

«*HERE BEGIN THE MIRACLES OF THE BLESSED BERNAT*».
BERNAT CALBÓ, BISHOP OF VIC, AND ACV 36/1

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«*Aquí comencen els miracles del beat Bernat*». *Bernat Calbó, bisbe de Vic, i el manuscrit ACV 36/1*

L'article explora la creació, contingut i implicacions d'un recull medieval de miracles. Els més de cent miracles conservats aporten molta informació sobre la vida a la Catalunya medieval, incloent malalties que afectaven adults i criatures i activitats diverses que podien donar lloc a ferides o a altres patiments. L'article examina el creixement i desenvolupament del culte des del seu inici amb la mort del bisbe el 1243 fins a finals del segle XIV, i com es va estendre a través de diferents entorns relacionats amb famílies, feligresos, presoners, soldats i clergues, entre d'altres.

Paraules clau: miracle, Catalunya, sant, comunitat, culte.

This article explores the creation, contents, and implications of a medieval miracle collection. The one hundred plus surviving miracles reveal much about life in medieval Catalunya, including ailments that affected adults and children and various activities which could result in injury or other suffering. The article examines the growth and development of a cult from its beginning with the death of the bishop in 1243 through the late-fourteenth century, and how it spread through various networks involving families, parishioners, prisoners, soldiers, and clerics, to name a few.

Keywords: miracle, Catalunya, saint, community, cult.

On the twenty-sixth of October 1243 Bernat Calbó, the bishop of Vic, died after a long illness.¹ Just over four months later, inundated by pilgrims reporting miracles, the canons and new bishop of Vic began keeping track of the miracles Bernat Calbó worked. For almost one hundred years scribes added to the collection begun in the spring of 1244, recording one hundred sixteen miracles. These have survived in two manuscripts in the Arxiu Capitular de Vic (ACV). The older manuscript (ACV 36/1) contains one hundred eight miracles on twenty-four folios. The second manuscript (ACV 36/2) includes most of the miracles found in ACV 36/1 and may have contained all of them, but the first surviving folio is badly damaged and there appear to be missing folios at the beginning and end.² ACV 36/2 contains eight additional fourteenth-century miracles and a list of questions

1. This article is a part of my PhD dissertation on miracle cults in medieval Catalunya. I would like to thank Miquel S. Gros i Pujol and Rafel Ginebra i Molins, the archivists of Vic, for their unending help, and patience, during my time in the archive.

Bernat was sick enough in July to have written his will. Eduard Junyent, *Diplomatari de Sant Bernat Calvó, Abat de Santes Creus, Bisbe de Vich* (Reus: Asociación de Estudios Reusenses, 1956). Doc. 250, pp. 152-4.

2. At the ACV there are also several seventeenth-century copies and Catalan translations of some of these miracles, usually including a *vita* of the saint.

to be posed to the witnesses. Scribes clearly used this list when recording the fourteenth-century testimonies found at the end of ACV 36/2. This article examines the earlier manuscript's contents and exploits it to reveal details about life in medieval Vic.

Bernat Calbó, Cistercian Abbot and Bishop

Born around 1180 in the countryside of Catalunya, Bernat Calbó studied theology as a young man. When he was about thirty-four years old he fell seriously ill in Tarragona and within a year joined the Cistercian community at Santes Creus, against the wishes of his friends and family. He rose quickly in the community, becoming prior by the beginning of 1219 and abbot by February of 1226.³ During his abbacy Bernat's influence extend beyond the Cistercian community. The greatest years of growth for the Hospital de Sant Pere dels Pobres, a dependency of the monastery, coincided with his rule. He reformed the community at Santes Creus and other dependent religious institutions. He further expanded the influence of the already powerful monastery by agreeing to support and guide the female community at Valldonzella.⁴

A participant in the great secular affair during his years at Santes Creus – the conquest of Mallorca – Bernat helped arbitrate the dispute concerning whether the church of Mallorca was dependent upon the bishop and chapter of Barcelona or was an independent see.⁵ In September of 1233, after the removal of Guillem de Tavertet as bishop of Vic, the three canons who had been charged by the chapter with choosing the new bishop submitted Bernat's name for consideration.⁶ Bernat took possession of the church in January 1234, but remained unconsecrated until October. As was characteristic of his time as abbot, Bernat marked his ten years as bishop of Vic with vitality and the drive to reform. He was remembered as preaching every Sunday, reforming a number of religious communities in his diocese, and arbitrating local and regional disputes. With the Dominican Ramon de Penyafor, the pope commissioned Bernat on several occasions to investigate charges of heresy and to nominate new bishops. He took part in the conquest

3. Eufemià Fort i Cogul, *Sant Bernat Calbó, Abat de Santes Creus i Bisbe de Vic*, vol. 7, *Monografies de Vila-Seca-Salou* (Abadia de Poblet: Vila-seca-Salou, 1979), pp. 42-51. For a summary and overview of the various biographies of the saint see, José Ricart, *San Bernardo Calvó* (Barcelona: la Editorial Librería Religiosa, 1945).

4. Fort i Cogul, *Sant Bernat Calbó*, p. 73.

5. The king wanted the bishopric to be independent. A papal bull made the final decision in 1237. For a discussion of these events see, Onofre Relles, *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros de San Bernardo Calvó, Religioso Cisterciense, Abad de Santas Cruzes, y Obispo de la Ciudad de Vique* (Barcelona: Rafael Figuerò, 1689), pp. 105-17.

6. de Moncada, in his *Episcopologio de Vic*, stated that he believed Tavertet died in August of 1232 because his successor, Bernat Calbó, was chosen in the next month. He admitted that others claimed that Tavertet was suspected of *sentia mal de la fe catòlica* and that Gregory IX commissioned the Dominican Pere de la Cadireta (d. 1277) to proceed against the bishop who was removed from his office. de Moncada discounts the possibility of these events because he claims that Cadireta was not a Dominican in 1232, much less an inquisitor. Juan Luís de Moncada, *Episcopologio de Vich*, ed. Jaime Collell, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Vic: Imp. de R. Anglada, 1891), pp. 577-9. Ripoll stated that Tavertet abdicated his position as bishop, but did not give a reason. F. Thomas Ripoll, "ACV Ripoll/18," in *Arxiu Capítular de Vic* (Vic). Section 13.

of Valencia in 1236-8, entering the fallen city with the king.⁷ Bernat attended and participated in several Corts and Provincial Councils whose focus included religious reform and heresy. An advisor to Jaume I, he supported the planned (if unrealized) expedition to Italy against Emperor Frederick II.⁸

When he fell ill in September of 1243, Bernat was a well-known and respected man in Catalunya and Rome. During his final illness, a number of people, including the abbot and several monks of Santes Creus, the abbot and prior of Poblet, and an ambassador from the king, came to be with him. After having confessed and made his will, the bishop died on the twenty-sixth of October 1243. For eight days his body lay uncorrupted in the cathedral and was visited by countless Christians before being laid to rest in a tomb near the baptismal fonts and the main doors of the church.⁹

ACV 36/1 and Its Creation

According to the opening section of the manuscript, the chapter and the new bishop of Vic, Bernat de Mur, ordered the compilation of ACV 36/1. Ramon de Cabrera and Ramon de Sala, the two canons charged with the task, stated that they were commissioned to record these miracles «for the greater knowledge of all and in order to keep the memory [of Bernat] in the future».¹⁰ The canons claimed to be merely recording the accounts of those coming to the tomb, yet the testimonies reveal that the witnesses were questioned, and, therefore, that their testimonies were not wholly spontaneous nor completely their own. The text of ACV 36/1 is the result of a discourse between an inquisitor and a witness: a discourse in which the two interacted to create the reality found in the manuscript. Though the reality created by the questioning of witnesses may not have been the full truth of either the witness or the inquisitor, both saw it as accurately reflecting their understanding of the events.

The canons shaped the witnesses' accounts through interrogation. Though the questions are not included, it is possible to discern some of what the canons asked of those testifying in ACV 36/1. The question list found at the end of ACV 36/2 is also revealing. Which parish was the witness from? Who was cured? What was the ailment or complaint? How did the person pray? To whom did he or she pray? How was the cure accomplished? Which saints were invoked in seeking the cure? Did the witness know of any other miracles this saint, Bernat, performed? Finally, was anyone else present at the time of the cure or later as a witness to the previous ailment and subsequent cure? There were two types of witnesses who interested the canons. The first group consisted of those who saw the miracle occur; the

7. After the conquest, Jaume I gave Bernat a house in the city. See, Josep Gudiol y Cunill, "Lo Sepulcre de Sant Bernat Calvó, Bisbe de Vich," in *Congrés D'història de la Corona D'aragó Dedicat Al Rey en Jaume I y a la Seua Època* (Barcelona: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1909), n. 1 on p. 964.

8. Fort i Cogul, *Sant Bernat Calbó*, pp. 193-5.

9. Ibid. pp. 263-5. Relles, *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros de San Bernardo Calvó*, pp. 220-6. Gudiol y Cunill, "Lo Sepulcre de Sant Bernat Calvó, Bisbe de Vich," p. 964.

10. ...*ad maiorem omnium informationem et ad [h]abendum memoriam in futurum...* "ACV 36/1: «Hic Incipiunt Miracula Beati Bernardi...» in *Arxiu Capítular de Vic* (Vic: 1244-1337), f. 2r.

second of those who came to testify to the miracle at the cathedral, often those who had witnessed the ailment and the cure, but not the moment of the miracle itself. Though the groups often overlapped, this was not always the case.

The witnesses brought their memories of the miracles, and the canons brought their own conceptions of the dead bishop. Moreover, the canons had their own ideas about what a miracle entailed. The canons molded the reports with their questions; yet, the witnesses were far from passive in the interactive inquisitorial process. They created the accounts and added unsought details. The canon's interrogation could evoke otherwise forgotten memories or additional details considered irrelevant by the witnesses. The process of question-and-answer affected the testimonies in other ways. For example, the frequent occurrence of the phrase «at the intercession and by the merit», *ad intercessionem et meritum*, of Bernat in numerous testimonies may indicate the manner in which the canons conceptualized the way in which saints worked miracles (or at least how they described it in the Latin language), not necessarily how the witnesses envisioned it. Such language could also be a reflection of the increasing emphasis by Church leaders on the solely intercessory role of the saints, with God being the actor in the performance of miracles.¹¹

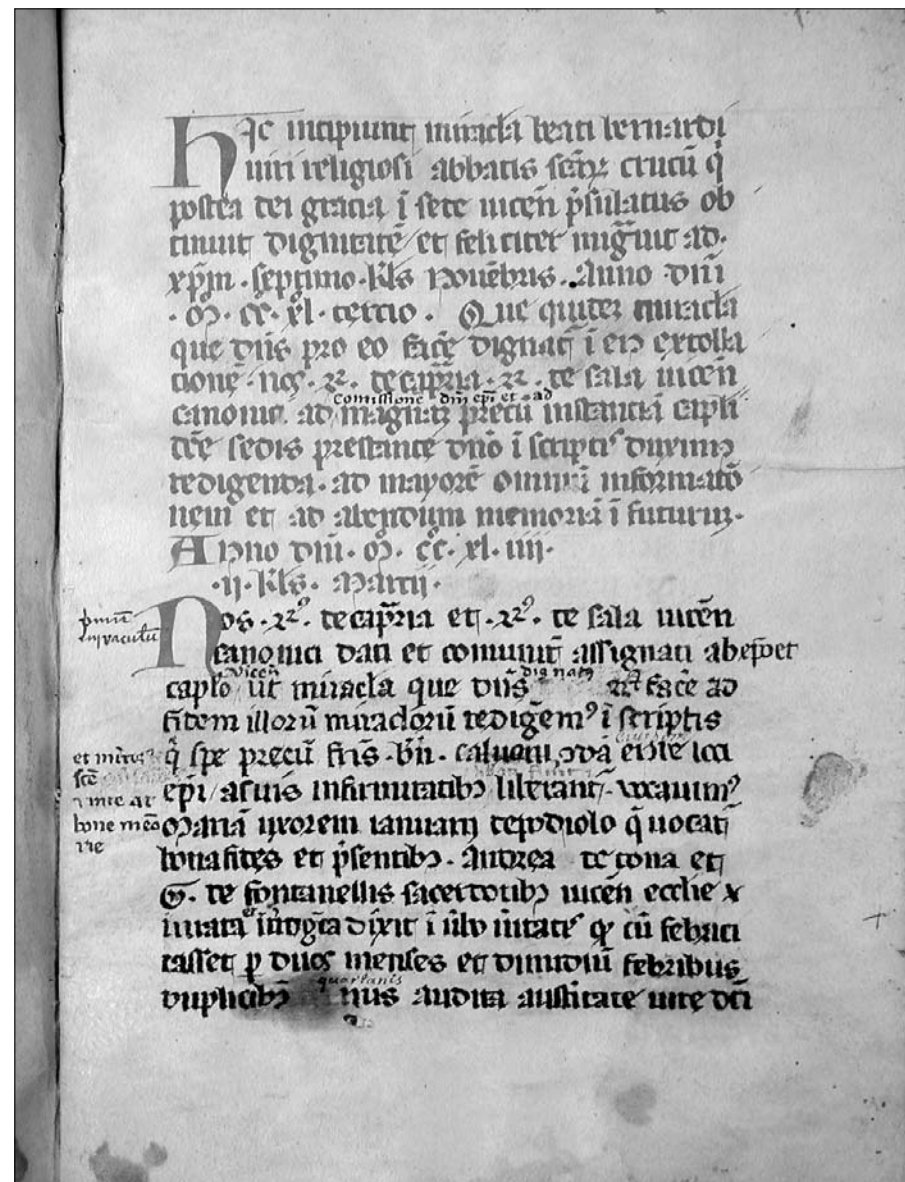
The circumstances of the questioning are significant, emphasizing not only the importance of the events, but also the solemnity of their recitation and implicitly arguing for their veracity. ACV 36/1 indicates that scribes recorded the testimonies within the cathedral.¹² The witnesses answered the questions after taking an oath on the Gospels, on or near one of the altars of the cathedral.¹³ Furthermore, although the testimonies are recorded in Latin, the questioning would have occurred in the local language, Catalan. At times, perhaps when the scribe did not know the Latin translation or when he was too hurried to bother, he simply recorded the voice of the witness as he heard it, that is, in Catalan, thereby providing even more direct access to the voice of the miracle-recipient. For example, in the testimony of Arnau de Cases, the scribe uses the Catalan *anchis* (hip) when describing his son's contracted body.¹⁴ It is essential to keep the constructed nature of the testimonies and accounts in mind when using these sources to extract details about the daily lives, devotions, and beliefs of medieval Catalans and their clerics.

11. For examples of discussions about the concept of miracles and how they occurred see Benedicte Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

12. See the section of ACV 36/1 in which the officialis of the bishop went to the cathedral upon hearing the ringing of the bells that indicated a new miracle was being reported. "ACV 36/1," ff. 23v-24v.

13. This reconstruction is based on two types of sources. In the fourteenth-century miracles from ACV 36/1 a witness *iuravit ad sancta Dei euangelia*, «swore on the holy Gospels of God.» (For example, *Ibid.* f. 23r.) In the thirteenth century, some wills were recorded in which the person had already died. The witnesses to such a last will and testament (composed orally) swore holding the Gospels at the altar of Saint John in the cathedral before relating the dead's last wishes. For an example see the 1290 will of domina Blanca de Cirera. "ACF-3505," in *Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada* (Vic: 1282-1296), f. 34r.

14. See also the description of Berenguer de Valloria's captivity, particularly his restraints. "ACV 36/1," ff. 9v, 6v.



Inici del manuscrit ACV 36/1.

The People & Miracles of ACV 36/1

Between 1244 and 1337 scribes in the cathedral recorded one hundred and eight miracles. The scribes noted the days the witnesses came to the cathedral to report the miracle, to give thanks to the saint, to fulfill a vow to come to the tomb, and to make offerings. The miracles occurred prior to the pilgrims' arrival, as is evidenced in the 1267 testimony of Pere Mardet and his wife Arsenda. The couple came from Barcelona to testify that for twelve years they had been unable to have a child. Within a year of praying to Bernat Calbó for help, Arsenda gave birth to a daughter, whom they brought with them to the cathedral.¹⁵

A wide range of men, women, and children testified about the miracles Bernat Calbó worked. Most people did not include information about their occupation, trade, or status. A number were recorded as *cives* (citizens), a rather broad social category, which, in Barcelona, included stone workers, doctors, merchants, mariners, cloth-workers, bleachers of cloth, tailors, and carpenters. It is possible that scribes considered the witnesses' status as *cives* to be important but their occupations to be irrelevant and therefore did not note them. Noblemen and noblewomen received the saint's assistance. Bernat saved soldiers, several sailors, and a man who fell in the Barcelona church of Santa Maria del Mar, breaking his leg so badly that he was going to lose it below the knee.¹⁶ Bernat cured a monk from Santes Creus and several priests. He even freed a criminal in Barcelona who was awaiting corporal punishment.

Bernat did not demand a particular ailment or even personal worthiness of those seeking his assistance. Rather, he seems to have required only their devotion.¹⁷ Like the people for whom he interceded, the types of miracles Bernat worked ran the spectrum.¹⁸ The two most frequent complaints for which people sought his aid were pain (throughout their bodies or in parts) and sickness (*infirmitas*). Also common were fevers, injuries, growths (*tumores* and *lupiae*), and contracted limbs and bodies. Bernat cured five ailments in children that might have been hernias and were at least very painful («broken or rather having a hernia» and «broken completely in his genitalia».¹⁹ He gave hearing to the deaf and, less often, sight to the blind. He cured an insane person and a boy tormented by a demon.²⁰ Two Christians who had been captured by other Christians in separate incidents received

15. Ibid. f. 19r.

16. Ibid. f. 8r. See the summary of the miracle of Guillem Lambart below.

17. The man saved from punishment did not claim innocence as many of the hanging miracles discussed by Bartlett did. Rather, the man only expressed his fear of the pain. Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 49-50. Bernat did restrict his cures and miracles to Christians. In Barcelona, Ramon de Penyaforat (d. 1275) cured at least two Muslim women between 1275 and 1278.

18. This is also true for the other Catalan saint for whom I have a comparable number of miracles – Ramon de Penyaforat (d. 1275). The two cults, however, show marked differences. For example, some of Ramon's supplicants reported that they were healed after applying, eating, or drinking dust or dirt from his tomb. There is no mention of a similar practice in any of the sources related to Bernat's cult.

19. *...fractus sive erniosus ... fractus omnino in genitalibus...* "ACV 36/1." ff. 5v-6r, 20r.

20. Ibid. ff. 16r-v, 21r. Both miracles are summarized below.

the saint's aid.²¹ In one of the more unusual complaints a man said that, during the new moon, he had been unable to move until he invoked Bernat's help.²²

Through the miracles of ACV 36/1, it is possible to glimpse Christians in Vic responding to times of crisis and also glean many details about life before the Divine touched their lives. People sometimes tried many other means of obtaining aid – doctors, less-formed healers, medicines, and an array of saints – before they turned to Bernat. He did not begrudge them this. By praying humbly, devoutly, and sometimes on their knees or with tears, people could persuade Bernat to intercede with God, using his prayers and the merit he accrued during his life to obtain God's help for the supplicants.²³ In order to show the variety of details included in the miracle stories of ACV 36/1, several summaries follow.

In 1250 Guillema Gener de Lloberes, from the parish of Sant Esteve of Villa Nova (present-day Santa Quitèria de Vilanova), said that her son F. had suffered for fifteen days from a continuous and acute fever. When he lost the ability to speak and appeared as if dead (*quasi mortuus*), Guillema fell to the ground crying. She begged the Lord to restore life to her son, through the merit of the blessed Bernat. The boy immediately recovered his ability to speak and was cured.²⁴

Guillem Lambart of the parish of Santa Anna in Barcelona swore in 1251 that he had fallen in the church of the blessed Maria del Mar and broken his lower leg so badly that he was going to lose it below the knee. Believing that Guillem could not be healed, the doctors all left him. A cleric then told him that he could be cured if he quickly went into the street on foot. Guillem intended to do this when a woman said that he should not. Instead, she instructed him to beg the blessed Bernat through whom he could doubtlessly receive his health. The woman had a foot made of wax. The pain receded and Guillem was perfectly cured.²⁵

Joan Blanc de Taradell came to Vic in 1252 to proclaim how Bernat had freed him from prison. Andreu d'Esquirs captured Joan and brought him to Ramon de Torrents, who confined him. Joan begged the Lord to free him, through the merits of the blessed Bernat. Late one night Joan saw that those who were holding him had fallen asleep. A little later, excited, he saw the door, which had been firmly closed, open. The dog that had been lying over Joan's legs suddenly moved off and out of the way. Though Joan was very afraid of it, the dog did not bark. Joan was thus able to escape.²⁶

In 1254 Arnau de Cases of the parish of Sant Bartomeu del Grau testified that when his son was young, his body was so contracted that his lower leg, thigh, and hip adhered to each other and were inseparable. The boy remained like this for a month. With great piety, Arnau invoked the help of the blessed Bernat for his son.

21. Ibid. ff. 6v, 8v.

22. Ibid. f. 8r.

23. ACV 36/1 is a source highly biased in favor of Bernat's cult. It is impossible to know how many people invoked Bernat's assistance and did not receive aid. Undoubtedly, this happened.

24. "ACV 36/1." ff. 7v-8r.

25. Ibid. f. 8r.

26. Ibid. f. 8v.

Within eight days, his son's body was straight. Arnau said that God cured the boy, working through the intercession and merit of Saint Bernat.²⁷

Bernat de Coma and his son G[uillem], of the parish of Sant Pere de Ebrea (present-day Sant Pere de Cabrea in the diocese of Barcelona) came to Vic in 1257 to testify to a miracle worked in Guillem. They swore that the boy had been completely out of his mind and in a state of dementia for one year. The father stayed in the church of Sant Miquel d'Ullastrell, in the diocese of Barcelona, and, with others present, Bernat prayed continuously for the saint's help. The boy was cured from the dementia through the intercession and merit of the saint. Many from Ullastrell, including the cleric of the church, came as witnesses.²⁸

Gerald de Vilar, of the Girona parish of Santa Maria de Vidrera, said under oath in 1257 that when he was in Osona with the nobleman Gerald de Montsoriu and the army, he was wounded on his backside, around the space between his legs by a lethal missile. He was hit and wounded such that his whole body was perforated, the weapon protruding from his front. Falling to the ground as if dead, Gerald could not speak or even breathe. For a long time he remained in that condition. Gerald was carried to a safe place where people thought him dying. Together with many other knights and foot soldiers, one of Gerald's relatives humbly invoked Bernat's help. Immediately, the spear came out of Gerald's body. He began to breathe and speak. After three weeks he was cured through the intercession and merit of Saint Bernat.²⁹

In 1304 Pere des Quer and his wife Ermessenda, citizens of Barcelona, brought their three-year old son to the tomb of the blessed Bernat in Vic. They swore that their son had been seriously ill for more than half a year. A demon had tormented the boy so severely that no one could help him. His parents had already taken him to Maria de Carmelo of Montserrat as well as to many other places and other saints.³⁰ When this produced no effect, one of their neighbors told them that they should present the boy to the blessed Bernat of Vic. The neighbor had heard many say that the Lord worked numerous visible miracles through Bernat and his merit. Accordingly, the parents presented the boy verbally to the blessed Bernat, promising to visit his tomb if the Lord, through Bernat's merit, freed the boy. Immediately after completing this prayer and vow, the torment stopped and never returned. On the feast of the Cathedra of Saint Peter, the parents brought their son to Bernat's tomb, giving thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the blessed Bernat.³¹

27. Ibid. f. 9v.

28. Ibid. ff. 16r-v.

29. Ibid. ff. 16v-17r.

30. Maria de Carmelo of Montserrat probably refers to one of the hermitages associated with and located near the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat near Barcelona. The Black Virgin of Montserrat worked numerous miracles throughout the Middle Ages and was a popular pilgrimage and devotional site for Catalans, as well as occasionally for pilgrims from the rest of the peninsula and from northern Europe. It remains an active, miracle-working shrine.

31. "ACV 36/1." f. 21r.

The Cult of Bernat Calbó

The geographical dispersion and spread of Bernat's cult reveals interesting aspects of medieval miracle cults, including how they interacted with one another. After Bernat's death in 1243 his cult spread, moving outward from the body. Miracles began to take place in the hinterland of the city of Vic (but not in the city itself) and in the city of Barcelona.³² The canons recorded forty-six of the one hundred and eight miracles found in ACV 36/1 within ten years of Bernat's death (1244-1253). Seven were in Barcelona; four of those in the parish of Santa Maria del Mar. The rest were primarily to the east (both north and south) of Vic, near the city but not in it. Pilgrims reported forty-five miracles between 1254 and 1276. At the peak of the miracles, Bernat was interceding for people in Barcelona, Urgell, Girona, and the diocese of Vic. The largest number of miracles occurred in 1256, during which pilgrims reported twenty miracles, fourteen of those miracles coming from Barcelona. Of the forty-five miracles between 1254 and 1276, thirty were in the diocese and city of Barcelona, with an additional five in Girona and two in Urgell. Four of the remaining eight do not provide a location. Only four miracles were reported in the diocese of Vic in these decades. As of yet I do not have a satisfactory explanation for this distribution, though it does correspond with the almost complete absence of testamentary donations to the saint, his tomb, or his name in Vic before 1280.

After a gap in the record between 1259 and 1266, scribes began recording miracles anew in 1267. The resurgence of Bernat's cult in 1267 may be related to enthusiasm on the eve of the establishment of a confraternity under his patronage in 1268. Beginning in 1267 Barcelona again provided the largest number of miracles, though in significantly lower numbers than before. The reduced number of miracles was particularly true after 1275 – for both Barcelona and Bernat's cult overall. In that year the Dominican Ramon de Penyafort died in Barcelona and immediately began working miracles in and around his tomb within the Dominican church of Santa Caterina. The Barcelona notary Jaume Port recorded over one hundred and fifty miracles in 1278, all of which occurred between early 1275 and mid-1278. Could this explain the drastic decrease in the number of miracles Bernat Calbó worked? Possibly.³³ After all, the miracles the two men worked

32. I would like to thank Rafel Ginebra i Molins for his help with this section.

33. While Ramon's cult may have competed with that of Bernat's in Barcelona, I have not been able to find evidence of its presence in Vic. There was not a Dominican house in the city until 1571. (Onofre Coma, "Curia Fumada. Manual XVII d'Onofre Coma, (Vic: 1571). ff. 137-141.) Moreover, in Vic there were at most six donations (it is unclear if one is before or after Ramon's death in early January of 1275) to the Dominican convent in Barcelona between Ramon's death and the beginning of the fourteenth century. There are indications that clergy of Vic were involved with the Dominican Order. The thirteenth and fourteenth century martyrologies record that the bishop of Vic Bernat de Mur died in Barcelona after receiving the habit in the Barcelona house in 1265. ("ACV Martyrologium II," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic: 1061). f. 108r. See also, "ACV Martyrologium III," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic). f. 96r.) Guillem de Castelle, a canon of Vic and the *officialis* of the Bishop, took the habit of the Order and was buried in the Dominican house in 1284. ("ACV Martyrologium III." f. 5v. The *officialis* of the bishop was the latter's delegate, exercising, in particular, the bishop's judicial authority.) I have not identified a single mention of Ramon de Penyafort in the Vic wills or the martyrologies, though the death of the Dominican Peter Martyr and the birth of Saint Dominic are both recorded in the latter manuscripts. Ramon de Penyafort did, however, cure at least one person from Vic. Among the miracles Jaume Port recorded in Barcelona, Ramon de Penyafort healed Bernat de Vilar, a cleric a Vic, from a *lupia*.

were similar, and many of Bernat's earlier supplicants had come from Barcelona. Moreover, why travel sixty-nine kilometers to Vic when there was a miracle-worker in town?³⁴ A second gap in the record – between 1276 and 1303 – could be due to the fact that by 1276 both canons charged with recording the miracles were dead.³⁵

Whatever the reason for these breaks in ACV 36/1, Bernat's cult continued to grow and change throughout the final third of the thirteenth century. In 1268 the bishop established a confraternity under Bernat's patronage that was aimed at supporting the construction of the Cathedral.³⁶ After 1280 people began making testamentary donations to Bernat's tomb there.³⁷ I have been unable to identify any earlier donations to Bernat among the over 1,000 wills between 1243 and the early fourteenth century, except for a single donation in August of 1244.³⁸ The living left donations at Bernat's tomb throughout the thirteenth century. According to Eduard Junyent, the number of offerings at Bernat's tomb necessitated that the bishop issue regulations concerning their collection as early as June of 1246.³⁹ In 1311 the bishop further ordered that only the sacristan of Vic or his delegate could remove the wax images offered at the tomb.⁴⁰

By the 1280s an altar had been dedicated to the saint, as he was already considered by the townspeople, and was receiving donations. Junyent argued that the people left offerings for Bernat at the altar dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours, thinking of that altar as Bernat's. Bernat, not an officially (papally) canonized saint, could not have had an altar formally dedicated to him and, therefore, would

34. This is a simplification of how I believe the cults of Bernat and Ramon interacted.

35. According to the Vic martyrologies, Ramon de Sala died on 3 Kalends June 1276. The other canon charged with this duty was Ramon de Cabrera who had died years earlier, on 7 Ides December 1251. "ACV Martyrologium II." ff. 43v, 119r.

36. Junyent, *Diplomatari de Sant Bernat Calvó*. Doc. 258, p. 159. Donations to the *opera Sancti Petri* – the construction of the cathedral – are present in almost all wills through the early years of the fourteenth century and, after 1268, may have been made with Bernat in mind, however, as the phrasing is exactly the same before and after his death, I have assumed that testators did not make these donations to Bernat.

37. The first such donation I have located is from the spring of 1280. Berenguer Llussa, making his will before leaving on a pilgrimage to Compostela, left a pound (*libra*) of wax to the saint. ("ACF-3504," (Vic: 1279-1286). f. 49r.) Junyent stated that in 1275 Ferrer Miró donated a lamp before the altar of the saint. Eduard Junyent, "Veneración y Culta Tributado a San Bernardo Calvó," in *San Bernardo Calvó*, ed. José Ricart (Barcelona: la Editorial Librería Religiosa, 1945). p. 314, n. 8. While Junyent's work is usually very accurate and reliable, this particular essay has errors in dating and references. I have been unable to locate the original 1275 will, but did find a Catalan summary of the relevant clause. The text is included in a manuscript composed in 1626 that was meant to be sent to Rome to solicit Bernat's canonization. "ACV 36/6: Libre de Sant Bernat Bisbe de Vic," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic). f. 72v.

38. In 1244 Guillerma Penzeta, the wife of B. de Calziner, wrote her will before leaving for Compostela. She left money for construction within the cathedral that aimed at honoring the saint's body. "ACF-3501," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic: 1240-1252). f. 49v.

39. Junyent, "Veneración." p. 313, n. 3. I have been unable to locate the source to which Junyent refers in this note.

40. "ACV Lib. 2, Vitae," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic). f. 26r. Also, "ACV 31/27: Llibre de Constitucions y Ordinacions de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Vic (s. XI-XIX)," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic). f. 13v.

probably have been associated with Saint Martin's, the altar nearest his tomb.⁴¹ By the later thirteenth century, the people of Vic spoke of Bernat's altar as an established part of the cathedral. In his 1282 will, Pere de Quadres donated to the altar of Sant Bernat in the see of Vic «if it will exist», *si fuerit*.⁴² The following year, a canon of the cathedral made another donation to an altar dedicated to Bernat within the cathedral.⁴³ By 1284, at least one resident of Vic had given a lamp to the saint that was to burn for all time in front of his altar.⁴⁴

Testamentary donations to Bernat and his altar continued sporadically through the end of the thirteenth century and into the early fourteenth, where this analysis ends. As far as I can determine, during these years, donating to Bernat was not a regular practice of those Christians recording their wills in the Vic cathedral. Standard recipients included the sacristy and canons, the Franciscan house, the hospital de Cloquer, the *domus infirmorum*, the Almoína, the confraternity of Santa Maria de la Rodona, and the Order of Mercy. Despite the irregularity of testamentary bequests, and the lack of miracles in ACV 36/1 from the end of the thirteenth century, several wills indicate that Bernat continued interceding for those seeking his help. In his extensive 1290 will, Bernat Calvell, a cleric of Vic, said that he was donating a lamp to burn in perpetuity «for the honor of the sainted confessor Bernat whose body in the church of Vic is glorified by so many splendid miracles», *ad honorem dicti et sancti confessoris Bernardi cuius corpus in Vicensis ecclesia decoratur tantis preclaris miraculis*.⁴⁵ In her 1298 will, Sibil·la, the wife of F. Gener, asked her executors to fulfill a promise she had made when her son had been ill; she had promised Bernat a wax head and arm.⁴⁶ After a gap of almost thirty years (1277-1304), pilgrims resumed reporting (or canons resumed recording) miracles Bernat worked. Residents of the city of Vic finally began to receive miracles from their holy bishop.

Thus, between Bernat's death in 1243 and the last miracle recorded in ACV 36/1 (1337) his cult developed and spread in an interesting pattern, as measured by his performance of miracles. The early miracles occurred close to the see of Vic, but not in the city itself. Very quickly Bernat's *virtus* was seen to work in Barcelona and other dioceses. Within thirty years, however, and coinciding roughly with the death of the Dominican Ramon de Penyafort (d. 1275) in Barcelona, Bernat's cult had dramatically contracted, becoming even more limited geographically than when it had begun. Miracles were largely occurring (or at least being reported and recorded from within) the city of Vic, that is, in the immediate vicinity of Bernat's body. The cult had become local, involvement in it seemingly largely limited to Vic.

41. Junyent, "Veneración." pp. 313-5.

42. "ACF-3504." f. 49r.

43. *Ibid.* f. 51r.

44. *Ibid.* ff. 77v-8r. Gudiol y Cunill argued that an altar dedicated to Bernat existed in the cathedral by 1301, if not a bit earlier. Gudiol y Cunill, "Lo Sepulcre de Sant Bernat Calvó, Bisbe de Vich." p. 965.

45. "ACF-3505." ff. 37r-39r.

46. "ACF-3506," (Vic: 1296-1308). ff. 22v-23r.

In 1282 the chapter formally established Bernat's feast day as the twenty-sixth of October, the anniversary of his death and the same day as the feast of Saints Marcian and Lucian, the Roman patrons of the city.⁴⁷ In 1381 the bishop granted an indulgence to all who supported the construction of Bernat's new tomb and, in the spring of 1382, the Cambrian sculptor Coli de Marchveyla agreed to construct a new tomb containing eight reliefs representing Bernat's miracles.⁴⁸ Though the exact date of Bernat's translation to his new tomb is unknown, Junyent believed that it occurred in either 1382 or 1383, with the new tomb being put in the same place as the original.⁴⁹ Relles, however, was not sure that the translation occurred, despite his publication of the text ordering it.⁵⁰

Miracles and the Spread of News within Communities

Tales of Bernat's miracles spread through families, parishes, and even communities abroad such as soldiers in Almeria. The case of Guillema, the wife of Bernat de Bonastre, and her son shows how a miracle worked in one person stimulated another person to pray to the same saint. The account also illustrates how devotion to a particular saint could become a family practice, with the result that the saint worked multiple miracles within the same family. When she came to testify in 1250, Guillema said that her son's arm and leg had been contracted and that he could not nurse. After she prayed to Bernat, the Lord restored him to health. Later, when Guillema herself had been suffering from a fever for seven weeks, or thereabouts, she again prayed to Bernat. She immediately recovered.⁵¹ The case of Pere de Borredà further illustrates how devotion to Bernat spread among families. In his 1340 testimony Pere said that his mother often told him about a miracle Bernat had worked in Pere as a child. Bernat had freed him from death. Years later, as a grown man, Pere remembered this miracle in Almaria when he fell ill fighting the Saracens with the king of the Crown of Aragon. Recalling the story, Pere prayed to the saint and was cured.⁵²

Fellow parishioners, and sometimes the local parish priests, accompanied those who received assistance from Bernat. A miracle was a source of wonder and pride for an entire community, and it was as a community that people came to attest to its authenticity. Knowledge of a miracle received by a neighbor or family member could, and did, encourage another to pray to the same saint, creating the possibility for further miracles by the holy dead within the group. A miracle in a parish could stimulate further miracles in the community. There are several cases

47. In 1324 the chapter moved the celebration of the feast of Saints Marcian and Lucian to three days after that of Sant Bernat. "ACV Lib. 2, Vitae." f. 50v.

48. Junyent, *Diplomatari de Sant Bernat Calvó*. Doc. 263. pp. 164-5. Nicolau Mateu, "ACF Manual de 1382-84 de Nicolau Mateu," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic: 1382-84). As cited in, Junyent, "Veneración," p. 320-2.

49. Junyent, "Veneración," pp. 320-2.

50. Relles, *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros de San Bernardo Calvó*. pp. 155-8.

51. "ACV 36/1." ff. 6v-7r.

52. "ACV 36/2: «Miracles de Sant Bernat Calbo», in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic: 1245-1342). ff. 13v-14r.

in ACV 36/1 where this was probably the case. In 1254 Arnau de Cases, from the parish of Sant Bartomeu del Grau, testified to the cure of his crippled son.⁵³ Two years later a woman from the same parish swore that Bernat healed her daughter of a serious corrosion in her hand and foot.⁵⁴ Bernat also worked three miracles in the parish of Santa Maria de Corcó. In 1244 Maria de Sant Martí told the scribes how Bernat cured her of a great pain in her eyes.⁵⁵ Seven years later Pere Tosell swore that Bernat cured him of blindness and his daughter of deafness.⁵⁶ Finally, and perhaps most clearly, are the large number of miracles worked among parishioners of the Barcelona church of Santa Maria del Mar. Between 1250 and 1267, pilgrims from this parish reported eight miracles worked by Bernat.⁵⁷

The records in the Vic archive provide further evidence as to how news about miracles spread and the effect the information had. Berenguer de Vallòria Subirana, a man Bernat released from his Christian captor, prayed to Bernat only after he heard about a miracle Bernat worked for another man imprisoned with him.⁵⁸ On the advice of a neighbor who had heard of Bernat's wonder working, Pere des Quer and his wife prayed to the saint for their son.⁵⁹ Bernat de Puig *Cordelós*, from the parish of Santa Maria de Lluçà (Vic diocese) prayed to Bernat after the *civis* of Vic Bernat de Prixana urged him to do so.⁶⁰

Men and women remained near the tomb after they were cured, telling anyone they who would listen about the miracles Bernat worked in them. In 1340 Pere de Camp Pedrós, remembering the past hundred years well, testified about some of the men and women who were around Bernat's tomb. When he was about fourteen years old he had seen a formerly blind cleric and blind woman at the Cathedral of Vic. Both of these people were telling others coming to the tomb that they had been cured by Bernat while he was still alive.⁶¹

The manner in which the chapter recorded miracles further propagated knowledge of them. In 1312, the chapter and bishop of Vic ordered that the great bells of the cathedral be rung whenever a miracle was reported.⁶² In the decree, the clerics of Vic laid out how they disseminated knowledge of Bernat's miracles. The miracles were to be recorded in a book devoted to the saint's works. The first sermon following the report of the miracle expounded the miracle to the people. In his 1337 testimony Berenguer de Colomer revealed that the ringing of the bells in a certain manner was understood by the larger community to signal the reporting of a miracle. When the pealing of the cathedral's bells reached the ears of this

53. "ACV 36/1." f. 9v.

54. Ibid. f. 16r.

55. Ibid. f. 3v.

56. Ibid. f. 7v.

57. Ibid. ff. 6r-7r, 9v-10r, 11r, 17r-v, and 18v-19r.

58. Ibid. f. 6v.

59. Ibid. f. 21r. See the summary of this miracle above.

60. [Anonymous], "ACV 36/1: «Hic Incipiunt Miracula Beati Bernardi...» in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic: 1244-1337). ff. 14v-15r.

61. "ACV 36/2." ff. 14r-v.

62. "ACV Lib. 2, Vitae." f. 26v. Also, "ACV Liber Primus Vitae (ACV 31/28)," in *Arxiu Capitular de Vic* (Vic: 1288-1345). f. 38r.

officialis of the bishop, he hurried to the church, wanting to learn of the latest miracle Bernat worked.⁶³

The chapters and bishops of Vic continued promoting Bernat's cult through the fourteenth century and beyond. In 1337 the Bishop commissioned canons from the chapter to travel to the Roman Curia in order to solicit Bernat's canonization.⁶⁴ Several canons received orders from the bishop and chapter in 1339 to inquire about the miracles Bernat worked, both during his life and after his death.⁶⁵ In 1438 a new altar replaced Bernat's earlier one, the newer one officially being dedicated to the saint, although the cult had not yet received papal approval.⁶⁶ According to Junyent, there were no attempts in the fifteenth century to obtain an official canonization of Bernat. Relles, an early seventeenth-century historian, argued that Bernat was canonized *voce populi*. Unable to locate a bull of canonization, Relles listed a number of sources – medieval documents, chronicles – which attest to Bernat's sanctity.⁶⁷ Fort i Cogul argued that Bernat's inclusion in the martyrologies of the Cistercian Order as a saint, including those found at Santes Creus, was a means of impressing upon popes in the seventeenth century that Bernat was already a saint.⁶⁸ Bernat continued to be included among the confessor-saints in Cistercian necrologies through the seventeenth century, but it was only after a formal request that, on 1 July 1702, the Sacred Congregation of Rites declared Bernat's feast day to be 24 October. Fort i Cogul considered the decree of 2 July 1702 specifying the office of the saint to be his formal canonization.⁶⁹

Conclusion

ACV 36/1, with its numerous and varied miracle stories, presents us with a glimpse into the daily experiences of medieval Christians – their injuries, illnesses, prayers, and interactions with the Divine. Bernat's miracle stories reveal parts of his supplicants' lives before they came to him. Guillem Lambart described how he was working in the bell tower of Santa Maria del Mar when he fell, breaking his leg. The man freed from the prison where he was awaiting punishment, Pere de Noguera, and the two Christians who escaped their captors, described their prisons and the conditions in them. The records indicate the fears and worries parents had for their children, and for themselves. Besides being targets for demons, children succumbed to numerous illnesses and ailments, all of which are described within the testimonies. In addition to the possible hernias described previously, children suffered from fevers and infirmities that prevented their nurs-

63. "ACV 36/1." ff. 23v-24r. The *officialis* of the bishop was the latter's delegate, exercising, in particular, the bishop's judicial authority.

64. "ACV Liber Primus Vitae." f. 87r.

65. Ibid. f. 89r. There were further orders to these canons in 1340 and 1342; by the later date their work appears to have been done. "ACV Liber Primus Vitae." ff. 94r, 98r.

66. Gudiol y Cunill, "Lo Sepulcre de Sant Bernat Calvó, Bisbe de Vich." p. 967.

67. Relles, *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros de San Bernardo Calvó*. pp. 232-5. Scribes in the cathedral archive compiled a similar list around 1626. "ACV 36/6." ff. 74v-79r.

68. Fort i Cogul, *Sant Bernat Calbó*. pp. 303-5

69. Ibid. p. 305. This was confirmed in 1710.

ing. Sança, the wife of Simon Correger, said that while she was traveling with her daughter, the girl, one moment healthy and happy, suddenly fell ill in the middle of the road. The girl was dying; Sança saw her soul leaving her body.⁷⁰ Men and women fell ill to fevers, growths, and various other infirmities and accidents. Pere de Ermenart from Barcelona fell from an olive tree while trimming its branches, receiving a serious wound.⁷¹ Once, when eating duck, Ramon *Gallus* from Santa Maria de Caldes got a bone stuck in the opening of his stomach (probably the lower esophagus) where it remained for six weeks, despite the efforts of doctors.⁷² Women died during pregnancy and labor. Miracle collections, although compiled after divine intervention, reveal the actions and feelings before the moment in which God transformed a person's life.

Accounts of Bernat's miracles also expose how men and women believed God and the saint worked in the world. In moments of illness, danger, and need, men and women throughout Catalunya turned to Bernat for help through prayer. Whether they were dying or wishing to become pregnant, they believed that Bernat had the power – the *virtus* or *meritum* – to change their lives. *Virtus* permeated the medieval world; it was accessible at shrines and embodied in holy persons (living and dead), even in certain objects. For medieval Christians, it was a matter of knowing how and when to ask for a saint's assistance. The saint's greater *virtus* could sway God. Through the saints and often by their influence, God could change a person's world, and, in medieval Catalunya, God often did just that.

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