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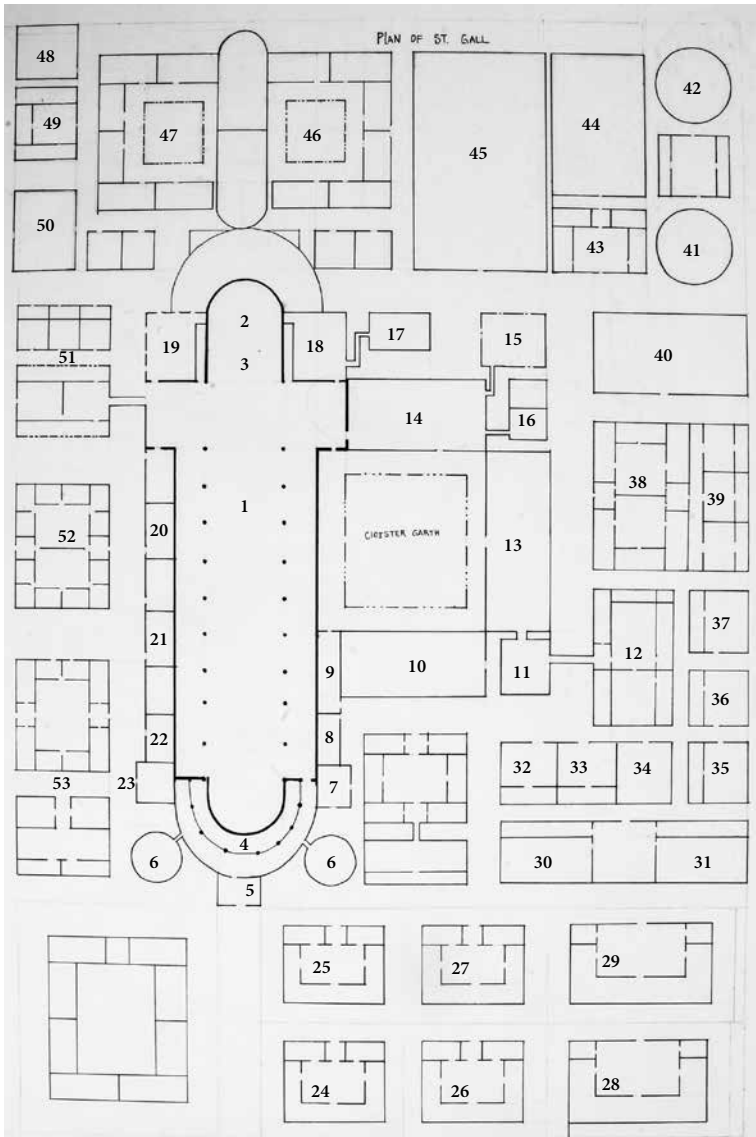
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Grand Valley State University

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—Mark A. Scott, OCSO  
Abbot of New Melleray  
Peosta, Iowa



The Plan of St. Gall (9th century). Drawing by Guadalupe E. Rodriguez. 2016. (Monastery of the Ascension)

## The Plan of St. Gall: Key

1. Abbey church
2. Sanctuary
3. High altar
4. Paradise
5. Entry for public
6. Towers
7. Entry for monks
8. Almoner's room
9. Parlor
10. Cellar with larder above
11. Monks' kitchen
12. Brewery and bakery
13. Refectory with clothes room above
14. Dormitory with warming room below
15. Toilet
16. Laundry and bathhouse for monks
17. Preparation of holy bread and oils
18. Sacristy with vestry above
19. Scriptorium with library above
20. Visiting monks' rooms
21. Schoolmaster's quarters
22. Porter's rooms
23. Entry for distinguished guests and school; entry for poor guests and workers
24. Farm hands
25. Sheep
26. Swine
27. Goats
28. Horses
29. Cows
30. Horses
31. Oxen
32. Coopers
33. Turners
34. Threshing floor
35. Kilns
36. Mortars
37. Mills
38. Factory: shoemakers, saddlers, trencher-makers, curriers, turners, cutlers
39. Factory: goldsmiths, smiths, fullers
40. Barn and threshing floor
41. Hen-house
42. Ducks
43. Gardener's house and shed
44. Garden: onions, leeks, celery, coriander, dill, poppy, radish, carrots, beets, garlic, shallot, parsley, chervil, lettuce, savory, parsnip, cabbages
45. Cemetery and orchard: apples, pears, plums, laurel, chestnuts, figs, quinces, peaches, hazelnuts, almonds, mulberry, walnuts
46. Novitiate: refectory, master, infirmary, dormitory, warming room, church
47. Infirmary: refectory, master, dormitory, warming room, kitchen and bath, church
48. Physicians' garden
49. Physicians' house
50. House for blood-letting
51. Abbot's house: sleeping room, sitting room; bath, cellar, kitchen
52. School
53. Guesthouse



CISTERCIAN STUDIES SERIES: NUMBER TWO HUNDRED SEVENTY-FIVE

# A Benedictine Reader: 530–1530

Edited by

*Hugh Feiss, OSB, Ronald E. Pepin,  
and Maureen M. O'Brien*



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# Epigraph

*Saint Anselm (1033–1109),  
Benedictine of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury  
Oratio 18: A Prayer for Friends<sup>1</sup>*

*[Offered for our friends and for all readers of this  
volume.]*

Sweet and kind Lord, Jesus Christ, no one has greater charity\* than you have shown, and no one can have charity equal to it. You owed nothing to death, and yet you laid down\* your compassionate life for your servants and for sinners, and you prayed\* for your killers, so that you might make them your brothers and just men, and that you might reconcile them\* to your merciful Father and to yourself. Lord, you have performed such great charity for your enemies; you have commanded charity to your friends.\*

\*John 15:13

\*John 15:13

\*Luke 23:24

\*Rom 5:10;  
2 Cor 5:18

Good Lord, with what disposition shall I reflect on your inestimable charity? What shall I return\* for your infinite blessings? Indeed, your sweet kindness<sup>2</sup> has exceeded all affection. The greatness of your blessing

\*John 15:12,  
17

\*Ps 115:12

1. The Latin text is found in F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1946), 3:71–72.

2. *Dulcedo benignitatis*, literally, “the sweetness of your kindness.”

has surpassed all retribution. What shall I return to my creator and my recreator? What shall I return to my commiserator and my redeemer? Lord, “you are my God; you have no need of my goods.”\* For yours “is the world and the fullness thereof.”\*

\*Ps 15:2

\*Ps 49:12

\*Ps 39:18

\*Job 25:6;  
30:19

\*John 15:12,  
17

Therefore, what shall I, a beggar and pauper,\* a worm and ashes,\* return to my God, unless from my heart I obey his precept? Moreover, it is your precept that we love one another.\* Good Man, good God, good Lord, good Friend, whatever entire good you are, your humble and contemptible servant longs to obey this precept of yours. Lord, you know that I love the love that you command; I love the love, I aspire to the charity. This I ask for, this I seek; for this charity, this pauper and beggar\* of yours knocks at and cries out at the door of your mercy. And in so far as I have already received the sweet alms of your gracious generosity, while loving every person in you and on account of you, although not so much as I ought or so much as I wish, I pray for your mercy for all. Yet just as there are many people for whom your love has especially and intimately impressed love on my heart, so now I rightly request more zealously your mercy for them, and I wish more devoutly to pray for them.

\*Ps 39:18

O true Lord, your servant wishes, wishes, wishes<sup>3</sup> to pray to you for his friends, but your sinner is restrained by his sins. For I who have not strength to beg pardon for myself, with what boldness do I presume to ask for your grace for others? And I who anxiously seek mediators, with what confidence do I intercede for others? What shall I do, Lord God, what shall I do? You order me to pray for them, and my love ardently desires it, but

3. *Vult, vult, vult*. Here, as often, Saint Anselm uses repetition for emphasis.

with my conscience crying out so that I am distressed because of my sins, I tremble to speak for others. And so, shall I disregard what you order because I have done what you forbid? Rather, since I have dared forbidden things, I shall embrace your commands, if perhaps obedience might heal my presumption, if perhaps “charity might cover the multitude of my sins.”\*

\*1 Pet 4:8

And so, true and good God, I pray to you for these who love me for your sake and whom I love in you, and I pray more devoutly for those whose love toward me you know, and you know that mine toward them is genuine. I do not do this, my Lord, as a just man untroubled about my sins, but as one concerned for others with all charity. Therefore, love them, you fount of love, who commands and grants to me that I love them. Even though my prayer does not deserve to benefit them, since it is offered to you by a sinner, let it be efficacious for them, since it arises with you, its source, ordering it. For your sake, then, you, the source and giver of charity, for your sake, not for my sake, love them, and see to it that they love you with their whole heart, whole mind, whole soul,\* so that they might wish for, speak of, and do only those things that please you and that are beneficial to them.

\*Matt 22:37

My prayer is very lukewarm, my Lord, very lukewarm, because my charity is not inflamed enough. But you who are rich in mercy, do not measure out to them your blessing according to the sluggishness of my devotion; but just as your kindness surpasses all human charity, so let your hearkening exceed the affection<sup>4</sup> of my supplication. For them and concerning them, Lord, see to it that my prayer is beneficial to these friends

4. *Tua exauditio transcendat affectum* echoes a phrase used earlier in this prayer.

according to your will, so that they may attain a glorious and eternal freedom from care, you who live and reign, God, forever and ever. Amen.

# Preface

*Listen, son, to the instructions of the master and incline the ear of your heart to the admonitions of a loving father. . . .*  
(*RB Prol. 1*)

**A** *usculata*, the Latin word that begins Benedict’s *Rule for Monks*, connotes listening and heeding. It might appropriately be translated by the colloquial “listen up.” Master, *magister*, implies experience and the mastery of a discipline; *abbas*, “father,” a patient willingness to “adjust himself to the character and intelligence” of each monk (RB 2.32; see also 2:24-28), to foster what we today might call personal growth in Christ. Therefore, “speaking and teaching belong to the master; the disciple’s part is be silent and listen” (RB 6.6).

The abbot, too, is exhorted to listen to the Rule (RB 64.20), to which he too vowed obedience long before he undertook the “difficult and arduous task” of instructing others (RB 2.31), and to listen to the members of the community before making major decisions, listening not only to a select few but to the entire community, even its youngest member (RB 3.1-3). The monks are also to listen to one another when—rarely and only with permission—they engage in “good, holy, and edifying conversation” (RB 6.3).

When reciting the Divine Office monks are to listen to and savor the words of the psalms, which teach wisdom (RB 19.4: *Psallite sapienter*), and to chant them in a way that harmonizes mind and voice (RB 19.17), for this is “the Work of God to which nothing is to be preferred” (RB 43.3). Monks are to “listen readily to holy reading” (RB 4.55), whether privately<sup>1</sup> or read aloud in the refectory, in workplaces,

1. In antiquity personal reading was not done silently, but in a quiet voice, so the reader saw the words, voiced the words, and therefore literally listened to them.

or in the oratory, and to ponder the words that mark out the straightest path to God (RB 73.2-4). Private prayer was to be short and pure (RB 73.2-4), for “we should realize that not in much talking, but in purity of heart and compunction shall we be heard” (RB 20).

The Rule is “a little rule for beginners,” who over the span of their lives are “hastening to the heavenly homeland” (RB 73.8). And it is a summary of an oral tradition stretching back to the desert monks and beyond them to the apostles (Acts 4:34-35). It provides house rules on how monks are to work and how they are to pray, when they may speak and when they must be silent, when and what they may eat and how they are to fast, how they are to be received and why they may be punished, even expelled and, perhaps, received back. The spiritual teaching it contains is taken almost entirely from Scripture. To monks wanting to deepen their understanding of its teaching Benedict recommended as “tools of virtue for right-living and obedient monks” the writings of the Church Fathers, John Cassian, and Basil the Great (RB 73.5). Cassian, who in the early fifth century brought to the West first-hand experience of the monks of Palestine and Egypt, had described the steps of prayer as entreating God for forgiveness, making resolutions and vows, interceding for others, and giving thanks—all eloquently expressed in the psalms—and then opening oneself to the “prayer of fire,” not informing God, not entreating God, not wheeling God, but listening in silence to the word of God.<sup>2</sup>

Monks were ranked not by status, wealth, or education, but simply in the order of their entry (RB 2.18-19; 63.1).<sup>3</sup> Once in the community, the educated and the illiterate, the highborn and the peasant, the priest and the layman become brothers. The Rule assumes that monks, like Benedict himself, are laymen. Abbots might designate one of the monks to be ordained, but he received no special privileges, and his rank within the community did not change (RB 62). After Christianity had become the imperial religion, some bishops

2. *The Conferences* 9.7-25; see also 10.10, on mindfulness of God.

3. Only those holding supervisory positions were excepted, and only while in office.



exercised civil as well as ecclesiastical authority, and some expected deference from the laity. Any monk-priest who adopted this attitude was to be admonished and, if unrepentant, expelled (RB 62); the reception into community of men already in holy orders was regarded with considerable wariness (RB 60).

Benedict wrote in a time of transition. The urban world of the western Roman Empire was crumbling under immigration and invasion by “barbarians.” The province of Britannia had become a patchwork of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, most of Gallia was ruled by Visigoths, and in Italia some quarter century before Benedict became a monk a “barbarian” king overthrew the last Roman emperor. Descendants of the invaders over time appropriated many Roman concepts they liked but did not always understand, notably the distinction between jurisdiction and ownership. This misapprehension affected both monasteries and the Church at large.

The Rule remained as Benedict wrote it ca. 550; the world outside the monastery changed, many times in the next millennium, and those changes had repercussions within monasteries. By looking at a few noteworthy monks we can hope to understand just what these were.

## **The Benedictine Centuries**

### *The Monk as Scholar*

The Anglo-Saxon Bede lived in a lull between barbarian invasions and Viking terror. This allowed Benedict Biscop, the founder of Wearmouth, the abbey Bede entered at seven, to journey “so many times to places across the sea, that we, abounding in all the resources of spiritual knowledge [that he brought back], can as a result be at peace within the cloisters of the monastery, with secure freedom to serve Christ.”<sup>4</sup> Among the things he brought back from Rome and the island monastery of Lérins off the southern coast of France were books. Because of his indefatigable trips between Northumbria and

4. Bede, “Letter to Bishop Egbert,” in *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

the Mediterranean and by his careful grooming of his successors,<sup>5</sup> Bede had access to a library remarkable in its time and place in the north of England. Books of Scripture were bound separately in those days; Bede had them all, as well as works by classical authors and Church Fathers. Using these resources, Bede wrote his own commentaries on books of both the Old<sup>6</sup> and the New Testaments,<sup>7</sup> pædagogical treatises, homilies, and hymns.<sup>8</sup> His immediate purpose was to educate young monks in reading, copying, and understanding God's revelation by pondering Scripture and the insights of Church Fathers. Echoing John Cassian, he reminded them that

The whole series of divine Scripture is interpreted in a four-fold way. In all holy books one should ascertain what everlasting truths are there intimated, what deeds are narrated, what future events are foretold, and what commands or counsels are therein contained. . . . The word of the heavenly oracle can be received in either an historical or an allegorical, a tropological (or moral) or even an anagogical sense.<sup>9</sup>

5. See chapter 3 below, with the account of Benedict Biscop's foresightedly taking the monk Coelfrith, who was to become the third abbot, to Rome to acquaint him with papal administrators and probably booksellers.

6. The Old Testament books included those sometimes called apocryphal that were included in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, but not in the later-formed Hebrew canon. Bede wrote commentaries on the books of Genesis, Ezra and Nehemiah, Tobit, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and the Canticle of Habakkuk, as well as commentaries on the Temple (Kgs 5:1–7:51) and the Tabernacle (Exod 24:12–30:21).

7. Commentaries on the Apocalypse, the Seven Catholic epistles, the Acts of the Apostles (with a retraction), and the gospels of Luke and Mark.

8. Scott DeGregorio provided a list of editions and translations in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine Karkov, Janet L. Nelson, and David Pelteret (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 149–63, xii–xiii. See also his article in the same volume, “Bede and Benedict of Nursia,” 149–63.

9. Bede, “On the Tabernacle” 1, in *The Venerable Bede*, trans. Benedicta Ward (London and Harrisburg: Morehouse, 1990); CS 169; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1998), 98. Cf. John Cassian, *The Conferences*, 14.8.

Bede's reason for describing the lives of local holy men and women and the events both of a distant and sometimes mythical past and of recent events in what is today his best known work, *A History of the English Church and People*, was not only to teach but also to admonish his readers in a world of often scrappy contemporaries "to pursue those things which one knows to be good and worthy of God."<sup>10</sup>

Among the things Benedict Biscop brought back from the continent were monastic rules, seventeen of them, on which he drew in ordering his twin monasteries.<sup>11</sup> Bede was not, strictly speaking, a Benedictine, but he knew Benedict's *Rule for Monks* well and wove bits of it into his own works; in his *Commentary on Ezra-Nehemiah*, for example, he compared the steps leading down into the healing pool of Siloam to Benedict's twelve steps of humility.<sup>12</sup>

Bede the scholar monk was the schoolmaster of Europe in the eighth century. Anglo-Saxon missionaries used his scriptural commentaries and pædagogical treatises in evangelizing and educating Germanic peoples.<sup>13</sup> That Bede's books survived the next century attests to the number of copies that existed outside England, for in 793, a little more than half a century after Bede died, Vikings looted the island monastery of Lindisfarne, and one hundred forty-five chaotic years later, in 875, the twin monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow suffered the same fate.<sup>14</sup> Anglo-Saxon monasticism and literacy were snuffed out.

10. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Preface.

11. Bede, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow II*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood (Oxford: Clarendon, 2013), 11.

12. DeGregorio, "Bede and Benedict of Nursia," 151. See Neh 3:15; John 9:7, 11.

13. Notably the monk Wynfrith Boniface, apostle to Germany and martyr, and the deacon Alcuin of York, successively headmaster of the cathedral school of York and the Palace School of Charlemagne at Aachen and, near the end of his life, abbot of the monastery of Saint Martin at Tours.

14. In Mediterranean lands, Saracen pirates were wreaking similar havoc. In 883, Saint Benedict's Monte Cassino was burned down and abandoned for over half a century.

*Monks as Intercessors*

Across the channel in the kingdom of the Franks at about the time Jarrow was being looted, a descendent of Visigothic invaders named Witiza became a monk. Trained in letters as well as arms, he was given the name Benedict, although, as he informed his abbot, he had little regard for a Rule written for beginners and weaklings. His self-inflicted austerities upset the other monks, as did his penchant for reprimanding them for not following his example. Within a few years he left and took up a hermit's life on family lands alongside the Aniane, a small river near Montpellier. His reputation for holiness spread, disciples joined him, and soon he found himself leading a thriving monastery of men who, like his former brethren, found his desert-inspired austerities uncongenial. Either he thought better of his scorn for Benedict's Rule when dealing with semi-literate men or, having in good Frankish fashion given the monastery and its lands to Charlemagne, he may have been aware that Benedict's was the only Rule the king knew.

Charlemagne ruled a multiplicity of tribes with differing loyalties, languages, and customs, and he set out, as king and emperor, to organize and unify his empire and "his" church. When he died in 814, he had not got around to the monasteries, many of them built on land that the donors regarded as still theirs and the monastery on it as theirs as well, and who appointed as abbots trusted comrades who were not necessarily monks. Carolingian monasticism has long, far too long in the opinion of historian Richard Sullivan, been portrayed as

a directionless enterprise, buffeted by royal, episcopal and aristocratic manipulation; mismanaged by greedy lay abbots; overburdened with wealth and worldly concerns; befuddled by a tentative comprehension of the ascetic idea; and unfairly saddled with a major responsibility to devise an educational and spiritual program fit, not for a community of saints, but for unlettered quasi-pagan, morally inert barbarians.<sup>15</sup>

15. Richard F. Sullivan, "What Was Carolingian Monasticism?" in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: University

To Charlemagne's son Louis "the pious" fell the task of re-forming monasteries, one he delegated to Benedict of Aniane. In a series of synodical decrees given at Aachen in 816 and 817, "the emperor's monk,"<sup>16</sup> on the emperor's authority, imposed Benedict's Rule on all Carolingian monasteries. Abbots who had already lived under the Rule were directed to write detailed commentaries on it to be studied by those who had not.<sup>17</sup> Fortunately for historians, Benedict also collected and had copied other Rules about to be obsolete. Boys and young men not intending to become monks were no longer allowed to attend monastic schools alongside oblates and novices. This ruling led some abbeys to establish external as well as internal schools. Within internal schools Benedict of Aniane's reading list was more restricted than Bede's.<sup>18</sup>

By adapting the Rule to the religious expectations of a society that understood action better than meditation, this second Benedict left an enduring mark. Manual labor was deemed unsuitable for monks;<sup>19</sup>

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of Toronto Press, 1998), 251–87, here 259, with a footnote running into 260 and 261. The time has come, Sullivan suggested, to "return to the sources in search of a more fruitful hermeneutical tool." For a more recent, source-based assessment, see, for example, Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France: 500–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), esp. chaps. 11 and 5.

16. The title given by Allen Cabaniss to his English translation of Ardo's *Life of Benedict of Aniane*, rev. edition (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2008).

17. See below, chap. 7.

18. It included Scripture, Gregory the Great, Augustine, Jerome, and, somewhat surprisingly, Origen. See Jean Leclercq, "Fervour in a Time of Anarchy and Reform," in Leclercq, et al., *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, ed. Louis Bouyer, Jean Leclercq, François Vandenbroucke, and Louis Cognet. A History of Christian Spirituality, II (London: Burns and Oates, 1968), 77–78.

19. For a twelfth-century explanation of why this was so, despite the clear injunction of RB 48, see Orderic Vitalis, "Robert and the Monks of Molesme Discuss Observances," trans. Jane Patricia Freeland, in *The New Monastery: Texts and Studies on the Earliest Cistercians*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, CF 60 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1998), 19–25. For the Latin text, see *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969–1980), 4:313–27.

their work was prayer, vocal prayer, lots of prayer. In an illiterate society composed of those who fought, those who worked, and those who prayed, prayer was the monks' social obligation. Benedict thought they deserved to be sure they were adequately and audibly recompensed. Those who donated land, gifts, or services to monasteries relied on the monks to intercede for them and for their families, their relatives, their forebears, and their overlords. A distinction was made not only between illiterate peasants and literate monks, but also between priest-monks and lay-monks. The daily blessing received by monks as they left the oratory for the dormitory, traditionally given by the abbot, now had to be given by a priest; in consequence abbots had to be ordained. The Rule's careful distribution of all one hundred fifty psalms over a week was increased by the addition of a daily supplementary Office of the Dead, the recitation before three of the daily Offices of the fifteen gradual psalms, a daily Mass, and litanies and processions to various altars within the monastery.

Over time, the Aachen directives were further augmented by local house customs, at first unwritten but by the early tenth century inscribed in *Customaries* that governed almost every aspect of the monastic day and liturgy. To enhance the liturgical commemorations of new, often local, saints, some monks composed hymns and antiphons, and often penned Lives of the holy men or women, praising their virtues and chronicling, sometimes creatively, their miracles. Others recorded important or unusual local events and later, as memory ceded to written documents,<sup>20</sup> sometimes created records of earlier well-remembered but unrecorded donations to the monastery.<sup>21</sup>

The acrid division of Charlemagne's vast empire between Louis's three sons in 843, added to Viking raids along the north coast and up

20. See Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993).

21. See Marjorie Chibnall, "Forgery in Narrative Charters," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.–19. September 1986, IV: Diplomatische Fälschungen (II)*, ed. Wolfram Setz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften*, 33 (Hannover: Hahn, 1988), 331–46.

navigable rivers, and Saracen raids in the Rhône valley and along the Mediterranean coasts, meant that the decrees of Aachen were never universally applied.<sup>22</sup> Observance of them, however, came to be held up as the mark of monastic reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and rejection of them the token either of laxity or of a new reform in the long twelfth century.

## **The Long Twelfth Century**

### *Traditional Monasticism*

The quintessential traditional monastery was the Burgundian abbey of Cluny. At its foundation in 909/910, Duke William of Aquitaine gave to the monks, or rather to Saints Peter and Paul, the “town of Cluny, with the court and demesne manor, and the church in honor of Saint Mary the mother of God and of Saint Peter the prince of the apostles, together with all the things pertaining to it: the vills, the chapels, the serfs of both sexes, the vines, the fields, the meadows, the woods, the waters and their outlets, the mills, the incomes and revenues, what is cultivated and what is not, all in their entirety.” While he chose the first abbot, he stated that all future abbots were to be freely elected by the members of the community, as the Rule required (RB 64), with “no contradiction or impediment of this election by our power or that of any man,” lord or bishop, and to this end he put the land and the community under the protection of the “pontiff of Rome.”<sup>23</sup>

Under the leadership of a series of capable and long-lived abbots, Cluny became the model of reformed monasticism, the head of a confederation of dependent priories, and the reformer of choice for monasteries rebuilding after being plundered by Vikings or avaricious nobles. To the church at large, it was the liturgical pacesetter and a training ground for popes, cardinals, bishops, and papal legates. Monks in all the confederated houses vowed obedience to the abbot of Cluny, who through this network of priories and contacts with

22. See below, chap. 5.

23. All quotations from the Foundation Charter of Cluny; <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/chart-cluny.asp>.

lords temporal and spiritual was in practice more powerful than the bishops of Rome, who did not fail to notice the advantages.

In return for all this, William asked only the prayers of the monks and their assurance that “this honorable house shall be unceasingly full of vows and prayers.” And full of prayers it was. To the Divine Office outlined in Benedict’s Rule and the supplements of Benedict of Aniane, Cluny added daily Matins and Vespers of All Saints, intercessions, and three daily Masses. The late-eleventh-century *Customary* of Cluny reveals that by then Cluny resounded with 138 psalms on a ferial (ordinary) day and 215 daily in Lent.<sup>24</sup> By the turn of the twelfth century, however, Cluny’s emphasis on *laus perennis*, unceasing prayer, was to be challenged by a “new monasticism.”

In the mid-tenth century monks in Italy had begun to encounter Greek-speaking monks and hermits fleeing raids on their native Calabria. Not long afterward pilgrims returning from the Holy Land brought tales of a way of life known in the West only through Cassian’s *Institutes* and *Conferences* and the *Lives of the [Desert] Fathers*.<sup>25</sup> A “new monasticism” soon began to appear, first in Italy and then north of the Alps.<sup>26</sup> It took several forms, but the common thread was a desire to return to the solitude, simplicity, and spirit of the early Desert Fathers.

24. David Knowles, “The Monastic Horarium, 970–1120,” *The Downside Review* 51, no. 4 (1933): 706–25; see Noreen Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967). For variations during the summer and autumn seasons, see *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 7:1–3 (1986): 3–7.

25. See Patricia M. McNulty and Bernard Hamilton, “*Oriente lumen et magistra latinitas*: Greek Influences on Latin Monasticism, 900–1100,” in *Le millénaire du mont Athos, 963–1963: études et mélanges*, ed. Olivier Rousseau (Chevetogne, Belgium: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1963), 1:181–216. See also Marilyn Dunn, “Eastern Influence on Western Monasticism in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Byzantium and the West c. 850 to c. 1200*, ed. James D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 245–59.

26. Among others, the Camaldolese (1012) and Vallombrosians (1036) in Italy; in France the Grandmontines (1078) and Carthusians (1084), neither of which followed Benedict’s Rule.



John, a monk who had lived as a hermit near his native Ravenna, migrated via Burgundy to Normandy. There, in 1028, he was elected abbot of Fécamp. Although active in the new wave of cenobitic reform and in contact with like-minded monks in Italy, Flanders, Lorraine, and England, he never lost his longing for the solitary life, and he shared with others his personal meditations on Scripture and the insights of the church fathers “with a love and devotion that made reading a prayer.”<sup>27</sup>

Herluin, a middle-aged knight seeking silence and simplicity, retired to family lands in Normandy in 1034 and taught himself to read. His small monastic settlement might have remained unnoticed had it not been for the entrance some half-dozen years later of a well-known legal scholar, Lanfranc of Pavia. With Lanfranc as its prior, Bec opened a school not apparently restricted to novices. In 1059, a budding young scholar from Aosta arrived in Normandy to pursue his studies. Feeling drawn to a dedicated life, the young Anselm pondered whether “to be a monk, or to dwell in a hermitage, or to live on my family estate ministering so far as I can to the poor.”<sup>28</sup> He considered entering Cluny but worried that the rigorous liturgical schedule would preclude study. He consulted Lanfranc and chose Bec. The two scholars from Lombardy made the abbey an educational magnet, which by 1170, according to Sally N. Vaughn, had produced “sixty-one abbots, eleven bishops, six archbishops, two papal legates, one cardinal and one pope.”<sup>29</sup> Both served as prior and both became

27. Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 231. Some of John’s works were published in Leclercq’s pioneering study, with Jean-Paul Bonnes, on John as *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jean de Fécamp* (Paris: Vrin, 1946).

28. Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm*, iv–v, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 6–10.

29. Sally N. Vaughn, “Lanfranc, Anselm and the School of Bec: In Search of the Students of Bec,” in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. Bethell*, ed. Marc Anthony Meyer (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1993), 155–81, here 156.

abbots—Lanfranc at Caen, Anselm at Bec—before becoming the first Norman archbishops of Canterbury.

Monastic historian David Knowles described Bec as “the most typical black monk monastery of its day and exercised a widespread influence which has been felt, at least indirectly, throughout monastic history from that time to this.”<sup>30</sup> Anselm is often referred to as “the father of scholasticism” because he demonstrated the logical necessity of the existence of God<sup>31</sup> and of the incarnation,<sup>32</sup> relying on reason, not on Scripture. Yet he began his *Proslogion* with prayer, and he shared with friends his deeply personal affective meditations and prayers, described by Benedicta Ward as “the words of a man praying to God, not discussing ideas about Him.”<sup>33</sup> Anselm, the monastic scholar, as archbishop of Canterbury also became both a royal servant and the spokesman in England for ecclesiastical reforms being promoted on the continent.<sup>34</sup>

Robert of Turlande, a priest and cathedral canon in the mountainous Auvergne region of central France, withdrew with a few companions to a solitary place in 1043 to devote himself to prayer,<sup>35</sup> but he also continued his pastoral care of the poor. The austere hermitage

30. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 89.

31. *Proslogion*, 1. *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 1, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946); *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, ed. Brian Davies and G. R. Evans (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 84–87.

32. *Cur Deus Homo*, in Schmitt, *Opera Omnia*, 2; Anselm of Canterbury, *The Major Works*, 260–356.

33. Benedicta Ward, SLG, “Introduction,” *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm* (London: Penguin, 1973), 25–86, here 27.

34. William II Rufus “elected” Anselm as archbishop to follow Lanfranc, but only after a four-year gap during which the king appropriated archiepiscopal lands and revenues.

35. Marbod of Rennes, *The Life of Robert of La Chaise-Dieu*, 1.6, trans. Hugh Feiss, Maureen M. O’Brien, and Ronald Pepin, *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, 1: Robert of La Chaise-Dieu and Stephen of Obazine*, CS 230 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2010), 19–59, here 24.

soon became “God’s House,” a cenobitic monastery in which liturgy and silence were balanced. By the early twelfth century La Chaise-Dieu had become the mother house of a network of autonomous priories and a center of monastic reform second only to Cluny.<sup>36</sup>

Robert of Molesme, finding the reform monastery he had already founded in Burgundy too generously supported by neighbors seeking prayers, met with stiff resistance when he urged his monks to accept greater austerity. After most of them obdurately refused, he “withdrew from them with twelve like-minded brothers who had decided to keep the Rule of Saint Benedict strictly to the letter, as the Jews keep the law of Moses.”<sup>37</sup> In March 1098, they settled on a piece of land variously described as “a place of horror and immense solitude,”<sup>38</sup> “a very forested area,”<sup>39</sup> and “a manor at a place called Cîteaux.”<sup>40</sup> These “Cistercians” built a “New Monastery” with their own hands, worked their own fields, wore habits of undyed wool,<sup>41</sup> and, as soon as they were able to replace their wooden buildings with stone, eschewed stained glass and decorative sculpture. Twenty years later, the abbot of Cîteaux created a “constitution” by which each of the increasing number of new abbeys maintained its autonomy while ensuring uniformity of discipline, liturgy, and customs. This they did by a system of annual visitation and general chapters of abbots.<sup>42</sup>

36. See Pierre-Roger Gaussin, *L'abbaye de La Chaise-Dieu (1043–1518)* (Paris: Éditions Cujas, 1962); and Pierre-Roger Gaussin, *Le rayonnement de la Chaise-Dieu: une abbaye auvergnate à l'échelle de l'Europe* (Brioude: Éditions Watel, 1981).

37. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 8.26, ed. Marjorice Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980–1986), 4:323.

38. *Exordium cistercii*, in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. and trans. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999), 400.

39. William of Malmesbury, *Deeds of the Kings of England*, 4.5; *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings by William of Malmesbury*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

40. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 8.26, ed. Chibnall, 4:323.

41. As did many of the new reformed monks.

42. See the *Carta caritatis* [Charter of Charity], in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. and trans. Waddell, 274–82.

*Papal Reforms*

Meanwhile, bishops of Rome, who styled themselves “vicars of Saint Peter,” had determined to disabuse emperors—and kings—of the Carolingian notion that an anointed monarch, chosen and consecrated by God, was “the vicar of Christ”<sup>43</sup> and therefore entitled to choose, invest, and depose popes and bishops. Drawing an ever-sharper line between clergy and laity, pontiffs explicitly ranked temporal lay authority below clerical spiritual authority. Pope Nicholas II in 1059, while the emperor-elect was a minor, reserved to cardinals the right to elect a pope, with the public acclamation of the people of Rome. After coming of age, Emperor Henry IV relied, as had his predecessors, on bishops he had appointed as administrators rather than on barons wary of a strong monarch. When Pope Gregory VII excommunicated imperial bishops for simony (buying their bishopric, i.e., giving a kick-back to the emperor) and then excommunicated an unrepentant and unresponsive Henry, a conflict of wills exploded. The emperor could and later did summon an army; the pope had no real power, but he did have the authority to excommunicate sinners and to release imperial subjects from vows of fealty.

The climax, but not the conclusion, occurred in 1077 at a chilly confrontation between Gregory and Henry at Canossa. The seemingly penitent emperor was reconciled with the church and restored to the throne, and was apparently the victor; in the long run, however, papal authority and the fear of damnation had won. In the consolidation of that authority, no small part was played by the rapidly developing papal administrative apparatus, the likes of which secular rulers hastened to replicate. The papal victory was quickly reinforced by the appointment of papal legates to monitor episcopal elections and the actions of bishops throughout Latin Christendom.

43. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II*, chap. 3, Monumenta Germaniae Historica SRG 61:22–23; cited by H. E. J. Cowdrey, “The Structure of the Church, 1024–1073,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4: ca.1024–ca.1198, Part 1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 229–67, here 229.

The heightened claims of the pope and the overzealous insistence on them by a legate had already in 1054 led to mutual excommunications between the two chief patriarchates of Christendom, Rome and Constantinople. The relationship was patched up, but never resolved; eighteen years later when the Byzantine emperor sought help in resisting the onslaught of newly converted Islamic Turks he realized that the only monarch able to raise a pan-European army was the pope. The success of the First Crusade, the establishment of Latin kingdoms in the Middle East, and increasing contacts with *reconquista* Spain brought to the West hitherto-unavailable writings of Eastern Christians and classical authors, among them the works of Aristotle, which set off a revolution in theology, medicine, and jurisprudence.

Educational opportunities opened new career paths to the younger sons of landed nobles and wealthy merchants, and to enterprising young men of modest means. In many towns, cathedrals sponsored schools to educate aspiring as well as undereducated clergy.<sup>44</sup> Advanced study of canon law led to careers in the Church, and of civil law to service in imperial, royal, or ducal courts. The most popular master of the early twelfth century, after a brilliant career teaching dialectic (logic) ended in humiliation, became its most atypical monk. Peter Abelard became a monk of the royal abbey of Saint Denis but soon received permission to return to teaching, not logic, but, as became a monk, theology. That too ended badly.

Warmer weather increased crop yields and decreased infant mortality. Christianized Vikings had settled down in Scandinavia, Normandy, and Southern Italy, and from there routed the Sicilian Saracens. Crusaders and merchants could travel by sea lanes and land routes between Europe and the East, and could open new frontiers in Slavic and Scandinavian lands being evangelized by some and exploited by others. Trade brought wealth and new technologies. Masons built ever higher stone structures; bishops and abbots erected

44. In 1179, the Third Lateran Council mandated that all cathedrals appoint a Master to teach clergy and poor boys grammar, rhetoric, and logic. This ruling was repeated in canon 11 of IV Lateran (see below, n. 49).

churches of soaring heights, and filled them with “expensive decorations” and “gem encrusted golden candlesticks”<sup>45</sup> to adorn the worship of God with the beauty of holiness. Sculpted prophets and saints lined monastic cloisters and looked down from cathedral entrances. Stained glass windows told the story of salvation in glowing colors.

In this greater security and general optimism the population increased. Monastic vocations soared. Houses of both traditional and the new monks proliferated, as did houses of nuns and canons, and canonesses, regular. The “new monastic” groups accepted no child oblates (RB 59), had no schools, and admitted only literate adults to be “choir monks”;<sup>46</sup> illiterate men were accepted as “laybrothers” (“*conversi*”).<sup>47</sup> Because *clericus* could refer either to a cleric, someone ordained, or a clerk, that is, someone literate, choir monks who chanted the offices, kept archival records, wrote letters, scriptural commentaries, treatises, and chronicles, and copied manuscripts, were *ipso facto* considered clergy and routinely ordained.

Although women could not attend cathedral schools or be ordained, they could receive an education in women’s monasteries or by private instruction, as did the highly educated Heloise, who never intended to become a nun and only very reluctantly took the veil to allow Abelard to enter Saint Denis. In the following centuries, some women’s monasteries and lay communities had schools. Some women wrote or dictated reflections; those works in the vernacular were usually translated into Latin, for by the thirteenth century nuns, who had long been subject to many of the same restriction as monks, were

45. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cistercians and Cluniacs: St. Bernard’s Apologia to Abbot William*, 12.28; trans. Michael Casey, ocsa, CF 1 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980), 63, 65.

46. Childhood ended early in the Middle Ages. The minimum age for admission among Cistercians, originally fifteen, was later raised to eighteen. See *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 2002), 559, 481–82.

47. An arrangement introduced by the Vallombrosians and adopted by the Cistercians.

bound to strict enclosure,<sup>48</sup> and devotional writings by women, especially those in the vernacular, drew the attention of the inquisition.

## The Later Middle Ages

### *Mandated Monastic Reform*

In 1215, hard-won papal authority was asserted in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council. Innocent III in council legislated on doctrine, on discipline—clerical, lay, and non-Christian—on education, mandating that every cathedral sponsor a school with a chair of theology and a master for poor boys,<sup>49</sup> and on monastics, requiring that “every three years in every kingdom or [ecclesiastical] province, a general chapter of abbots and of priors not having an abbot be held.”<sup>50</sup> “Visitors” were to be appointed to inspect each religious house to check on discipline, report any breach of the *Rule* or *Customary*, delate to the local bishop any abbatial dereliction and, if necessary, recommend that abbot’s removal. No religious community was to have the pastoral care of parishes or the tithes that went with it, nor were they to appoint or dismiss any pastor of any church belonging to the monastery without prior episcopal permission. Gregory IX, a canon lawyer, in 1234 augmented this by authorizing visitors to transfer monks from reformed to traditional monasteries that they considered in need of reform and to tighten discipline within communities by enforcing obedience, uniformity, prayer, poverty, hospitality, and increased separation from “the world.”<sup>51</sup> Monasteries had gone from being the property of landed barons through autonomy or federation to departments within the papal bureaucracy.

IV Lateran also specified that the Rule of Benedict was one of only four Rules religious could observe.<sup>52</sup> Had the council met a decade

48. *Periculoso*, a papal decretal issued by Boniface VIII in 1298.

49. Affirming an earlier decree of 1179. See above, n. 44.

50. Increased to annual chapters by Honorius II in 1224.

51. In the *Liber extra decretalium*, a collection of conciliar decisions and papal letters.

52. With the Rules of Augustine, of Basil, and of Francis, who slipped under the wire by submitting his first, simple Rule in 1209.

earlier, it would have been one of three, but in 1209, Innocent III had approved the first, sketchy, Rule of the charismatic and quixotic Francis of Assisi.<sup>53</sup> Francis and his “little brothers” lived without property or possessions and begged for their bread. In the commercial world of the thirteenth century they were a living reproach to the inequitable division of wealth obvious in the misery of urban beggars and the affluence of merchants and bishops and, in the eyes of some, monks on their landed estates. Whereas towns had grown up around many Benedictine abbeys, unencumbered Franciscans sought them out and preached the love of God in marketplaces in the vernacular.

A second mendicant order, the Dominicans, accepted the Rule of Augustine and trained in theology so they could counter sloppy or heretical teaching. They, like other “scholastics,” relied on Aristotelian “new logic.” The disputed question, more stimulating to students than “faith seeking understanding” and more effective in dealing with non-believers, relied on syllogistic reasoning to reach defensible conclusions. The cloistered life was no longer the only or, in the eyes of those aware of Christian dissent and non-Christian criticism, the best way to serve God.

Kings were not slow to imitate the papal bureaucracy or, after surrounding themselves with civil lawyers, to challenge papal hegemony. Royal retaliation came in 1309. Pope Boniface VIII, after making sweeping claims to temporal as well as spiritual authority, was humiliatingly arrested by an exasperated Philip IV of France. At the next papal election a French pope promptly moved the papal court to Avignon.<sup>54</sup>

The third of the popes of Avignon, Benedict XII, had studied in Paris and served as abbot, bishop, inquisitor, and cardinal before his election in 1334. He resolved to reform monastic and religious life to face the challenges of a changed society. In the first year of his pontificate, he ordered superiors to search out and require the

53. Francis had to rewrite it in 1221, and again in 1223, and to accept the monastic obligation of saying the Divine Office.

54. Avignon, a French city in culture but within the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire.



return of runaways.<sup>55</sup> The next year he issued reform directives to the Cistercians, the Benedictines, and the Franciscans, and, three years later, to Canons Regular. To abbots, who had been accused by friars of spending more time and energy in “usurping” exemptions and privileges than in forming their monks,<sup>56</sup> he urged greater centralization, improved fiscal responsibility, better vetting of postulants, and increased attention to discipline; to improve educational standards among monks, he mandated university studies. In the 135 years before his bulls were issued, 22 Benedictines had studied at Paris; between 1335 and 1500, the number rose to 649.<sup>57</sup> As historian W. A. Pantin observed, Benedictines now gave to scholarship the place an early Cluny had accorded the Divine Office.<sup>58</sup>

The fourteenth century was in most ways unmitigatedly dismal. Cold wet summers at its outset caused frequent crop failures. In “the great famine” of 1311–1314, desperate peasants were reduced to eating their seeds. Lingering starvation so weakened people that when the Black Death reached the continent in 1347, uncounted thousands succumbed. Monks who lived in close quarters and depleted their larders by feeding the starving were hard hit. The cloistered population was nearly halved. Some sparsely populated monasteries sheltered fewer monks than corrodians.<sup>59</sup> Abbey fields lay fallow, and revenues plummeted. Serfs and laborers who survived the plague often slipped away to towns to seek a better life. French monasteries endured additional dangers from marauding English armies during the Hundred Years War (1337–1453) and the king’s re-assertion of his right to control

55. *Pastor Bonus*, 12 June 1335.

56. W. A. Pantin, *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540*, Camden 3rd series, vol. 45 (London: Camden Society, 1931), 173–74, item 91.

57. See Thomas Sullivan, OSB, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229–1500* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

58. W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1955), and *Documents Illustrating the Activities*, Camden 3rd series, vol. 54 (London: Camden Society, 1937).

59. Pensioners living within the monastery.

ecclesiastical appointments and properties and to ignore papal directives.<sup>60</sup> All things considered, it is little wonder that the long fourteenth century has been called a time of “monastic eclipse.”<sup>61</sup>

When two popes were elected in 1376, one in Avignon and another in Rome, kings, bishops, and abbots chose between them, and learned churchmen urged that the church be governed by councils. Bishops in royal service were routinely excommunicated by one pope or the other, but simply carried on as usual. Excommunication had ceased to be an effective weapon. The election of a single, strong-willed pontiff in 1417 ended the Avignon papacy, the schism, and conciliarism but did not still criticism of the taxes and spoils levied to support the papal Curia, the clericalism of the institution, and what seemed to the laity the pointless disputations of theologians.

As urban lay literacy increased, many women and men yearned for spiritual nurture and supportive community. Treatises written by monks for monks in the long twelfth century were translated into the vernacular and circulated among members of guilds, confraternities, and communities living a common life without seeking ecclesiastical recognition and therefore not subject to the oversight of bishops and canon lawyers. Vernacular spiritual guides for devout and literate laymen were written by pastors and canons regular,<sup>62</sup> and, early in the fifteenth century, *Revelations*, dictated by a self- and sin-aware anchoress.<sup>63</sup> One of the apparently few Benedictines to seek a possible balance of “learned ignorance” and “mystical theology” was the prior of Tegernsee, who also created a list of bishops and abbots who over the centuries had resigned their administrative offices for a life of contemplation.<sup>64</sup>

60. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438.

61. Hubert Van Zeller, *The Benedictine Idea* (London and New York: Burns and Oates, 1959), chap. 6.

62. E.g., Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, both sometime hermits.

63. Julian of Norwich, *Showings*, trans. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh (New York: Paulist Press, 1978).

64. Bernard Waging. See Dennis Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 49 (Leiden: Brill 1992), 209–23.

Despite the intellectual and institutional changes in the world and the modifications imposed by reformers or councils on Benedictine discipline and the abbots' relationships with their communities, and the ever more sweeping authority of Visitors, Benedict's "school for the Lord's service" (RB Prol. 45) continued to attract recruits. The rapid advancement of bright, educated monks to abbatial positions in some places may raise questions about the caliber of novices generally and about the average age of the brethren, but monks and nuns continued to listen to the Word of God in the Divine Office, in Scripture and also other books, and in community. In the sixteenth century the land holdings and buildings of often sparsely populated monastic houses were to prove irresistible to monarchs in kingdoms that embraced the Reformation. Two hundred years later the "useless" life of prayer of monks and nuns fired the fury of "enlightened" revolutionaries in France, prompting the English to put aside their lingering fear of popery and take in monastic refugees. But those and happier chapters in monastic history belong to the second millennium of Benedictine monasticism and, one hopes, to a second volume of *Benedictine Readings*.

## Contributors

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**Margaret Jennings:** Margaret Jennings, a graduate of Bryn Mawr and veteran of numerous years of research in Oxford, Munich, and Rome, had a long career as Professor of English at Saint Joseph's College, New York. Before her death in 2016, she had completed her translation of the three mammoth volumes of Ranulph Higden's *Speculum curatorum*.

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**Carmen Wyatt-Hayes:** Carmen Wyatt-Hayes graduated from the College of Notre Dame, Belmont, California, in 1973. She earned a Master's degree in foreign-language teaching from the Department of Education at Stanford, and a PhD in Spanish from the same institution. She worked as a lecturer in Spanish at both the College of Notre Dame and Stanford before coming to Hillsdale College in 1989. As Professor of Spanish, she teaches language, literature, and civilization and culture. Though her focus is medieval and Golden Age hagiography, in her seminar "Entre Dios y el hombre," she is able to explore her broader academic interest, the changing views of God and holiness reflected in Spanish works from the thirteenth through the twentieth centuries.

## Abbreviations

ABR	<i>The American Benedictine Review</i> . Richardton, ND: 1950–.
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers. Paulist Press, 1946–.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–.
CCM	Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum. Siegburg: Franciscus Schmitt, 1963–.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–.
CS	Cistercian Studies Series. Kalamazoo, MI, and Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 1970–.
CSQ	<i>Cistercian Studies Quarterly</i> . Trappist, KY: 1966–.
Dial	<i>Dialogues</i> , Gregory the Great
HAMA	Haut Moyen Âge. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006–.
Loeb	Loeb Classical Library. London, and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1911–.
MGH, Epist.	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae</i> , in <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> . Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1887–1939; reprinted, 1978–1995.
NPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post–Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca. Ed. J.-P. Migne. 161 volumes. Paris, 1857–1866.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne, ed. 221 volumes. Paris, 1844–1864.
RB	Rule of Saint Benedict

- RB 1980      *RB 1980. The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes.* Ed. Timothy Fry, OSB. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981.
- SBOp        Sancti Bernardi opera. Ed. Jean Leclercq, H. R. Rochais, and C. H. Talbot. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1967.
- SCh         Sources chrétiennes series. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1942–.
- USCCB      United States Conference of Catholic Bishops



# Introduction

*Hugh Feiss, OSB*

## **Monks and Nuns, Renowned and Unknown**

**F**ive miles south of Poitiers is the Abbey of Ligugé, located near the ruins of a Gallo-Roman estate. There in 361 Saint Martin, the future bishop of Tours, founded the first monastery in Western Europe. In about 700, Defensor, a monk of the abbey, compiled his *Liber scintillarum*,<sup>1</sup> an anthology of citations from the Bible and Christian authors, particularly Augustine, Pseudo-Basil's *Admonition to a Spiritual Son*, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and most of all Isidore of Seville, whose *Etymologiae* Defensor's modest work resembles. These writers and others were in all probability represented in the library at Ligugé when Defensor wrote. The abbey seems to have been abandoned for about 150 years during the ninth and tenth centuries. Then at the beginning of the eleventh century the wife of the Count of Poitiers, Duke William of Aquitaine, had constructed on the site a basilica in honor of Saint Martin. In 1503 the monastery was given *in commendam* to an aristocrat, who built a new church. That church, secularized during the French Revolution, now serves as the parish church.

From the twelfth century, Ligugé was reduced in status to a priory dependent on another community. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Pope Clement V spent considerable time at the monastery while he was negotiating with King Philip the Fair. In 1607 King

1. Defensor Logogiacensis Monachi, *Liber scintillarum*, ed. Henricus M. Rochais, OSB (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957).

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