her eyes with the corporal in order to be healed. She does so and is cured.
LA, CLXVIII, pp. 770-771	Saint Elizabeth	A man, named Theoderic, from Mainz	He is stricken in the knees and legs and needs the support of others to get around.	He makes a vow to visit the sepulchre of St Elizabeth with offerings.	He stays for 4 weeks without being cured. He starts home but rests and has a dream in which someone pours water over him.	Yes, he is healed and marches back to give thanks at the tomb.
LA, CLXX, p. 780	Saint Peter, the apostle	A kind friend of Macidiana (mother of St Clement)	She becomes paralysed.	Peter orders the woman to be brought to him.	He cures her immediately.	Yes.
LA, CLXX, pp. 783-	Saint Peter, the	Faustinianus (father	His face is altered to	Peter tells him to go	He carries out these	Yes.

784	apostle	of St Clement)	look like the magician Simon by Simon.	to Antioch and speak favourably of Peter and he will restore his face to him.	orders. Peter arrives, prays over him and restores his face.	
LA, CLXXII, p. 793	An angel	Saint Catherine	She is abused and locked up in a cell.	No details are given.	An angel appears and administers to her wounds. (A dove also feeds her.)	Presumably yes.
LA, CLXXII, pp. 794-795	Saint Catherine	Unspecified sick	They suffer from weak limbs.	No details are given.	An oil issues from her bones after death and this mends weak limbs.	Yes.
LA, CLXXIII, p. 799	Saints Saturninus and Perpetua	Saint Felicity	She is eight months pregnant and about to be martyred.	Saturninus and Perpetua are concerned for her and pray for her.	Suddenly she goes into labour and gives birth to a son.	Yes. She is then martyred.
LA, CLXXXI, p. 825	God (unspecified)	Unspecified individuals	Unspecified illnesses	A bishop is celebrating mass when 3 drops of water fall onto altar and flow together to form a precious stone.	It is placed into the centred of a gold cross and it gives health to the sick.	Yes.
LA, CLXXXI, p. 835	God (unspecified)	Pope Leo	His eyes are gouged out and his tongue is cut off while he is celebrating mass.	No details are given.	His speech and sight are miraculously restored.	Yes.

Appendix 6

The Suffering-Centred Paradigm in the Old Testament

(i) Suffering as Punishment, resulting in death

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
Gn 3.1-17	God	Adam and Eve and the whole of humanity.	They are disobedient.	Humanity is subject to death and additionally all women will bear children in pain.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Humanity is subject to death and women bear children in pain.
Gn 6.5-7.23	God	Most of the world, apart from Noah, his family and a pair of each creature.	This is due to human wickedness.	God sends a flood, destroying almost all.	Noah remains in the ark for 40 days.	No details are given.	All are destroyed except those saved by God.
Gn 12.15-20	God	Pharaoh and his household	Pharaoh marries Sarai, unaware that she is the wife of Abram.	He and his household are inflicted with severe unspecified plagues.	He summons Abram and gives him back his wife.	No details are given.	No details are given.
Gn 19.24-25	God	The inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorra	They are wicked. God would have saved the cities, had he found 10 just men there.	God pours brimstone and fire onto the cities from heaven.	No details are given.	No details are given.	All are killed.
Gn 19.12-26	God	Lot's wife	She disobeys the instructions	She is turned into a pillar of	No details are given.	No details are given.	She presumably

			of an angel.	salt.			remains in this state.
Gn 38.7	God	Judah's first son, Er	He offends God.	He is killed by God.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He dies.
Gn 38.8-10	God	Judah's second son, Onan	He commits the sin of contraception.	He is killed by God.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He dies.
Ex 9.8-12, 12.29-30 and 14.1-31	God	The Egyptians	This is in order to punish Pharaoh for the captivity and oppression of Israel and to display divine might.	10 plagues are inflicted, among them one of festering boils (the 6th) and another, which kills all first-born Egyptians (the 10th).	Pharaoh is unable to respond as God has hardened his heart.	No details are given.	After these plagues, Pharaoh orders the Israelites to go, giving them gold and silver. God makes Pharaoh pursue them and his armies die in the sea.
Lv 10.1-2	God	Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu	They offer up profane fire.	Fire comes from God's presence and kills them.	No details are given.	No details are given.	They die as a lesson to Israel.
Lv 24.10-23	God through Moses	The son of Shelomith	He curses and blasphemes God's name.	God instructs Moses to take him outside the camp, where the community must stone him to death.	No details are given.	No details are given.	The man is stoned to death.
Nm 11.4-33	God	The Israelites	They complain that they have no meat to eat.	God sends quails, and inflicts those who eat them with a great plague.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Many die.

Nm 13.1-14.37	God	12 scouts, who are sent to Canaan to reconnoiter the land.	Most return with bad reports, causing the Israelites to renounce hope.	They are killed as punishment for their lack of faith in God.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Only Joshua and Caleb are saved as they had given positive reports.
Nm 15.32-36	God	A man	He breaks the Sabbath by gathering wood.	God instructs that he be stoned to death outside the camp.	No details are given.	No details are given.	The man is stoned to death by the community.
Nm 16.1-33	God	Korah, Dathan and Abiram	They rebel against the religious leadership of Moses and Aaron and against the civil leadership of Moses.	They and their families are swallowed in an earthquake in accordance with divine will. This confirms the divinely designated role of Moses.	The community is spared as Moses and Aaron throw themselves on their faces and plead with God.	No details are given.	Dathan and Abiram die, together with their families. 250 men offering incense are killed.
Nm 17.6-15	God	The Israelites	They blame Moses and Aaron for the divine retribution on Korah and his party (Nm 16.35)	God tells Moses and Aaron that he'll destroy the community and He inflicts a plague.	Moses and Aaron fall on their faces. Moses instructs Aaron to offer incense as a rite of expiation for the Israelites.	Aaron does so and this succeeds in abating divine wrath.	The scourge is checked but 14,700 have died.
Nm 25.1-13	God through Moses	Israelites	They have illicit relations with Moabite women and bow down before their	God orders Moses to kill all those guilty of this act. The Israelites also suffer a plague.	Plague is inflicted. The community weeps and the priest Phinehas kills Zimri and	Yahweh grants a covenant of peace to Phinehas. He will have the right to perform	24,000 die from the plague.

			gods.		a Midianite woman, whom he brought into his family.	expiation for the Israelites.	
Ios 7.10-26	God through Israel	Achan	He takes loot from a battle and hides it in his tent.	God tells Joshua that a man has sinned and selects the guilty man by lot. He must be destroyed.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He is stoned to death. God relents from His anger.
Ios 10.6-11	God	Israelite adversaries (kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon)	They are involved in a siege on Gibeon, as its inhabitants had made peace with Israel.	God aids Joshua and his army as huge hailstones are hurled from heaven.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Many are killed by the hailstones.
Idc 9.1-56 Narrative attributes this to God.	God through a woman	Abimelech	He kills Jerubbaal's 70 sons.	God sends a spirit of discord between Abimelech and the leaders of Shechem to avenge this crime. Abimelech's skull is cracked by a woman.	Abimelech requests his armour-bearer to kill him.	No details are given.	He dies.
I Sm 3.13-4.18	God	Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinehas	They are corrupt priests, who refuse to change. God hardens	Eli is informed that both his sons will die and that he will also be punished.	God states that the guilt of the family can never be expiated as	They have abused sacred things and have deprived themselves of	The sons are killed in battle and Eli dies, falling from a stool when he

			their hearts as he is intent on killing them.		their sins are unforgivable.	the ordinary means of reconciliation.	hears that the ark has been taken.
I Sm 6.19-21	God	The people of Beth-Shemesh	They peer into the ark.	God strikes them dead.	The people lament and send messengers to Kiriath-Jearim to get people to collect the ark.	No details are given.	70 of God's people and 50,000 of the common people are dead.
I Sm 15.10-26; 16.14-23 and I Par 10.13-14	God, pronounced by Samuel	King Saul	He breaks his allegiance to God and does not carry out orders. Saul asks for pardon in vain as David is made king in his stead.	God departs from Saul and sends an evil spirit instead. Saul is advised to listen to harp-playing for relief When David plays, the spirit is chased away by David's devotion.	Under the influence of the spirit, Saul attempts to kill David on several occasions and slays priests, who assist Samuel.	His fate is pronounced by Samuel. God causes him to be wounded in battle and his sons to be killed.	The evil spirit lingers with Saul until he kills himself. His death is, however, attributed to God.
I Sm 25.2-38	God	Nabal	He is a miserly man and provokes David by refusing to feed David's men. God avenges this wrong.	His heart becomes like stone and God strikes him 10 days later in order to kill him.	His wife, Abigail, prevents David from attacking by presenting him with food for the men.	No details are given.	He dies and David marries Abigail.
II Sm 6.6-7	God	Uzzah	He puts forth his hand to steady the ark when oxen	He is instantaneously killed as a punishment.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He dies.

			make it lean.				
II Sm 12.9-23	God	David and Bathsheba	They cause Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, to be killed in battle. David is informed of God's decision through Nathan the prophet.	He must be punished and God decrees that the son, born to Uriah and David, must die as part of this retribution. God forgives David.	The child falls ill and David pleads with God and fasts and lies on the ground covered with sacking.	Such efforts prove futile as the child dies on the 7th day.	The child dies.
II Sm 24.10-15	God through an angel	The Israelites	David orders a census of the people, an act of pride. I Par 21.1 states that Satan incited David to do this. He regrets this act and begs forgiveness from God.	God offers him a choice of 3 punishments through the prophet Gad and David chooses a 3 day pestilence.	David asks that he be punished rather than his people. Gad instructs him to build an altar, where David offers holocausts and peace offerings.	God has pity on Israel and lifts the plague, preventing the angel from destroying Jerusalem.	70,000 men die during the 3 day infliction.
III Rg 13.14-24	God	A prophet	He is deceived and thereby disobeys God's command.	His fate is foretold through an old prophet. He is devoured by a lion.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He dies.
III Rg 14.10 and 15.29-30	God	King Jeroboam	He is disobedient and fails to heed a warning (I Rg 13.4).	His doom is foretold through the prophet Ahijah.	No details are given.	No details are given.	The entire house of Jeroboam is killed by Baasha, king of Israel.
III Rg 15.33-	God	Baasa, king of	Baasa reigns in	His doom is	No details are	No details are	The house of

167		Israel and his son Elah	a similar vein to Jeroboam and displeases God.	foretold by the prophet Jehu. His house will be destroyed.	given.	given.	Baasa is destroyed by Zimri during Elah's reign.
III Rg 21.17-29 And 22.1-38	God	Ahab, king of Israel	He has committed murder and is a usurper.	His fate is pronounced through Elijah.	Ahab immediately tears his garments, wears sackcloth and fasts.	Because of such humbling behaviour, God decides not to destroy his house at this time but will do so during the reign of Ahab's son.	Ahab, however, attacks Ramoth in Gilead 3 years later, enticed by false prophecies sent by God. He is killed in battle.
IV Rg 1.1-17	God	King Ahaziah of Israel	He consults Baal-Zebub, god of Ekron when he is ill.	His fate is pronounced through the prophet Elijah. He will never recover.	Ahaziah sends a captain with 50 soldiers to Elijah to get him to go to the king. Elijah calls down fire and they are all killed.	A second team is sent and they too are killed. The third team bows down before the prophet.	Ahaziah dies. The deaths confirm Elijah's mission as a messenger of God.
IV Rg 2.23-24	God	Some boys at Bethel	They mock the prophet Elisha and therefore insult religion.	Elisha curses them in the name of God for their disrespect and this is followed by a divine judgement.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Two bears emerge from the woods and savage 42 of the boys.
IV Rg 5.20-27	God, pronounced by Elisha	Gehazi, the servant of Elisha	He deceitfully extracts gifts from Naaman.	He is inflicted with hereditary leprosy	No details are given.	No details are given.	He presumably remains uncured.

II Par 21.5-19	God	King Jehoram	He leads people into apostasy and is guilty of murder.	He is informed through the writings of Elijah that God is inflicting him with an incurable bowel disease.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He suffers from this for two years and dies in acute pain.
II Par 24.18-25	God	King Joash	They worship false idols and ignore the warnings of prophets. Joash has the priest Zechariah stoned.	God aids the Aramaean army in battle against Joash and his army.	No details are given.	No details are given.	They are beaten and Joash is severely injured. He is later killed by his servants in vengeance for Zechariah.
II Par 26.16-21	God	King Uzziah	He neglects God and usurps a priestly function by entering the temple to burn incense.	He is inflicted with leprosy on his forehead.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He remains a leper until death.
I Mcc 6.8-13	God according to Antiochus' personal interpretation of his illness	King Antiochus Epiphanes	He seizes vessels from Jerusalem and orders the killing of the inhabitants of Judah.	He loses a battle and falls sick with grief. He suffers recurrent fits of melancholy.	He realizes the error of his ways but takes no action.	No details are given.	He dies.
I Mcc 7.33-50	God through Judas and his men in response to	Nicanor and his army	Nicanor threatens to destroy the temple unless	The priests weep and pray to God to take vengeance on	No details are given.	No details are given.	Nicanor and all his men are killed.

	prayer		Judas is handed over. This constitutes blasphemy.	him. Judas prays before battle. Nicanor is the first to fall, all his men are killed.			
I Mcc 9.54-56 (implied punishment)	God	Alcimus	He orders the demolition of the inner wall of the sanctuary, destroying the work of the prophets.	He begins the demolition and suffers a stroke, making him incapable of communicating orders.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He dies shortly afterwards in great agony.
II Mcc 9.3-28	God	Antiochus	He oppresses the Jews and wishes to destroy them	He is struck with an incurable bowel disease when he states this intent. His eyes are full of worms and his flesh rots.	He submits himself to God and prays for mercy. God, however, will never forgive him.	He bestows equal rights on the Jews, adorns the temple with offerings, becomes Jewish and goes around preaching.	He gets no relief from suffering and abandons hope. He dies.
II Mcc 12.32-45	God	Israelites	They wore objects under their tunics, which were dedicated to the idols of Jamnia.	They are killed in the battle against Gorgias.	The others pray and beg that the sin be forgiven. Judas collects money, which is sent to Jerusalem for a sacrifice for sin.	This is because of his belief in an afterlife. He hopes that through this expiatory sacrifice that the dead will be released from their sin.	Those men die who secretly adore false idols.

Is 37.1-37	God	King Sennacherib of Assyria	He wishes to attack Jerusalem. Isaiah reassures the people that God will protect. Hezekiah prays to God.	An angel strikes 185,000 men dead in the Assyrian camp. Sennacherib returns home but is struck dead by his sons while worshipping his god.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Sennacherib and 185,000 of his men die.
Ier 28.1-17	God	The prophet Hananiah	He tells the people false prophesy.	He is informed by the prophet Jeremiah that he will die this year as a result.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He dies in the seventh month of that year.
Ier 29.21-23	God	Ahab and Zedekiah	They are false prophets and are guilty of adultery.	Their fate is pronounced through the writings of Jeremiah. They are to die at the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.	No details are given.	No details are given.	This presumably occurs.
Ier 29.24-32	God	Shemaiah	He is a false prophet.	His fate is mediated through the prophet Jeremiah. He and all the male members of his family will die.	No details are given.	No details are given.	This presumably occurs.
Dn 5.2-30	God	King Balshazzar (Nebuchadnezzar's son)	He orders that vessels be taken from the	The fingers of a human hand appear and write	He calls Daniel to interpret the message, which	No details are given.	He dies.

			sanctuary; they are used as drinking vessels. He adores false gods.	his fate on the wall. He is murdered that night.	he does. There appears to be no atonement possible.		

(ii) Suffering as Chastisement, resulting in healing

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
Gn 20.2-18	God	Abimelech, the king of Gerar	He marries Sarah, in the belief that she is Abraham's sister.	He and his household are made infertile as a consequence. God appears to Abimelech, informing him of his sin and that he is to die.	Abimelech protests his innocence. God tells him that He prevented Abimelech from sinning and instructs him to send Sarah back and get Abraham to intercede on his behalf for his life.	Abimelech obeys by giving Sarah back with compensation. Abraham prays on his behalf and God cures them all of barrenness.	All are healed.
Nm 12.1-15	God	Miriam	Miriam and Aaron incite God's anger through their jealousy of Moses.	God inflicts Miriam with leprosy. Aaron remains healthy; if he was also inflicted, he could no longer be a priest.	Aaron begs Moses to intercede and Moses pleads with God to heal her.	God instructs Moses to have Miriam dwell outside the camp for 7 days.	She returns after this time and is presumably healed.
Nm 21.4-9	God	Israelites	They complain	God sends	The Israelites	Moses	All who look at

			about God and Moses.	seraph serpents, which bite and kill many.	realize their sin and ask Moses to intercede on their behalf to stop the serpents.	intercedes and God instructs him to make a bronze serpent and mount it on a pole. Those who are bitten and who look at it will survive.	it are healed.
I Sm 5.6-12	God	The people at Ashdod, Gath and Ekron	The Philistines capture the ark of the covenant and leave it in Ashdod.	God inflicts the people there with tumours. The Philistines remove the ark to Gath and later Ekron but God also inflicts the people there.	After 7 months, they ask their priests for advice. They are instructed to send the ark back with a guilt offering in order to recover.	The ark is sent to Beth-Shemesh together with 5 golden tumours and 5 golden rats.	Such actions presumably halt the plague and the sick recover.
II Sm 21.1-14	God	The Israelites	Saul and his family have slayed the Gibeonites, to whom the Israelites are bound by oath and have therefore incurred blood-guilt.	They suffer a three year famine. David is informed through an oracle that Saul's actions are the reason for this.	When God tells David the reason for the affliction, he asks the Gibeonites what they would consider as recompense in the hope that they would call down a blessing upon Israel.	They request seven of Saul's descendents, who they will dismember before God at Gibeon. Seven of Saul's sons are killed.	God takes pity on the country and the famine ends.
III Rg 13.1-6	God	King Jeroboam	He is idolatrous.	He is inflicted with a withered	Jeroboam begs the prophet to	The prophet does so and	His hand is healed but he

				hand as he points to a man of God, ordering that he be seized for condemning the altar in Bethel.	placate God so as to restore his hand.	Jeroboam's hand is restored.	does not amend his ways.
IV Rg 6.17-20	God at the request of Elisha	An armed band of Aramaeans	They attempt to attack Israel.	They are blinded in response to the prayer of Elisha as punishment for crime and as protection for the Israelites.	No details are given.	No details are given.	Elisha leads them into Samaria and the band is healed in response to his prayers.
II Mcc 3.13-40	God mediated through unidentified riders and horse	Helidorus	He attempts to take the funds of the temple on order of the king.	People pray to God to intervene to protect the funds. A horse and rider and two other men appear. The horse strikes Helidoras and the others flog him.	Helidoras falls to the ground unconscious. His men acknowledge divine sovereignty and beg Onias to ask God to save his life.	Onias, out of fear that the Jews may be blamed for his death, offers a sacrifice for his recovery. During this rite, the men appear again and state that his life will be spared on account of Onias.	He must also proclaim God's glory. Helidoras offers sacrifice and makes a vow. He testifies to all the wonders he has experienced.
Dn 4.1-34	God	King Nebuchadnezzar	He becomes proud and arrogant.	He has a dream, which Daniel interprets for him. He will be inflicted with a	He is struck down while bragging a year later. The madness lasts	No atonement measures are required.	After the specified period, his reason returns and he praises

				seven year madness, unless he repents his sins.	for seven years until he acknowledges divine sovereignty.		God. His power and wealth are restored.

(iii) Suffering as a Divine Test of Faith

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
Tb 2.9-11.15	God	Tobit	This constitutes a divine test of faith	Tobit is blinded by bird droppings, which cause white spots in his eyes.	He sighs and laments but he trusts in God. His prayer is heard by God, who sends Raphael.	Raphael instructs Tobias to blow on Tobit's eyes and to anoint them with the gall of a fish.	He does so and when a white skin emerges from Tobias' eyes, his sight is restored.
Iob 2.7-42.10	God through the devil	Job	This constitutes a divine test of faith.	Job's family and livestock are killed and Job is inflicted with leprosy.	Job initially despairs. He refuses to accept the situation and questions God's judgement.	He ultimately accepts the impenetrable nature of Divinity.	God instructs Job's friends to make burnt offerings and for Job to intercede for them. Job does so and is cured and materially blessed.

(iv) Sacrificial Suffering

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
Ez 2.22-33.22	God	Ezekiel the prophet	He suffers on account of Israel. His infliction also	Ezekiel is struck dumb by God so he can no longer warn	God tells him to lie on his left side for 390 days to bear the	No details are given.	He is mute until the start of the siege of Jerusalem,

			depicts divine might.	Israel of the forthcoming punishment.	punishment of Israel and on his right side for Judah.		when he is cured by God.
Is 53.10	God	Unnamed servant	He suffers as atonement for Israel.	Unspecified condition	None	No details are given.	He remains unhealed.

(v) Educative Suffering

Reference	**Inflictor**	**Sufferer**	**Reason**	**Condition**	**Reaction**	**Treatment**	**Outcome**
Gn 32.24-32	God through an angel	Jacob	This is to make Jacob reliant on God and to assist him achieve spiritual maturity.	He wrestles with an angel and suffers a dislocated thigh.	No details are given.	No details are given.	He remains unhealed.

Appendix 7

The Suffering-Centred Paradigm in the New Testament

(i) Suffering inflicted as Punishment or Chastisement, which remains unhealed

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
Act 1.15-20	Presumably God	Judas	He betrays Jesus for money, and purchases a field with these ill-gotten gains.	He falls on the land; this results in his entrails falling out and his death.	No reaction is possible.	No reaction is possible.	He is dead.
Act 5.1-11	God announced through Peter	Ananias and his wife, Sapphira	Ananias lies by claiming that he gives all the proceeds of the sale of a property, when he has held back some of the money. His wife also lies when asked directly by Peter.	Peter admonishes Ananias for such dishonesty and Ananias dies. Three hours later, Sapphira lies and Peter announces her death sentence and she dies instantly.	No reaction is possible.	No reaction is possible.	They are dead. This frightens the whole church and all who hear of it.
Act 12.21-23	God through an angel	King Herod	The narrative states that he is punished for failing to give glory to God but he has also persecuted	He is struck with an unspecified illness, which leads to his death.	No details are mentioned.	No details are mentioned.	He dies.

			Christians; he orders the beheading of James and the seizure of Peter.				

(ii) Suffering inflicted as Punishment or Chastisement, which is subsequently healed

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
Mt 9.2-8, Mc 2.3-12 and Lc 5.18-26	Presumably God	An unnamed man	He suffers on account of sin.	He suffers from paralysis.	He is brought before Jesus on a stretcher.	Seeing their faith, Jesus forgives the sins of the man, and orders him to get up and walk.	The man is cured. All who witness this event are amazed.
Lc 1.5-66	God through Gabriel	The priest Zechariah	An angel announces that his barren and elderly wife will give birth to a son John but Zechariah doubts this.	He is struck mute as a punishment. This is a temporary condition until the prophesy has come to pass.	No details are mentioned.	No treatment is necessary.	When the child is to be circumcised 8 days after his birth, Zechariah writes that he is to be called John. In that instance his speech is restored and he praises God.
Io 5.2-14	Presumably God	An unnamed man	This is due to unspecified sin.	He is sick for 38 years.	Jesus finds him waiting in hope of a miraculous cure at the side of a pool in	Jesus orders him to rise and the man is cured.	Jesus meets him later in the temple and warns him to refrain from

					Jerusalem.		sin, lest he suffer a worse fate.
Act 9.9-12	Jesus	Saul [Paul]	He is punished because of his persecution of Christians.	He is struck blind.	He fasts and prays and experiences a vision of his healing.	Ananias is sent by Jesus to lay his hands on Saul. He does so and Saul is cured of blindness.	He is healed. He gets baptized and begins to preach.
Act 13.6-12	God, announced by Saul [Paul]	Elymas the sorcerer	He is punished for attempting to prevent the conversion to Christianity of the proconsul Sergius Paulus.	He is struck with temporary blindness.	He seeks someone to lead him by the hand.	No details are mentioned.	He presumably receives his sight back. Sergius is converted.

(iii) Sickness as Participation in the Sufferings of Christ

Reference	**Inflictor**	**Sufferer**	**Reason**	**Condition**	**Reaction**	**Treatment**	**Outcome**
Gal 1.15 and 4.13-14	Presumably God	Saul [Paul]	He participates in the sufferings of Christ.	Unspecified but it is debilitating and permanent.	He accepts the pain.	None	He remains sick.

Appendix 8

The Suffering-Centred Paradigm in the *Legenda Aurea*

(i) Suffering inflicted as Punishment or Chastisement, which remains unhealed

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
LA, II, pp. 13-14	God	The parents of a noble man, who joins Andrew's community	They attempt to take their son back.	God strikes them blind as they are on a ladder.	No details are given.	No details are given.	The parents die after 50 days. Many who witnessed this event believe in God.
LA, II, p. 15	God through the prayers of St Andrew	The mother of a Christian youth	She falsely accuses her son.	Andrew prays and the woman is struck by lightning.	She is killed instantly.	No response is possible.	The judge and the entire household believe as a result.
LA, II, pp. 18-19	Presumably God	The proconsul Aegeus	He refuses to be converted by Andrew and tortures him.	After the death of Andrew, Aegeus is seized by a demon.	He dies immediately.	No response is possible.	He is dead. Andrew has achieved martyrdom on the cross, for which he yearned.
LA, II, pp. 21-22	God through the prayers of a bishop	A prefect of a city	He takes possession of a field that belongs to a church of St Andrew.	The bishop prays and the prefect is immediately stricken with fever.	He asks the bishop to pray for him, promising to return the field once healed.	The bishop prays, the man is healed but he takes back the field again. The bishop prays again and the prefect falls ill	He tries to force the bishop to pray for him, promising to give him two fields. As the bishop enters the church, the

						immediately with a higher fever.	man dies.
LA, V, p. 34	God through the prayers of the apostle Thomas	A servant	He slaps Thomas.	Thomas invokes punishment and the servant is killed by a lion.	A dog carries the hand that dealt the blow to the apostle.	The apostle prays for the man to be pardoned in the life to come.	Others fear the apostle, realising that he is close to God. The servant will gain eternal life.
LA, VI, pp. 45-46	God	The Sodomites	They are destroyed because of their vice, which is 'contrary to nature'.	They give witness to the birth of Christ by being exterminated on the night of His birth.	No response is possible.	No details are given.	They are all dead so that there may be no uncleanliness in the human form assumed by Jesus.
LA, VII, p. 48	Presumably God	A prefect	He attempts to molest three Christian serving girls.	He is deprived of his senses and kisses kitchen utensils instead.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He falls into a deep sleep, from which not even blows could wake him. The virgins are crowned with martyrdom.
LA, VII, pp. 48-49	Presumably God	A prefect	He attempts to embrace Anastasia.	He is immediately struck blind.	He asks the idols if he might be cured but they inform him that he won't.	He is to be turned over to the idols to be tortured forever in hell.	He dies as he is being led to his house. Curiously, the prefect who later kills Anastasia is not punished.

LA, X, pp. 65-66	God	King Herod	He orders the killing of all male children under two in Bethlehem.	His own child is also slain as a punishment.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment.	At the age of 70, he falls ill with a debilitating deadly disease.
LA, XI, p. 69	God	Men	They killed St Thomas.	Some gnaw their figures to bits, others become idiots, some are paralysed while others go mad and die.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are not cured.
LA, XII, p. 70	Presumably God	Tarquin	He tries to force Silvester to adore idols but Silvester announces his death and eternal torment in hell.	A fish bone catches in Tarquin's throat, that evening while he is eating.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He dies during the night.
LA, XVII, p. 99	Presumably God	Pope Leo	He is led into heresy and is rude to St Hilary.	He is seized with dysentery and dies.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead and this event convinces bishops present of the true faith.
LA, XXI, p. 107	God	An Arian, named Ballachius	He persecutes Christians and disregards the written warning of impending divine wrath, sent by Anthony.	Five days later, he is bitten and knocked to the ground by his horse. His legs are crushed.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He dies three days later.
LA, XXIV, pp.	God	A large number of	The attempt to	God sends an	There is no	There is no	After this the

115-116		pagans	stone the foster sister of Agnes, Emerentina, as she visits the martyr's grave.	earthquake with thunder and lightning and many perish.	mention of a response.	mention of any treatment.	pagans did not harm those who visited the grave.
LA, XXVII, pp. 128-129	God in answer to the prayers of the monk Vitalis.	A prostitute	A monk spends nights with prostitutes to see if St John listens to rumours. He tells them not to tell the truth but a woman does.	She is immediately tormented by a demon.	All believe she deserves this for telling a lie when she was in fact telling the truth.	There is no mention of any treatment.	She is presumably not healed.
LA, XXX, p. 141	St Julian	A deacon	He takes sheep belonging to the church of St Julian despite the efforts of shepherds trying to stop him in the name of the saint.	He is seized with a violent fever, admitting that it is Julian who is burning him.	There is no mention of a response.	Water is thrown over him to no avail.	He dies shortly afterwards.
LA, XXX, pp. 141-142	God but announced by the brother of St Julius - Julian	A man	He and his friends try to avoid helping Julian and Julius to tear down temples by pretending that one of them is dead.	Julian announces that the lie should be a reality. They discover that the man is really dead.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The man is dead and no one dares lie to the servant of God again.

LA, XXX, p. 145	Mary	Julian the Apostate	He destroys crosses and persecutes Christians.	Basil has a vision in which Mary summons Mercury, a soldier, who was killed by Julian, to destroy him.	He is unable to respond.	There is no mention of any treatment	He is dead and left unburied.
LA, XXXIX, p. 173	Presumably God	Quintianus	He orders the torture of St Agatha.	He is bitten and kicked into the river by his horses as he is on his way to find Agatha's riches.	There is no mention of a response.	There is no mention of any treatment	His body is never found again.
LA, XLI, p. 175	Presumably God	A jester	He ridicules St Amand.	He is immediately seized by a demon.	He tears at his flesh with his teeth and admits that he had wronged a man of God.	This is to no avail.	He dies a miserable death.
LA, XLIII, p. 178	Presumably God	A prefect and 34 men	A prefect has Juliana tortured and killed.	They are all killed by a storm at sea.	No response is possible.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Their bodies are eaten by the birds and beasts when the sea casts them on shore.
LA, XLV, p. 188	God announced by Matthias, the apostle	Unspecified people	They refuse to be converted by the preaching of Peter.	Matthias announces that they will go to hell alive as a consequence and the earth opens and swallows them.	There is no mention of a response.	No treatment is possible.	They are dead. This event succeeds in converting those who witness it.
LA, XLVI, pp. 195-196	God, announced by figure dressed as a monk	The emperor, Maurice	He persecutes Gregory.	He is informed by a figure dressed as a monk that he will die by the sword.	He immediately stops persecuting Gregory, and begs him to pray to God to punish him in this life rather than	He experiences a vision where he appears before the Judge and requests that he	God agrees and announces that Maurice, his wife, daughters and sons are to be killed by the

					in the next.	receive temporal rather than eternal punishment.	soldier Phocas, which happens shortly afterwards.
LA, XLVI, p. 197	God	Saint Gregory	He successfully intercedes for a damned soul.	He is informed by an angel that he has a choice of punishment, either 2 days in purgatory or a lifetime of pain.	Gregory chooses the latter and suffers for the rest of his life from fevers, gout, severe pain or stomach ache.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Gregory suffers until death.
LA, XLVI, p. 198	God through Gregory	Sorcerers hired by a rich man, who wishes to avenge Gregory for refusing him communion.	They send a demon into Gregory's horse to upset it and endanger Gregory's life.	Gregory realises that it's a demon and he delivers the horse with a sign of the cross; this imposes the spell on the sorcerers in the form of blindness.	They admit their guilt and are baptized.	Gregory, however, refuses to heal them for fear that they may take up the black arts again.	They remain blind but are provided for from church funds.
LA, XLVI, p. 199	St Gregory	His successor as pope	He refuses food to the poor in time of famine and speaks unkindly of Gregory.	Gregory appears to him 3 times, chiding him for being so frugal and for speaking unkindly of him. The pope refuses to change so Gregory appears a 4th time and deals him a lethal blow to the head.	No response is possible.	No treatment is mentioned.	The blow causes great pain and the pope dies shortly afterwards.
LA, XLVI, p. 200	God or Gregory	A monk	He set aside a sum of money.	Gregory appears to another monk to instruct him to give up the money, and	The guilty monk gives up the money and performs penance	On the 3rd day, he tells the monks that he is being	He dies as predicted but utters a curse at the moment of

				do penance as he is to die in 3 days.	but is struck with a severe fever.	punished for one crime and to treat those dying with compassion.	his death (see next account).
LA, XLVI, p. 200	God or Gregory through a curse uttered by a dying monk	A man named Andrew	He gave wicked counsel to the monk, who has just been punished and is dying.	At the moment the curse is uttered, Andrew is seized by a fatal malady, which causes him to waste away.	He is unable to die. He calls the monks and admits that he sold monastic papers with the help of the sick monk.	He is now able to die and does so while making this confession.	He dies.
LA, XLVIII, p. 203	God, presumably	Some unbelievers	They watch the martyrdom of Hope.	When Hope is put into a caldron full of pitch, drops fall on the unbelievers, cremating them.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead but Hope emerges unscathed.
LA, XLVIII, p. 204	God, presumably	6,000 idolators	They watch the martyrdom of Charity.	Flames leap out of the furnace into which Charity is thrown, killing 6,000.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead but Charity emerges unscathed.
LA, XLVIII, p. 204	God, presumably	The emperor Hadrian	He orders the killing of the three daughters of Sophia.	His body rots and he wastes away to death.	He admits all the time that he has done wrong to the saints of God.	He remains uncured.	He dies.
LA, XLIX, pp. 206-207	God presumably	A priest Florentius	He tries to kill Benedict but fails and then tries to lure the monks into sin.	Benedict decides to leave and set up a new monastery. Florentius gloats but the balcony he stands upon collapses, resulting in his death.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead and Benedict returns.

LA, XLIX, p. 208	Presumably God	A sword-bearer sent by Totila, king of Goths	Totila dresses him in kingly garments to test whether Benedict really possesses the gift of prophesy.	Benedict immediately sees the truth, and orders the man to remove the clothes. The man dies immediately for this sin of deception.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The man is dead.
LA, XLIX, p. 208	Presumably God	A clerk, whom Benedict cures of possession with the instruction not to become ordained or else he will be possessed again.	He ignores Benedict's instruction and gets ordained.	He is possessed again.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The clerk remains possessed until the day of his death.
LA, XLIX, p. 210-211 implied	Presumably God	Two nuns of noble birth, who could not keep quiet and are warned by Benedict to reduce chatter or they will be excommunicated.	They ignore the warning and continue talking.	They die several days later and are buried in the church but have to leave when masses are being celebrated due to excommunication.	Benedict gives their nurse an offering to be made on their behalf so that they will no longer be excommunicated.	She does so and they rest in peace.	They are dead but rest in peace.
LA, XLIX, p. 211	Presumably God	A monk	He visits his parents without obtaining permission from Benedict.	He dies the day he reaches home.	He is buried but his corpse is rejected by the earth. His parents beg Benedict for his blessing.	Benedict gives them a consecrated host, to be placed on the monk.	They do so and rebury him. The earth retains the corpse.
LA, LVII, p. 251	God	An Arian woman	She attempts to drag Ambrose from the pulpit so that he might	Ambrose announces that she has no right to lay a hand on any priest and will be	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	She dies and the event puts the fear of God in everyone.

			be beaten and driven from the church.	divinely punished. He buries her the next day.			
LA, LVII, p. 252	Ambrose	A soothsayer	He sends demons to harm Ambrose but they can't as they are scorched by a protective fire.	His punishment occurs after death, when he is handed over to be tormented by the demons.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is tormented but cries out that Ambrose tortures him more sorely than the demons.
LA, LVII, p. 252	Presumably God	A man, aided and abetted by Justina	He attempts to kill Ambrose while he is sleeping.	When he lifts his sword to strike, his arm withers instantly.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He presumably remains unhealed.
LA, LVII, p. 253	Presumably God	A man	He had committed a particularly heinous crime (unspecified).	Ambrose declares that he must be handed over to Satan to die in the flesh in order to prevent him perpetrating any more crimes.	The man is immediately possessed and tormented.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He presumably remains in this state.
LA, LVII, p. 254	God	A wealthy man, who extents his hospitality towards Ambrose and his men.	His life has always gone well and Ambrose interprets this as evidence that the man is a sinner. Ambrose runs with his men.	The earth suddenly opens and swallows the man and all that belong to him.	Ambrose explains that God is merciful towards those, to whom he sends adversity, but is angry against those who enjoy prosperity.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The man and his family are wiped out.
LA, LVII, p. 255	God or Ambrose	A priest	He speaks ill of the saint.	He is immediately stricken with a	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any	He is dead.

				mortal illness and dies.		treatment.	
LA, LVII, p. 255	God or Ambrose	A bishop	He also speaks ill of Ambrose and scoffs when told what happened to the priest.	He immediately receives a lethal wound and dies.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead.
LA, LVIII, p. 263	God through the prayers of Gregory	The priests of idols	Dacian attempts to get Gregory to worship idols.	Gregory falls to his knees and prays to God to destroy the temple.	Immediately fire comes down from heaven, consuming the temple, idols and priests. The earth opens and swallows anything that's left.	No treatment is possible.	All are dead. This occurs for the glory of God and the conversion of people.
LA, LVIII, p. 264	Presumably God	Dacian and his attendants	He has Gregory tortured and his wife and Gregory beheaded.	Fire comes down from heaven, destroying Dacian and his attendants as they return home after the execution.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead.
LA, LXI, pp. 272-273	Vitalis	A pagan priest	Vitalis is buried alive, a punishment recommended by a pagan priest.	The priest is immediately tormented by a demon.	He rages and raves for 7 days at the site of the burial crying out that Vitalis is setting him on fire.	There is no mention of any treatment.	On the 7th day he is pitched into the river by the demon and perishes.
LA, LXIII, p. 288	God initiated through the prayer of St Peter, the martyr	An eloquent heretic	Peter is unable to defeat the arguments of the heretic.	He goes to a nearby chapel, weeping and praying to God to defend the cause of his faith, either by converting the	The man is struck mute and the heretics are confounded.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He presumably remains uncured.

				heretic or punishing him by silencing him.			
LA, LXX, pp. 312-313	God	The Romans	They feast to excess after Lent.	God imposes a plague, offended by such excesses.	Pope Gregory institutes the litany.	No treatment is mentioned.	People die but plague ceases.
LA, LXX, pp. 313-314	God	The people of Vienne	They are sinful.	God therefore permits evil spirits to enter wolves and other beasts and these devour old people and children.	The bishop announces a 3 day fast and institutes litanies.	The tribulations cease.	There is no mention of the dead being restored to life.
LA, LXXVI, pp. 340-341	God or St Pancratius	A guilty man	He swears a false oath on the altar of St Peter and at the tomb of St Pancratius.	A judge knows that he is guilty and prays to the saint for a sign. The man is unable to pull his hand free from the tomb.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He eventually dies there at the tomb.
LA, LXXVII, p. 342	Presumably God in response to the prayers of Urban	Carpasius, an adjutant and ministers of idols	St Urban and his companions are ordered to sacrifice to an idol.	Urban prays and the idol falls, killing 22 ministers of the idol. This has no effect as the prisoners are beaten and killed.	Carpasius is immediately seized by a demon, which forces him to praise Christians; he is strangled by the demon.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The entire household of Carpasius is converted upon witnessing this event. The saints are buried honourably.
LA, LXXXI, p. 349	God presumably through the curse of Barnabus	Heathens	They run naked to a temple to celebrate their feast.	Barnabus is outraged and he curses their temple; a section falls in, crushing many people.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many die as a result.

LA, LXXXII, p. 351	God presumably	Worshipers of idols	Diocletian orders the torture of Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia	While they are being tortured, the earth shakes and the temples fall in, killing many.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many die.
LA, LXXXVII, p. 366-367	God presumably	The son of Terentianus	Terentianus orders the beheading of saints John and Paul.	Shortly afterwards his son is possessed by a demon.	On witnessing this, Terentianus confesses his crime, converts and writes an account of the passion of the martyrs.	There is no mention of the son being cured.	Terentianus converts but there is no mention of his son being cured.
LA, LXXXIX, p. 373-374	At the order of Saint Peter, the apostle	Simon, the sorcerer	He claims he is to ascend into Heaven. He begins to fly, convincing Nero.	Simon is held up by demons; Peter orders them in the name of Jesus to let go and they do so; he crashes to the ground, fractures his skull and dies.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Simon is dead but the event does not convert Nero, who sentences the saints to death.
LA, XCVIII, p. 420	Presumably God	1,500 heathens	The father of St Christina orders that she be burnt to death.	Flames leap put and kill 1,500 observers.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many men die but the father is not converted.
LA, XCVIII, p. 421	Presumably God	Julianus, a judge	He orders Christina's tongue to be cut off.	Christina throws it into his face and blinds him.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Julianus remains blind. Christina is martyred.
LA, XCIX, pp. 424-425	Presumably God	The soldiers of a cruel despot	He sends soldiers after the disciples after an angel has freed them.	As the soldiers are crossing a bridge, it collapses and all are drowned in the river.	The tyrant is repentant and fearful upon hearing this. He calls back the	There is no mention of any treatment.	The disciples come back and convert all. The soldiers do not appear to be

					disciples, promising to grant them any request.		restored to life.
LA, XCIX, p. 428	God, announced by the apostle James	An innkeeper	He steals all the money and the ass of a Frenchman, who is on his way to visit the saint's shrine.	James appears to the pilgrim, informing him that the innkeeper will fall off the roof and die as a consequence and all his belongings will be returned.	This occurs. No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The innkeeper dies. The Frenchman receives his belongings back.
LA, XCIX, p. 429	Presumably God	A master	He is wicked. He is warned by a dying soldier that he is damned and will die soon but disregards this.	He makes no effort to amend his ways and shortly afterwards is pierced in battle and dies.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The master dies.
LA, CII, p. 440-441	Presumably God	Nero together with many people	Nero has Nazarius and Celsus shut in prison until he thinks of ways to torture them.	Wild beasts break into his garden, injuring and killing many people and wounding Nero in the foot.	Nero thinks that the gods are angry with him for allowing Nazarius and Celsus to live so long and orders them to be drowned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	There is no mention of healing. The saints convert the ship's crew and survive.
LA, CIV, p. 443	Presumably God	Lucretius, the prefect	He orders the death of Beatrice, the sister of saints Simplicius and Faustinius.	He moves into her property; a new-born child states that he will be possessed as a consequence. He is	He is tortured for three hours and dies.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead and those present are converted. They tell all how Beatrice's death has been

				immediately seized by a demon.			avenged.
LA, CVII, p. 449	God	Attila's men	They attack Troyes, claiming to be a scourge of God.	The bishop believes he deserves this and opens the gates. Attila's men are blinded and run out the other gate.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The men are blind. It is not clear whether this is a temporary or permanent condition.
LA, CVIII, p. 452	Presumably God	Arius, the heretic	He spreads heresy.	He dies a miserable death in a privy.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Arius dies.
LA, CX, p. 456	Presumably God	Herod	He is arrogant and does not disclaim people's opinion that he is supernatural.	He sees an angel in the form of an owl and knows that he has 5 days to live. He is stricken immediately.	Worms feed on him and he dies after 5 days.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Herod dies.
LA, CXVI, p. 488	God presumably	Carpasius, the deputy	He orders the torture and death of Cyriacus and his companions. In mockery of Christians, he bathes where Cyriacus had performed baptism.	He and his 19 cronies die instantly.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead. The bath is closed and the pagans begin to fear and respect the Christians.
LA, CXVII, pp. 494-495	Saint Laurence	Stephen, a corrupt judge	He accepts bribes and pronounces crooked judgements. He	He dies and goes before God. Laurence twists his arm hard 3 times. He is condemned to	He is restored to life to do penance for 30 days. He also has to recite a psalm every day.	He makes restitution and performs penance and dies on the 30th	He dies repentant and is saved.

			takes 3 houses belonging to Laurence's church.	hell but Projectus intercedes for him.	His arm is black and burned and this mark remains.	day.	
LA, CXVIII, pp. 502-503	God or Hippolytus and Laurence	Decius and Valarian	They are responsible for the torture and death of Hippolytus and his companions.	Decius is seized by a demon and claims he is being tortured by Hippolytus while Valarian cries out that he is being tormented by Laurence.	Valarian dies immediately. Decius is tormented for three days and begs Laurence to stop tormenting him.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Both die a miserable death. Decius' wife is converted by the event and many soldiers follow her example.
LA, CXXIII, p. 543	God presumably	King Astyages and the temple priests	He orders the torture and death of St Bartholomew.	After his death, King Astyages and the temple priests are seized by demons and die.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead. Bartholomew receives an honourable burial.
LA, CXXIII, pp. 544-545	Saints	The emperor Frederick	He orders that all the churches in Benevento be destroyed.	Bartholomew and other saints, whose churches are destroyed, appear and decide upon a punishment.	They decide that the emperor must die and be judged by God. He dies a miserable death shortly afterwards.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The emperor is dead.
LA, CXXV, p. 571	God presumably	Julian, the Apostate	He soils sacred vessels and cloths.	Very soon he is stricken in that part, with worms crawling out and gnawing at his flesh.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He suffers this condition for the remainder of his life.
LA, CXXV, p. 571	God presumably	Julian, a prefect	He steals sacred vessels and relieves himself on them.	His mouth is immediately turned into his rear and functions as such	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He suffers this condition for the remainder of his life.

				thereafter.			
LA, CXXV, p. 571	God presumably	Julian, the Apostate	He orders that the temple of the Jews be restored as a sign of his hatred of Christians.	Fire breaks out from the foundations, killing a great many people.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many die.
LA, CXXV, pp. 571-572	God	Julian, the Apostate	He invades Persia, believing he possesses the soul of Alexander.	A spear flies through the air, mortally wounding him.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Julian dies.
LA, CXXV, p. 573	God	Herodias	She is punished for instructing her daughter to ask for the head of John.	When she taunts the head in her hands, by God's will, the head breaths in her face and she dies.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	She dies but another account exists where she dies a miserable death in exile.
LA, CXXV, p. 573 implied	God presumably	The daughter of Herodias	She agrees to her mother's request and demands the head of John.	As she walks across an icy pond, the ice gives way and she drowns.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	A further account states that the earth swallows her alive.
LA, CXXVI, p. 575	God presumably	Pagans	They try to dig up the bodies of the saints Felix and Adauctus.	They are seized by a demon.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are possessed.
LA, CXXXVI, pp. 603-604	God	A rich and noble woman, Melancia, together with her servants	She falsely accuses Eugene and her servants back her up.	Fire comes down from heaven, destroying Melancia and her co-conspirators.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead but the entire household is converted.

LA, CXXXVIII, pp. 616-617	God, presumably	A couple of poor men	They try to trick money from a holy man, Epiphanius, by pretending one is dead and the other has no money to bury him.	Epiphanius prays that he may rest in peace and gives the money. The man is really dead.	His companion tells Epiphanius the truth, begging him to revive his friend.	Epiphanius refuses, lest people believe it is easy to delude God's ministers.	The man is dead.
LA, CXXXVIII, p. 619	God presumably	Eudoxia	She has John Chrysostom removed from the church.	At the hour of his death a great hailstorm descends over his unjust condemnation. Eudoxia dies 4 days after this.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Eudoxia is dead.
LA, CXXXIX, p. 621	God	Priscus, the judge	He consigns Euphemia to prison and attempts to molest her.	She resists and the power of God paralyses his hand.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	His hand is paralysed.
LA, CXXXIX, p. 621	Presumably God	Priscus' head steward	He is set to persuade Euphemia to do the will of Priscus.	He is unable to open the jail door, is possessed by a demon and tears his flesh.	He barely escapes with his life.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The man is possessed.
LA, CXXXIX, p. 621	God	A torturer	He operates the wheel, upon which Euphemia is placed.	He is crushed by the wheel.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead.
LA, CXXXIX, p. 621	Presumably God	A man	He goes up a ladder to get	He is stricken with paralysis and	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any	He is paralysed.

			hold of Euphemia.	brought down half dead.		treatment.	
LA, CXXXIX, pp. 621-622	Presumably God	A headsman	He kills Euphemia.	He is snatched by a lion and devoured shortly afterwards.	No response is mentioned.	No treatment is possible.	He is dead.
LA, CXXXIX, p. 622	Presumably God	Priscus	He ordered the torture and death of Euphemia.	He chews on his own flesh and is found dead.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead. Euphemia is buried with honour and all the Jews and Gentiles in Chalcedon are converted.
LA, CXL, pp. 624-625	Saint Matthew, the apostle	The king Hirtacus	He tries to kill the virgin Ephigenia by setting a fire around her house.	St Matthew appears and turns the fire towards the palace, where it sweeps through the building consuming all.	The king and his son escape.	No treatment is possible.	Many die.
LA, CXL, p. 625	God or St Matthew	The son of king Hirtacus	His father ordered the killing of St Matthew and harasses Ephigenia.	He is immediately seized by a demon when he escapes the blazing palace.	He runs to the apostle's tomb, confessing the crimes of his father.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is possessed. There is no mention of a cure.
LA, CXL, p. 625	God or St Matthew	King Hirtacus	He orders the killing of St Matthew and harasses Ephigenia.	He is stricken with an incurable and loathsome leprosy.	As it is incurable, he commits suicide.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead.
LA, CXLI, p. 631	Presumably God	A proud, ambitious clerk	He scoffs at the notion of being humble.	Instantly he is hit by lightning in the mouth and dies.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead.

LA, CXLII, p. 636	Presumably God	A priest of the idols	He attempts to boil Cyprian and Justina in a cauldron fail and claims he will stand in front of caldron and outdo their power.	He praises the gods and fire pours out of caldron, consuming the priest.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The priest of the idols is dead.
LA, CXLII, p. 638	Presumably God	Bystanders	A judge orders that Cosmas and Damien be thrown onto a fire.	The flames leap out and destroy many bystanders. The saints are unharmed.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many are dead.
LA, CXLII, p. 638	Presumably God	Stone throwers	A judge orders that Cosmas and Damien be stoned.	The stones turn back upon the throwers, injuring many.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many are injured.
LA, CXLII, p. 638	Presumably God	Bystanders	A judge orders that Cosmas and Damien be shot with arrows.	The arrows turn back and strike many.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many are hit by arrows.
LA, CXLVII, p. 660	Presumably God	Drunken rustics and their descendents	They burn Remy's provisions for a forthcoming famine.	He announces that that the culprits and their descendents will suffer as a consequence, the men from rupture and the women from goitre.	This occurs. No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many suffer until Charlemagne disperses the descendents.
LA, CXLVIII, p. 662	Presumably God	A swordsman	He beheads saint Leger.	He is immediately seized by a demon and cast into a fire.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The man is dead.

LA, CXLVIII, p. 662	Presumably God	An arrogant soldier	He kicks a saint's grave and threatens death to anyone who believes that the saint can perform miracles.	He is immediately possessed and dies.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The soldier is dead. His death further confirms the saint's holiness.
LA, CXLVIII, p. 662	Presumably God	Ebroin	He orders the torture of St Leger.	He dies wickedly by the sword as predicted by Leger.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead.
LA, CXLIX, p. 672	God or St Francis	A knight	He belittles the miracles of St Francis. He claims that if Francis is a saint, he'll die that day.	His nephew kills him afterwards with a sword.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is dead.
LA, CLIII, p. 686 and CLXXXI, p. 833	God or St Denis	King Clovis	He irreverently breaks off an arm bone of St Denis and takes it away.	In no time at all he loses his mind.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He is mad.
LA, CLIV, pp. 686-687	God	Priests of the idols	They offer sacrifice to the gods as a fire, sent by God, destroys part of the city.	Lightning strikes, killing 4 priests of the idols.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead.
LA, CLIV, p. 687	God	Soldiers of the consul Palmadius	Christians are pursued, accused of the disaster (prev. account).	The soldiers are stricken blind.	The emperor commands all to sacrifice to Mercury to find out why.	During this, a temple virgin is possessed by a demon and announces the	The emperor is converted and baptized by Callictus together with

						truth.	his wife and family.
LA, CLV, pp. 690-691	St Leonard	A commander and his people	They capture a pilgrim on his way back from visiting St Leonard and refuse to let him go.	St Leonard appears in a vision to the commander twice but he dismisses this. The 3rd night, St Leonard releases the pilgrim and causes the castle to collapse.	Many are crushed and the legs of the chief are broken.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Many crushed and the legs of the chief are broken. St Leonard comes to the aid of his pilgrims.
LA, CXIX, pp. 710-711	God	The sorcerers Zaroes and Arphaxat	They are wicked and refuse to be converted.	When Simon and Jude are killed, lightning flashes, destroying the temple and the 2 sorcerers.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	They are dead. The apostles are buried in honour.
LA, CLXXII, pp. 793-794	God, mediated through an angel	4,000 pagans	A horrific torturing instrument is built.	Catherine prays that it be destroyed for the glory of God and to convert pagans. An angel shatters it and 4,000 pagans are killed.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The queen is converted but martyred immediately for her faith.
LA, CLXXXI, p. 829	Presumably God	Muhammad	He is a false prophet and sorcerer.	He begins to suffer frequent epileptic seizures.	He has excuses for this, claiming that he faints when contemplating the angel Gabriel.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He remains unhealed.
LA, CLXXXI, p. 832	Presumably God	Aistulf, king of the Lombards	He strips the Roman church of its rule over many of its	A short time later he dies suddenly while hunting.	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	The king is dead.

			territories. He promises to restore them but annuls this.				
LA, CLXXXI, p. 839	Presumably God	Witnesses to the coronation of the emperor	Emperor Conrad II imprisons several bishops.	When he is being crowned, a violent storm breaks out; some go mad while others die of fright.	Witnesses claim to see St Ambrose threatening the emperor.	There is no mention of any treatment.	Some people have gone mad while others are dead.

(ii) Suffering inflicted as Punishment or Chastisement, which is temporary in nature

LA, XLIII, pp. 177-178	Saint Juliana	A demon	He appears as an angel, instructing her to sacrifice to the gods in order to avoid martyrdom.	She forces him to admit who he really is and then ties his hands behind his back, beating him with a chain.	The demon's pleas for mercy are ignored as he is dragged along on the ground before finally being tossed into a sewer.	No treatment is mentioned.	The injuries presumably heal of their own accord.
LA, CXXV, p. 568	God	A man	He lent money, which wasn't returned. He provokes the man to swear an oath and the man swears falsely.	That night the lender has a vision, in which God tells him that it would be better to forego what was owed than make the borrower lose his soul by swearing a false oath.	He is laid on the ground and beaten severely as a punishment. The traces of the whipping are visible when he awakes.	No treatment is mentioned.	The lender receives a severe beating.
LA, CXLI, p. 631	A legion of saints	A pagan	He works on the construction of a church on a	A legion of saints appears and beats him for	The man is corrected and runs to a church,	No treatment is mentioned.	The man presumably recovers after the

			Sunday.	engaging in labour on a Sunday.	begging to be made a Christian.		beating.
LA, CXLIV, pp. 640-642	A demon, on God's behalf	Bishop Fursey	He accepts a coat from a wicked man, believing him to have performed penance.	Demons and angels fight over the soul of the bishop; demons hit him with the burning sinner, from whom Fursey had accepted a gift.	He is hit so hard that he comes back to life; his cheek and shoulder are burned from the contact with the sinner.	No treatment is mentioned.	Fursey lives a while longer, performing good works. He presumably recovers from the burns.
LA, CXLVI, p. 654	God	Saint Jerome	He reads Cicero and Plato because the coarse language of the Gospels displeases him.	He comes down with a sudden and violent fever. He stands accused before God, Who orders that he be severely flogged.	Jerome pleads for mercy as do those present. Jerome swears an oath never to possess or read worldly books again.	He is dismissed by God. He is bathed in tears and his shoulders are terribly bruised from the flogging.	He regains his strength. He devotes much time to the study of godly works.
LA, CXLIX, p. 663	God	Saint Francis	He lives a vain and frivolous life.	God chastens him with ill health.	Saint Francis changes and exhibits the gift of prophesy.	No treatment is mentioned.	He presumably recovers as there is no further mention of this illness.
LA, CLXXXI, p. 841-842	St Nicholas	A prior	He refuses the monks' request that the new office of St Nicholas be sung.	Nicholas appears on his feast day; he drags the prior from bed and sings *'O pastor aeterne'*, beating time with repeated blows to the prior's back.	The cries of the prior awake the community and they carry him back to bed half-dead.	There is no mention of treatment. He finally recovers sufficiently to give permission that the new legend of St Nicholas be	He is beaten half to death but agrees to the new antiphon being sung.

						sung.	
LA, CLXVI, pp. 743-744	God	Emperor Valentinian	He refuses to see Martin, and then refuses to rise to acknowledge his presence.	Flames burst out from the throne, setting his rear on fire.	This forces him to rise and he admits he felt the power of God. He grants all the bishop's requests and offers gifts.	No treatment is mentioned	The condition is presumably temporary. He is converted.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 764	God through the prayers of St Elizabeth	A young couple	They desert their child.	Elizabeth prays and the couple are unable to go a step further.	They beg for forgiveness. She reproaches them and helps them provide for the child.	No treatment is mentioned.	The condition is presumably temporary. They are reunited with the child.

(iii) Suffering inflicted as Punishment or Chastisement, which is subsequently healed

Reference	**Inflictor**	**Sufferer**	**Reason**	**Condition**	**Reaction**	**Treatment**	**Outcome**
LA, II, p.14	Presumably God	A woman	She married a murderer and worships Diana.	She is unable to give birth.	Her sister prays to Diana on her behalf but the Devil answers, claiming he is unable to assist. He suggests Andrew instead.	St Andrew is brought to her bedside. He tells her she deserves her pain but if she repents, she will be cured.	The woman makes an act of faith and delivers a stillborn child.
LA, III, p. 27	Presumably God or St Nicholas	A man	He borrows money from a Jew, making an oath on the altar of St Nicholas to repay it a.s.a.p.	He refuses to repay the money and is killed by being run over by a coach; the money spills	The Jew refuses to take the money unless the man is restored to life by the merits of St Nicholas.	If this occurs, he will become a Christian.	The man is immediately restored to life and the Jew is baptized.

				out onto the ground.			
LA, VI, p. 42	Presumably God	A midwife Salome	She does not believe that Mary is a virgin.	As she tries to find out, her hand withers instantly.	No response is mentioned.	An angel appears and tells her to touch the baby Jesus.	She does so and her hand is restored instantly.
LA, VIII, p. 54	Presumably God or St Stephen	A man named Martial	He refuses to be converted.	He falls gravely ill.	He does not respond personally but his son-in-law secretly places some flowers from the altar of St Stephen under his pillow.	Martial immediately requests baptism upon waking.	He is baptized and presumably recovers.
LA, VIII, pp. 54-55	Presumably God, initiated through the curse of a mother	Ten Children	They offend their mother and she places a curse on them.	They are afflicted with a terrible trembling disorder.	Two, Paul and Palladia, visit the church of St Stephen every day for two weeks, pleading with him to obtain their health.	On Easter Sunday, Paul prostrates himself before the altar, prays and stands up healed..	Palladia seemed to fall asleep at the altar but arises healed. All praise God and St Stephen in thanksgiving.
LA, XI, p. 69	Presumably God or St Thomas	An English lady	She wishes to become more beautiful so she makes a vow and walks barefoot to the tomb of St Thomas to	When she stands up after praying, she discovers that she is blind.	She repents and prays that her eyesight be restored.	No treatment is mentioned.	Her eyesight is restored but only after great effort on her behalf.

			make her eyes change colour.				
LA, XII, pp. 71-72	God	The emperor Constantine	He persecutes Christians.	He is inflicted with leprosy as a punishment. The priests of the idols advise him to kill 3,000 infants in order to bathe in their blood as a cure. He refuses to do so out of pity for the children.	Peter and Paul appear to him in a dream and tell him if he is immersed in water 3 times by Silvester, he will be cured. He must also demolish temples and become Christian.	Silvester makes him a catechumen, imposes a week long fast on him and instructs him to open the jails.	He is baptized and emerges from the water cleansed of his leprosy.
LA, XIX, p. 103	God	Some pagans	The try to seize St Felix.	They are immediately stricken with intolerable pain in their hands.	They howl with the pain.	Felix tells them to say 'Christ is God' and the pain will cease.	They do so and are healed.
LA, XXIII, p. 110	Presumably God	Zoe, the wife of Nicostratus	Men, who are to be martyred, are held under guard at her house.	She loses the power of speech.	She falls at the feet of Sebastian, begging forgiveness through gestures.	He announces that she will be healed by Christ if she believes that he is a servant of Christ.	Her speech returns and she is converted along with the families of the men to be martyred.
LA, XXIII, p. 110	Presumably God	Tranquillinus	He is a heathen and tries to convince his son not to be martyred for the faith.	He suffers from a painful disease	No response is mentioned.	He is baptized after witnessing the miracle above, and is instantly healed.	After baptism he is instantly healed.
LA, XXIII, p.	Presumably	Chromatius, the	He is also a	He suffers the	He asks	Sebastian	When these are

110-111	God	prefect of Rome	heathen.	same disease as Tranquillinus.	Sebastian and Polycarp to heal him also.	instructs him to permit them destroy his idols and he will be healed. They destroy 200 but he is not yet cured. He admits there is more.	being destroyed, an angel appears to tell him Jesus has healed him. All are baptized.
LA, XXIII, p. 112-113	God	A recently married woman.	She lies with her husband the night before she is to attend the dedication of a church to St Sebastian.	She stills goes to the church but is seized and tormented by the Devil.	The priest tries to help to no avail. Her friends take her to sorcerers, but by the judgement of God, she is seized by 6,666 demons.	A holy man Fortunatus prays for her.	She is saved.
LA, XXIV, p. 115	Presumably God	The prefect's son	He tries to force himself upon Agnes.	He is engulfed by a miraculous light and as he had not honoured God, he is throttled to death by the Devil.	His father asks her to prove that she did not kill his son by bringing him back to life.	Agnes prays and he comes back to life and begins to preach.	Although the prefect is impressed by the miracle, he permits her martyrdom.
LA, XXIV, p. 116	Presumably God	Constance, Constantine's daughter	She is a heathen.	She is stricken with leprosy.	She hears about a vision of St Agnes and prays at her grave.	She has a vision, in which Agnes tells her to believe in Christ in order to be cured.	She receives baptism and is presumably healed.

LA, XXVII, p. 127	Presumably God	Peter, the tax collector	He is very mean and hurls a loaf at a beggar as he has no stone to hand.	He falls mortally ill two days later.	He has a vision of his final judgement; unless he adds to the loaf, he will be taken by demons.	He awakes cured.	He gives everything to the poor and becomes a slave.
LA, XXVII, p. 129	Presumably God	A man	He slaps a monk on the face, whom he sees coming out from a prostitute.	The monk announces he will be hit as a result; a demon in the guise of a Moor hits him and possesses him.	He repents.	He is released from the torment by the prayers of the monk.	He is cured. The monk visits prostitutes in order to warn people not to judge before time.
LA, VIII, p. 134	Jesus	Saul [Paul]	He is proud.	He is struck blind by Jesus.	He doesn't eat or drink for 3 days.	No treatment is mentioned.	He is healed.
LA, XXX, p. 141	God presumably	A peasant	He starts to plough his field on a Sunday.	At once his fingers stiffen and stick fast to the handle of the hatchet.	Two year's later, he prays in Saint Julian's church.	No treatment is mentioned.	He is cured.
LA, XLVII, pp. 202-203	God presumably	The governor and his attendants	He tortures Longinus, when he refuses to worship idols.	When Longinus destroys the idols, demons emerge and infest the bodies of the governor and his attendants.	They rant and rave and collapse at the feet of Longinus. The governor has additionally lost his sight.	Longinus tells the governor that he will be cured if he puts him to death. Longinus will then ask God to restore his health.	The governor orders his beheading. He prostrates himself before the martyr's body, tearfully performing penance. He is cured.
LA, LVIII, p.	God or St Mark	A seaman	He doesn't	He is sorely	He is brought to	He declares that	He is cured.

268			believe the miracles performed by the relic of St Mark.	harassed by a demon.	the holy relic.	he believe in its efficacy.	
LA, LXIII, p. 283	God or St Peter, the martyr	A man	He speaks disparagingly about Peter's holiness.	He picks up a morsel of food, stating if what he says is untrue, then he will not be able to swallow it.	He starts to choke and realises he will die. He repents his malicious talk and vows never to do so again.	At once he is able to bring up morsel.	His life is saved.
LA, LXIII, p. 284	God or St Peter, the martyr	A heretic	He speaks disrespectfully about St Peter.	He is immediately struck dumb.	He goes into the church of St Martin, knees and prays earnestly to St Peter to cure him. He promises to confess sins and convert.	He is immediately cured and converts and confesses his sins.	He is converted and cured.
LA, LXIII, pp. 285-286	God or St Peter, the martyr	A very opinionated master of arts	He disbelieves a miracle.	He is immediately struck with an intense fever.	He fears that he is dying so he sends for the friar, confesses his sin and makes a vow to St Peter; he promises that if he is cured, he willl have special	As soon as he pronounces the oath, he is healed.	He is cured.

					devotion to him and will never speak ill of him again.		
LA, LXIII, p. 288	God or St Peter	A heretic called Opiso	He attempts to take coins from St Peter's tomb.	He immediately begins to shake all over and cannot move an inch.	He puts back the coins and is able to move.	No treatment is required.	He abandons heresy and converts. This shows the strength of Peter's power.
LA, LXIV, p. 292	Demons on behalf of God?	Pagans	They try to force St Philip to sacrifice to Mars.	A huge dragon emerges from the statue, killing the pagan priest's son and 2 tribunes. It infects the rest with the stench of its breath so that all are ill.	Philip tells them to believe in God and they will be cured and the dead restored to life but they insist on this happening first.	Philip orders the dragon to the desert, cures the sick and raises the 3 men to life.	All accept the faith.
LA, LXXXII, p. 350	God presumably	Men	The prefect Valerian orders Vitus to be beaten as he refuses to sacrifice to the idols.	The arms of men, who beat him, and the hand of the prefect, however, wither immediately.	Valarian asks Vitus if he can heal him.	Vitus prays and the hand is instantly restored. The men do not seem to be healed.	The prefect is cured but this does not result in his conversion.
LA, LXXXIV, p. 353	Presumably God	A woman	She accuses the monk Marinus (really Marina in disguise) of fathering her child.	Marina accepts punishment and has a hard life until death when the truth comes out.	The woman confesses her crime and visits the virgin's tomb.	She is freed of the demon.	She is cured.

				Only then is the woman seized by a demon.			
LA, C, p. 434	Presumably God	A king	He persecutes St Christopher; he orders 400 bowmen to shot arrows at him.	Believing Christopher to be harmed, the king comes to gloat but an arrow turns around, strikes him in the eye and blinds him.	Christopher states that he will be dead tomorrow and that the king should make a paste with his blood and rub it on his eyes to be cured.	The king orders the saint's execution. Then he takes some of his blood and rubs it on his eyes in the name of God and Christopher.	His sight is instantly restored. He is baptized and threatens that should anyone blaspheme God or Christopher, they will be beheaded.
LA, CXIII, p. 470	Presumably God through the prayers of Dominic	A monk	He decides to return to the world.	Dominic prays and when the youth puts on a secular shirt, it starts to burn him.	He screams for it to be taken off.	It is removed and the pain ceases.	He goes back to the monastery.
LA, CXIII, p. 471	A demon acting as a mediator of punishment	A monk	He drinks wine without the prior's permission and without making the sign of the cross.	The demon enters him in the shape of a gnat.	Dominic prays.	The demon is forced out.	The monk is cured.
LA, CXIII, p. 481	God or Dominic	A woman in Augusta	She doesn't go to mass on the feast of the Translation of St Dominic and rejects the admonishment of others by	Her eyes are instantly affected with an itching tumour. Worms wriggle out.	The woman is stricken with remorse and she confesses her sins at the church, making a vow never to speak ill of	Her health is restored immediately.	She is cured.

			insulting them.		Dominic or his feast again.		
LA, CXVIII, pp. 503-504	God presumably	Peter, the ox-driver	He drives his oxen with curses on the feast of St Mary Magdalene.	A bolt of lightning consumes oxen and plough. Peter is in extreme pain as his skin is burned away and his shinbone is dislodged.	Peter goes to a church and tearfully prays to Mary for healing. He hides the bone in the wall.	She appears that night with Hippolytus, who inserts the bone into Peter's leg. This causes excruciating pain. The leg is weak, however, and Peter walks with a limp for 1 year as testimony to the miracle.	He seeks Mary's help again and she asks Hippolytus to supply what's missing. He does and Peter is cured. He goes to a hermitage.
LA, CXIX, pp. 508-509	God, mediated through angels	The chief priest and others	The chief priest attempts to overturn the litter of Mary and those accompanying him wish to kill the disciples and burn Mary's body.	His hands wither and stick to the bier. The others are struck with blindness by angels.	He asks Peter to pray for him but Peter says he's too busy; if the chief priest believes in Jesus and Mary, he might be healed. He attempts this and his hands are loosened from the bier.	He asks again and Peter tells him to kiss the bier and announce belief. He does so and is cured. He's told to take the palm from John and hold it over those blind. If they believe, they will be cured.	The chief priest is cured as are presumably those blinded.
LA, CXIX, p. 510	God or Mary	The troops of the Duke of	They besiege Chartres.	The bishop attaches the	The townsfolk, however, go	This greatly displeases	The troops are healed and they

		Normandy		Virgin's tunic to a spear and when he confronts the hostile troops with this, they are suddenly bereft of their senses and are blind.	way beyond the divine judgement, slaughtering the troops unmercifully.	Mary; her tunic suddenly disappears and the troops recover their sight.	presumably attack the town again (this time as a divine punishment).
LA, CXIX, p. 520	God presumably	A man	He tries to grab the corpse of Mary, in order to drag it to the ground.	Both hands tear away at the elbow and cling to the litter. The man is in extreme pain.	He begs for pardon and promises to amend.	Peter instructs him to kiss the body of Mary and declare that Christ is the son of God in order to be cured.	He does so and his hands are reattached.
LA, CXIX, p. 524	God presumably	A Hebrew	He drags the litter of Mary to the ground.	One hand falls off as dry as a stick.	Faith changes his mind and he repents his sin.	He places his hand on the corpse of Mary.	He is healed.
LA, CXX, p. 536	Jesus	The duke of Aquitaine	He refuses to be reconciled to the Church.	Bernard speaks fearsome words and holds the host up to him.	The duke is immediately bathed in sweat and his limbs give way.	He throws himself at Bernard's feet.	He fulfils all that Bernard prescribes.
LA, CXXV, p. 572-573	God presumably	A bystander	He refuses to believe that the head of John the Baptist is in an urn.	He touches the urn and his hand shrivels immediately and sticks to the urn.	His companions pray for him and his hand is released but it is still misshapen.	John appears to the man, stating that when his head has been placed in a church, the man should touch the urn again and will be	This is carried out and the man is restored to health.

						healed.	
LA, CXXVII, p. 577	God presumably	The emperor Aurelian	He orders the killing of Savinian.	The arrows do not harm him but one turns around striking the emperor and blinding him in one eye. He is angry and orders the beheading of Savinian the next day.	Savinian is miraculously released from prison and instructs the soldiers to strike him, using some of his blood to heal the emperor that he may acknowledge God.	The emperor touches his eye with the blood and is healed instantly. He declares God to be great.	The emperor is healed and converted.
LA, CXLIII, p. 637	God presumably	The proconsul	He commands Cosmas and Damien to teach him their magic arts.	2 demons immediately appear and strike him in the face with great force.	He begs Cosmas and Damien to pray for him to God.	They pray and the demons disappear.	He is, however, not converted.
LA, CXLIX, pp. 667-668	God or St Francis	A man named Roger in Apulia	He questions whether the stigmata of St Francis are genuine.	He is immediately inflicted with a deep wound in his left hand.	He feels faint with the pain and the burning. He repents his doubt and confirms his belief in the stigmata.	2 days later as he pleads with the saint by his stigmata, the wound is healed.	Roger is healed and his doubt is gone.
LA, CXLIX, p. 672	God or St Francis	A man	He refuses to get friars a loan of his cart, insulting them	Although he comes to his senses and chides himself,	The man rolls on the ground in grief, invoking St	His son arises and puts a stop to his breast-beating. He	The son is restored to life and the sinner chastised.

			and St Francis.	his son dies soon afterwards.	Francis. He should have been punished not his son.	tells him that St Francis let him come back.	
LA, CLIX, pp. 709-710	God, announced by the apostles	The sorcerers Zaroes and Arphaxat	The sorcerers cause serpents to appear.	The apostles gather them up and throw them upon the sorcerers, stating that they will gnaw at their flesh.	This happens and they howl in pain. The king requests that they be killed but the apostles refuse.	Simon and Jude pray and command the snakes to draw out venom, which causes even greater pain. They will feel pain for 3 days but will be healed on the 3rd day.	After 3 days, the apostles tell them that God does not accept forced service. They are ordered to rise and are cured. They are not converted.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 762	God through the prayer of St Elizabeth	A worldly young man	He is dressed fastidiously.	He agrees that St Elizabeth should pray for him but this prayer causes him to drip with sweat and his body to contort.	He cries out that she should stop.	When she finishes her prayer, the burning stops.	The man enters a monastery, having been thus enlightened.
LA, CLXVIII, p. 768	St Elizabeth, initiated through a curse	Frederick, an expert swimmer in Mainz	He makes fun of a poor man, cured of blindness through St Elizabeth's intercession.	The man declares that Elizabeth will wreak vengeance on him and he will drown.	The swimmer loses his strength, sinks to the bottom, and drowns.	He is found after a long time. His kinsmen make a vow on his behalf to St Elizabeth. He begins to breathe.	The man is restored to life.
LA, CLXX, pp.	God through	Sisinnius	He is jealous of	St Clement	His wife	Sisinnius is	St Peter informs

784-785	the prayer of St Clement		his wife's conversion and secretly enters a church, where he is not permitted to hear and see these things.	prays, the people respond and Sisinnius is stricken deaf and blind.	Theodora prays that he be left outside and she seeks Clement, who prays for him and thus restores his sight and hearing.	raging and attempts to have Clement tortured; such attempts fail. Clement tells Theodora to keep praying for her husband.	her that Sisinnius will be saved through her. Sisinnius begs her to pray for him and is baptized along with many others.

(iv) Suffering inflicted as a Divine Test of Faith

Reference	Inflictor	Sufferer	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
LA, XXI, p. 104 stated	God	Saint Anthony	This is a divine test of faith.	He gets savaged by demons and is carried out of his tomb unconscious.	When he comes around, he finds the spiritual strength to challenge the demons to renewed combat. They tear at his flesh.	A great light appears [Jesus] and chases all the demons away.	Jesus wanted to see how Anthony would fight. He is impressed and will make his name known all over the earth.
LA, CXLII, pp. 634-635	God	Saint Justina and others	This is a test of faith.	God permits a demon to sap her strength with fevers and kill many people along with their herds and flocks.	God makes possessed people predict that many will die in Antioch unless Justina consents to marry.	All are ill and demand that she marry but she refuses. In the 7th year of plague, she prays for them and drives out pestilence.	Justina passes the test by refusing to marry despite illness and pressure.

(v) Suffering imposed to Impart Messages

Reference	Inflictor	Victim	Reason	Condition	Reaction	Treatment	Outcome
LA, XXIII, p. 113	God through the medium of angels	All of Italy	God wishes that an altar in honour of St Anthony be raised in the church of St Peter in Chains.	A virulent plague is imposed.	The purpose of the infliction is divinely revealed.	An altar is built.	The plague ceases immediately.
LA, XLVI, pp. 190-191	God, through an angel	Several cities in Italy	It is unspecified but it appears to force Gregory to become pope against his wishes.	The bubonic plague is imposed and Pope Pelagius is the first to die	Gregory organises a procession, has litanies recited and exhorts all to pray.	Gregory tries to flee but angels show the Romans where he is. He is made pope but as plague still rages, he orders the procession to keep chanting the litanies. An image of Mary is carried, said to be painted by Luke.	The poisonous air is chased away by the sacred image, angels are heard singing and Gregory sees an angel wiping a bloody sword and sheathing it. The plague ends although its victims are not restored to life.
LA, XLVI, pp. 199-200	God or Gregory	Gregory's deacon, Peter	He publicises the miracle of the vision of the dove, even though he had been told by Gregory that he would die on	He does this to prevent the burning of Gregory's books. He gives witness to Gregory's holiness, makes	No response is mentioned.	There is no mention of any treatment.	He dies without experiencing the last agony.

			the spot if he did so.	his confession and dies on the spot.			
LA, LVII, p. 252	Ambrose	A heretic	Many possessed in Milan claim to be tormented by Ambrose. Justina and Arians do not believe this.	A heretic is suddenly seized by a demon and announces the truth.	The heretics are confused but they drown the man.	No treatment is possible.	The man is killed and no-one is converted.
LA, CXII, pp. 464-465	God or the saints Stephen and Laurence	The Greeks and the Romans	They agree to exchange the corpses of Stephen and Laurence but unknown to them, the 2 saints wish to be buried together.	When the Greeks attempt to remove Laurence, they faint and the Romans are seized with a frenzy.	The Greek are revived by prayers but die within 10 days.	The Romans are healed when the two bodies of the saints are entombed together.	The Greeks die and the Romans are cured. The 2 saints are buried together in Rome as desired. A voice from heaven confirms this.
LA, CXVII, pp. 495-496	Presumably God	Monks and all those attached to the church where Laurence's body found.	They are present when it is found.	They all die within 10 days.	No response is mentioned.	No treatment is mentioned.	Their deaths indicate the sanctity of the corpse of Laurence.
LA, CXX, pp. 529-530	Presumably God, announced by St Bernard	The brother of Bernard, Gerard, a knight	Bernard wishes that his brother enter a monastery and believes misfortune will convince him.	He presses his finger to Gerard's side, informing him that a lance will pierce him soon.	A few days later this happens and he is kept prisoner.	He is miraculously released from prison.	He enters the monastery.

LA, CXXIX, pp. 580-581	Presumably God	St Mamertinus	He is a pagan and worships idols.	He loses an eye and his hand becomes paralysed while worshipping idols.	He is instructed by a monk to go to St Germain in order to be cured. He has a vision in which this instruction is repeated.	He kneels before St Germain, asking forgiveness.	He receives baptism and is cured; he becomes a monk.
LA, CXLV, pp. 642-643	St Michael, the archangel	A man named Garganus	Michael wishes to indicate that he dwells in the cave and watches over it.	Garganus aims a poison arrow at his bull by a cave but the arrow turns around and strikes him.	The bishop advises to townspeople to go on 3 day fast to discover why.	St Michael appears to the bishop to tell him that this sign indicates that Michael dwells there and guards the cave.	They form a procession and pray at the entrance to the cave. There is no mention of healing.
LA, CXLIX, pp. 666-667	God through demons	St Francis	He stays in the house of cardinal Leo for some time.	Demons come and give him a severe beating.	He interprets it as a divine message to leave the house as his monks may think that he is living in luxury.	No treatment is mentioned.	St Francis leaves the house the next morning. His wounds presumably heal.
LA, CXLIX, p. 667	God	St Francis	He symbolises the crucified Christ.	He receives a vision in which a crucified Seraph imprints the signs of the crucifixion on him.	These are marked on his hands, feet and side. He hides these with care but they are seen both before and after his death.	No treatment is mentioned.	Many miracles occur through the stigmata.

LA, CLXIII, p. 731	Presumably God	Master Silo	He asks a scholar to come back after he dies to tell him how he is.	The scholar is punished for pride and lets a drop of his sweat fall on Silo to indicate the extent of his pain.	The drop goes through Silo's hand, causing excruciating pain.	Silo is alarmed and decides to enter religious life.	This experience converts Silo.
LA, CLXXXI, p. 834	Presumably God	The Armenians	The country is struck by a plague, seemingly to encourage conversion.	The country is struck by a plague.	They are urged by Christians to shave their hair in the shape of a cross.	They do so and their health is restored.	They are cured and they continue to shave their heads in this fashion.

(vi) Suffering imposed for Spiritual Benefit

Reference	**Inflictor**	**Victim**	**Reason**	**Condition**	**Reaction**	**Treatment**	**Outcome**
LA, LXXVIII, p. 232	God through St Peter the apostle	Petronilla, the daughter of St Peter the apostle	She suffers continuously from fever as spiritual protection to make her perfect in the love of God.	She suffers continuously from fever in accordance with the will of her father.	The disciples ask Peter why he hasn't cured her and Peter explains why.	However, in case people do not believe he can, he cures her by ordering her to rise and serve the men and afterwards orders her back to bed.	She remains ill. Flaccus wishes to marry her but she fasts, prays and takes Communion and dies after 3 days.
LA, CLXI, pp. 713-718	God	St Eustace	He is converted by Jesus, who tells him that he must suffer to be separated from the world	Eustace agrees to have trial now rather than at death. A plague kills his household and	He despairs and is divinely prevented from suicide. He watches fields for 15 years. He	They refuse to sacrifice to the idols and are martyred.	They are buried honourably.

			and gain in spirituality.	herds. Everything is stolen. His wife and sons are taken.	is reunited with his family.		

ABBREVIATIONS

ATB: Altdeutsche Textbibliothek

CSEL: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum

CUP: Cambridge University Press

DLA: Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700

DVjs: Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte

Euph.: Euphorion

GAG: Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik

Germ. Abh.: Germanistische Abhandlungen

GLL: German Life and Letters

GR: Germanic Review

LThK: Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche

Medium Aevum: Medium Aevum, Philologische Studien

MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica

MLR: Modern Language Review

NeuphilMitt: Neuphilologische Mitteilungen

NPNF: Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 1st series

OUP: Oxford University Press

PG: Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca

PL: Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina

SM: Sammlung Metzler

stw: suhrkamp taschenbuch wissenschaft

TRE: Theologische Realenzyklopädie

UTB: Uni-Taschenbuch

VL: Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, 2nd edn

WBG: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft

WdF: Wege der Forschung

ZfdA: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur

ZfdPh: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

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