Exordium: Batch 2:

Dear Program Administrator:

This consignment contains the following material:

1. The Introduction for all

2. A bibliography for reference: maybe a copy or two to be made available for consultation; some persons might appreciate an individual copy.

3. Two charts, with some of the names to be encounter in the text and in future Unit.

4. Two maps — not included in e-mail batch: mailed or faxed. These add geographical precision for those not familiar with the region.

5. Reflection and exercise sheets. All should receive these. It is preferable that they be printed on coloured paper. *It is probably important to insist that all should become actively involved in digesting the material, pursuing whatever excites their interests and in sharing with others.*

- || For some participants, this Unit on the historical context may seem
- dry and factual. They may need to be reminded of the importance
- || of locating material in its historical context. Future units will be
- more closely related with monastic life and experience.

Note:

- **!** For the quotations in boxes, translators may wish to substitute comparable material available in their own language, where relevant.
- ! For the bibliography all may feel free to add or adapt to circumstances: it is very discouraging to have a large bibliography when only a few items are locally available. I would be grateful to receive any additional items.

Fraternally

Michael Casey

UNIT ONE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Historical Context

This unit is mainly information. It attempts to answer the question: What were the internal and external forces that shaped the ideals of the first Cistercians and determined their interpretation of the Rule of Saint Benedict?

Objectives

- a) To know a little about the general situation in Western Europe in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries.
- b) To appreciate the Gregorian Reform and its impact on the life of the Church and on monasticism.
- c) To understand the religious values that gave rise to the new religious orders that were founded at this period.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE CISTERCIAN REFORM

The Cistercian reform was not an isolated event. It drew much of its energy from forces operating in society, in the Church and in the monastic world. To appreciate the originality of what Robert, Alberic and Stephen achieved, it is necessary to understand the extent to which they were indebted to the times in which they lived.

1. Geographical Focus

Latin Christianity in the first half of the eleventh century comprised northern and central Italy, the German empire, the Low Countries, France, northern Spain and the British Isles and the newly evangelised kingdoms of Scandinavia. The political divisions in 1092 are shown on Map 1. There were several examples of monastic renewal in northern Italy, but the heart of the movement of monastic reform in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to have been located in the south-eastern quadrant of France. In particular the expansion was associated with the Duchy of Burgundy, with its capital at Dijon.¹ This is shown on Map 2. Within this territory are located Cluny and Molesme, Cîteaux and two of its first four foundations, La Ferté and Pontigny. Clairvaux and Morimond were outside current boundaries but were both within the diocese of Langres.. It is a rich and diverse countryside, famous for its wines since the fourth century and with a solid income based on timber from its forests and cattle from its pastures. Burgundy's material prosperity enabled its inhabitants to take full advantage of the educational, cultural and artistic renaissance then taking place in the emerging cities of French-speaking western Europe. No doubt the presence of so many monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions aided this process.

¹ Non-Europeans may need to be reminded that in the Middle Ages there were three territories with the name "Burgundy". The *Duchy of Burgundy* was linked with the Kingdom of France. Today the name is used of the four departments of Côte d'Or, Saône-et-Loire, Yonne and Nièvre and includes within its borders, Dijon, Auxerre, Châtillon-sur-Seine, Chalon-sur-Saône, Autun and Beaune. Associated with the German Empire were the *County of Burgundy* (Franche-Comté: centred on Besançon) and the *Kingdom of Burgundy* (sometimes named Provence, comprising the area Lyon, Basel, Nice and Arles). Here we are concentrating on the first, the Duchy of Burgundy.

2. Social Setting

It must be said at the beginning that it is unwise to give full credence to generalisations about medieval society: each particular social setting must be examined and assessed according to available evidence. Often serious historians are in dispute about fundamental issues. The purpose of the following notes is not to resolve academic controversies, but simply to underline certain broad characteristics that distinguish medieval society from our own.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were times of rapid population increase in western Europe. This contributed to a movement into previously uninhabited territories, deforestation and the drainage of wetlands, new methods of agriculture, manufacturing and marketing. Cities grew and a middle class of merchants and specialist tradesmen emerged. Markets and money became important. Because of expanding population density, educational possibilities and international trade, these centuries became — for some — also an era of increasing cultural finesse.

The period under discussion was characterised by a contrast between elements of a pan-European culture, on the one hand, and local alliances and politics on the other. It was the world of western Christendom. Political frontiers were not impermeable. Latin was known everywhere by the educated and was the foundation of the Romance vernaculars. Invasions, intermarriage and population movements had blurred racial distinctions. Throughout all kingdoms could be found the influence of the Papacy with its own legal and bureaucratic traditions and an efficient means of international communication. Trade, war and religious pilgrimage offered the opportunity to move abroad and see the world. Even so, most people stayed at home. Normal travelling speed (except in the case of an express courier) was only about 35 km a day, and even this was dependent on seasonal conditions and the absence of brigands. Although great journeys were sometimes undertaken for specific purposes, those who lived in established self-contained communities rarely had much contact with neighbouring settlements. They lived in accordance with precedent: parents taught their children what they knew, children inherited from their parents not only their assets, but also their obligations. Their interests were, literally, parochial.

The population of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was still closely linked with the land. The emergence of an urbanised society was only just beginning. Possession of territory (inherited from the previous generation or conquered by arms) was a sufficient title of lordship; all those who lived on the land were subject to its

overlord. The lords in their fortified houses were mostly professional soldiers: an incumbent, by allocating land to his followers, was assured of income, labour, a basic defence force and, if necessary, a supply of fighting men for military adventures abroad. Land was given to create a permanent bond between the recipients and their descendants and the donor and his heirs. A piece of land (fief) established a faithful follower as a vassal. He knelt in homage placing his joined hands between those of the lord, swearing a solemn oath to keep faith (fealty): to be his man. Thus a mutual bond came into existence. By becoming somebody else's "man" the vassal gained land and so ceased to be a nobody.

Land

"A feudal society was a society in which social bonds and legal status were inextricably entangled with land tenure."

Christopher Brooke, *The Structure of Medieval Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 75.

The peasants, who constituted the greater portion of the population, were also bound to the land and its overlords, whether they were small plot-holders, tenants, hired hands or serfs. They were mostly illiterate, with little constitutional protection of their rights, prone to arbitrary victimisation by the powerful, superstitious, fearful of salvation and probably somewhat baffled by ecclesiastical affairs. The higher clergy were not only the stewards of a distant God, but also social superiors. Folklore, ritual, oral tradition and conventional wisdom were the only available channels of culture. Peasants lived barely above subsistence level, at the behest of the soil and the seasons, with only the work of their hands, the cooperation of family and neighbours, the use of their animals and a few simple tools to feed themselves and their dependants. Their staple diet was bread and ale, supplemented by milk products, fruit, vegetables, maybe eggs and whatever else could be grown or bartered in the district. Meat and fish were rare. Acute food shortages were not unknown and in a bad season many perished of starvation.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were uniformly unequal societies, by modern standards, hierarchical. The boundaries between social classes were somewhat fluid: birth, marriage, power, wealth and patronage all contributed to determine one's

exact status. In feudal society ennobling by knighthood was the most visible expression of upward social mobility. The Church was another means of attaining a higher rank, bishops and abbots were titled *dominus*, exactly as the owners of castles. These offices were more readily given to upper-class candidates, but clerical ambition was not unknown. It was possible to transcend the accident of one's birth, even though, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the distinction between the real aristocrat and others was maintained. The prevailing Augustinian theology of order had the effect of equating the *status quo* with the divine will. For all alike virtue consisted in fulfilling the obligations of one's state in subordination to superiors. It was important to be content with one's place in the world and to act accordingly. Insubordination to earthly rulers was deemed also to be an affront to God.

The small farmer needed to be almost self-sufficient and a jack of all trades. Progressively, as standards rose, a new class emerged based on specialisation in particular skills and requiring payment in money. Such included vine-dressers, cowherds, shepherds, cloth-weavers, fullers, dyers, wainwrights and wheelwrights, miners, metalworkers, weapons-makers, shipbuilders, carpenters, stone-masons. They often moved around according to employment opportunities, informally carrying information and culture from one community to another. They had no land so they lived in towns together with other professionals: scribes, administrators, and so forth. Because these did not grow their own food, they depended increasingly on markets and so another class expanded in importance: the merchants, who supported themselves not by producing but by buying and selling, both locally and internationally. Not being bound to a particular parcel of land and having wider experience, these middle classes were often among the least conservative elements of the population. As their influence grew, social change followed and often there was friction between the towns with their booming economies and the landed nobility, their traditional overlords. Another effect of the emerging importance of money was, according to contemporary moralists, an increase in the vice of avarice.

About this time another group in society became visible. This was composed of "youths" who had already been dubbed as knights, but had not settled down. They were usually bachelors and could remain so until the threshold of middle age. The tendency to leave home and wander was especially evident in younger sons who did not have a claim on ancestral holdings. Young men banded together and lived a roving life, having fun, looking for adventure, hoping to find an attractive heiress, hunting and honing their military skills. Many of these were excited by the prospect of going on Crusade. Others, and in large numbers, became Cistercian monks.

These were times of great educational advances. Progressively, the schools began also to attract the young towards more intellectual endeavours. At the beginning of this period, Abbot Guibert of Nogent writes in his autobiography:

There was ... such a scarcity of teachers that hardly any could be found in the towns, and there were very few in the cities. Those who, by luck, could be found had little knowledge and compared unfavourably even with the wandering scholars of modern times. (*De vita sua* I.4; PL 156, col. 844b)

Steadily the situation improved. From the work of the monastic and cathedral schools flowed a more universal literacy, higher educational standards and famous seats of learning, usually associated with a teacher of particular excellence, who attracted students from great distances. It was from these schools that the great universities of the thirteenth centuries evolved. Most of the key figures in the first generations of the Cistercian Order profited from the opportunity to receive a better education than their forebears.

The period 1050-1150 in western Europe presents the following characteristics that are of interest when reviewing the origins of Cîteaux.

- a) In the middle of the eleventh century, the general standard of living was simple and even harsh. There was not a high level of refinement even for the privileged few who lived a life of relative leisure. We need to think in terms of rough farming communities, dominated by a military caste and subject to summary violence. The situation, however, was about to undergo transformation.
- b) Growth of population led to geographical expansion and generated a ferment of change that touched many areas of life and reshaped attitudes and broadened horizons.
- c) The period is often characterised as one of reform, renewal and renaissance. It was marked by substantial political, social, technological, intellectual and artistic change. Those most attuned to the times were those who took account of the progressive elements in society.
- d) At the same time there was an ambivalence about the new. Coexisting with innovativeness was a widespread desire to recover the pristine beauty of times past be it classical culture or primitive Christianity.

e) Monasteries were large, dominant establishments oriented to the worship of God and giving visibility to the Church. The monks lived off large tracts of land at a cultural level much higher than the general population. Most of the recruits came to the monastic schools as boys and stayed for the rest of their lives.

The social situation was complex: to understand it better we need to appreciate the role of the Church in medieval society.

3. Ecclesiastical Setting

In the 1050s the Church was ruled by a series of Popes nominated by the Emperor Henry III. The millennium had passed and there was a groundswell of support for spiritual renewal. But first there were abuses that had to be corrected. Three principal concerns dominated Church authorities in the period 1050-1150:

- a) The freedom of the Church from lay control: this included the struggle of the Papacy to establish its independence, the diminishment of the role of secular leaders in ecclesiastical appointments (the dispute about "*investiture*"), the distinction of "temporal" and "spiritual" and the primacy of the spiritual..
- b) The problem of *simony*: the purchasing of ecclesiastical appointments by those unworthy for the purpose of appropriating the revenues attached to the offices.
- c) The enforcement of the rule of clerical celibacy (the struggle against "*Nicolaitanism*").

It was particularly during the reign of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) that these priorities became a systematic and centralised program of reform intended for the universal Church. This is why it is commonly named the "Gregorian Reform".

The Gregorian Reform

The Gregorian Reform can be said to have begun under Pope Leo IX at the Council of Rheims (1049) and to have ended under Pope Calixtus II at the first Lateran Council (1123). It was one of many movements of Christian renewal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among them it was the most prominent, and its results were the most lasting; for it was limited neither to a particular diocese, kingdom or religious order, nor to the lifetime of one inspired leader. A series of popes (notably Gregory VII [1075-1085], from whom it took its name) made its principles their program of government. As such it reached into the political and spiritual life of all western Europe. For decades it served as a common point of reference from which all other reforms were either nourished or repelled.

Karl Morrison, "The Gregorian Reform," in B. McGinn e.a., *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1987), p.177.

Before taking up a position in the Roman Curia, and working his way up from deacon to cardinal, Hildebrand had been a monk and had spent some time at Cluny. Some commentators see the Gregorian Reform as an attempt to impose a quasi-monastic discipline on the whole Church. As pope, Hildebrand/Gregory showed himself to be a man of great energy, who sought to exert influence on ruling families throughout the West, then bypassing them if they proved uncooperative. Taking Saint Gregory the Great as his model, he was a strong defender of the primacy and prerogatives of the Roman See. This led him into a long-lasting conflict with the Emperor Henry IV which finally resulted in his exile. Gregory used papal legates (such as Hugh of Die) to good advantage to instruct, persuade and — if feasible — to compel adherence to the principles of reform. He himself was a man of deep spirituality whose primary motivation was religious. He saw himself as an instrument in the hands of God. Nevertheless, although his organisational reforms eventually prevailed, he never saw his dream of spiritual renewal brought to fruition.

A View of Benedictine History

The statement in RB 73:5 that indicates Benedict's acceptance of both the tradition of the ascetical desert (Cassian) and the more ecclesial orientation of cenobitism (Basil) is a pointer to a certain polarity within RB between "ascetical" values (with an emphasis on renunciation and solitude) and what might be called "affirming" values (with an emphasis on personal growth and community). Ideally, the opposites are held in creative tension by the application of the principles of discernment, moderation and the golden mean.

The different expressions of the benedictine charism are due to different combinations of the two diverging principles. Each monastery, for example, has to find its own balance between solitude and community. No single observance can be used as a gauge of fidelity to the Rule. The integrity of the Rule admits of different emphases, as communities respond to local variations.

However, when this pluralism becomes a cloak for lack of effort, decline sets in. Moderation becomes mediocrity, solitude leads to individualism, and community is reduced to mere conviviality. It is time for a reform. It becomes necessary to refocus on certain values, to restore certain observances, and to make the institution a more From the Gregorian Reform resulted a widespread attitude of reform that was not limited to the correction of abuses or mere reorganisation. Drawing from spontaneous movements towards a life more closely modelled on the Gospels, more concerned with spiritual realities, less involved with the world and, above all, marked by evangelical and apostolic poverty.

5. Monastic Reform

It is impossible to appreciate the specificity of the Cistercian reform without recognising its indebtedness the commonality of western to ecclesiastical and monastic tradition. The first books copied in the scriptorium of the New Monastery give an indication of the priorities of the Founders: liturgical texts, the Bible and Gregory the Great. This underlines the fact that many of the most cherished values of the reform were nurtured by contact with the whole tradition of life and spirituality that found expression in the Rule of St Benedict and the liturgy. and embodied in the writings of the great doctors of the western tradition in succeeding centuries.

Robert, Alberic and Stephen tried to add freshness to the way of life envisaged by St Benedict This aim meant rejecting certain subsequent developments, but not all. It was an attempt to purify and refocus tradition rather than to begin an entirely new form of monasticism. Notwithstanding the rhetoric of controversy especially in the 1120s, Black Monks and White monks still had much in common: the Bible, the liturgy, the Rule and many monastic customs, and there was much mutual borrowing. The Cistercian context needs to include the long self-correcting history of mainline Benedictinism, and its many initiatives of adaptation, renewal and reform.

The monastic infra-structure on which the Cistercian reform was built was common to all the new monastic orders, because it was based on a consensus about the nature of monastic life as it had evolved through the centuries.

Three particular streams of influence are important.

- a) The basic philosophy, the arrangement of the monk's day and the monastery's structures of governance were all in direct continuity with the Rule of Saint Benedict. Not only did the first Cistercians live a common life of liturgy, personal prayer or reading and work, their spirituality embraced Benedict's emphasis on obedience, silence and humility.
- b) From the reform of Benedict of Aniane, the Cistercians learned that local autonomy needs to be complemented by some measure of external regulation and supervision and that there are advantages in insisting on a uniform observance..
- c) The monastic world dominated by Cluniac observance was the departure point from which the Founders launched their enterprise. However, not everything Cluniac was abandoned. The overweight Cluniac customary (finally codified only in the late eleventh century)was pruned, but the principle of having detailed regulations to supplement the general principles of Benedict's Rule was accepted by the New Monastery. There were liturgical borrowings. Even the idea of a monastic "order" as it emerged in the late eleventh century builds upon the Cluniac system of governance, though Cistercian theory inclined more to the collegial than to the monarchical.

In addition to the structural elements, we need to look at the question of spirituality. In his book *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, Jean Leclercq spelled out the development of a spirituality that owed much to Augustine and Gregory and the Latin Fathers, which was at the heart of the liturgy of the West and which flourished especially in monasteries. We know from the catalogues of monastic libraries and from the writings of so many, that this generic spirituality was enthusiastically endorsed and even revitalised by the early Cistercians. What primarily animated them was the common faith of the Church.

It is true that the Cistercians distinguished themselves by developing a remarkably detailed theology and spirituality of monastic life, expressed in a way that attracted their contemporaries. Their expositions were fresh and living, but they did not strive to be original. The sought to do no more than give new expression to what they believed was the age-old tradition.

Like all innovators, the first Cistercian generations were highly conscious of aspects of observance that set them apart from the Black Monks. Perhaps they were too involved in change to recognise how much the two orders shared.

Let us now examine some of the developments in the eleventh century that created a climate favourable to the serious renewal of monastic life, and examine some of the immediate antecedents of the New Monastery.

Monastic Reform

The titles of the chapters in Bede Lackner's book, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux* (Washington: Cistercian Publications, 1972) provide a survey of the elements to be taken into consideration when trying to assess the meaning of the Cistercian enterprise.

- 1. Benedict of Aniane and Post-Carolingian Monachism.
- 2. Cluny (909-110)
- 3. The Crisis of Cenobitism
- 4. Monastic Reform: Conciliar Legislation in Eleventh-Century France
- 5. The Eleventh Century: Renewal in Earnest
- 6. The Eleventh Century: New Religious Orders
- 7. Molesme, the Home of Cîteaux

Outside mainstream Benedictinism, in northern Italy and later in France, about the time of the millennium, there was widespread discontent with the riches and worldly power of established monasticism. This engendered a corresponding desire to return to the simplicity of an evangelical or apostolic lifestyle and resulted in a movement towards some sort of eremitical life, physically separated from centres of population and practising serious asceticism and especially poverty. Diet and clothing were areas of particular concern. The reformers were against the grand buildings and solemn liturgies typical of the great monasteries and sought a simpler prayer life, usually built around the recitation of the psalter. These "hermits" were not necessarily solitaries in the strict sense: some became itinerant preachers and usually they lived in groups, sometimes dividing to search for deeper seclusion. Many of these spontaneous groups did not last more than one generation. Sometimes they survived only by merging with one of the successful reform orders that began appearing after 1075.

This new wave of hermits claimed for themselves the title of "the poor of Christ": *pauperes Christi*. Looking back to monastic origins, they sought "deserts" where they could give themselves to the imitation of Christ through poverty, asceticism, fasting, manual labour and hours of prayer. Inevitably those groups with more integrity that were led by charismatic figures attracted disciples and began to expand. From such beginnings, new orders evolved, attempting to institutionalise the somewhat haphazard customs of the early days by promulgating new systems of regular observance and, by means of Papal approval, creating for themselves a permanent identity in the Church.

New Religious Orders				
GROUP		FOUNDER		
Camaldolese	1015	Romuald	952-1027	
Vallombrosans	1038	John Gualbert	995-1073	
(Fonte Avellana)	1047	Peter Damian	1007-1072	
Grandmontines	1078	Stephen of Muret	1045-1124	
Carthusians	1084	Bruno	1030-1101	
These are only the best-known orders. Remember that many medieval dates, especially foundation dates are often only approximate.				

There may have been some cross-fertilisation between Cîteaux and the other monastic orders forming around the same time. Parallel innovation is possible when different persons respond to common conditions or are formed by similar values. But direct contact is also possible. In particular there are, at least, superficial similarities between Cîteaux and Vallombrosa:

- a) Emphasis on strict observance of the Rule of St Benedict,
- b) Rejection of "churches and altars" (pastoral activities),
- c) Practice of poverty and simplicity,
- d) (Initially) adoption of a lighter-coloured habit,
- e) Identification of monasteries by place names rather than by dedication to a saint,
- f) Institution of *conversi* (laybrothers) to transact external business,
- g) Annual General Chapter,
- h) Uniform observance among all Vallombrosan monasteries,
- i) Supervision and visitation of all houses by the Major Abbot,
- j) Union among houses under the rubric of charity. Their constitution bore the title *Vinculum caritatis* (The Bond of Charity).

Vallombrosa also experienced rapid growth from 9 houses in 1073; to 57 in 1155. However, there were significant differences between the two orders.

- a) Cîteaux was less monarchical: the system of filiation which gave much authority to the Father Immediate resulted in greater subsidiarity.
- b) The Cistercians were more rural and placed greater emphasis on ownership and management of land, work and involvement in marketing of the produce.
- c) The Cistercian *conversi*, although not "monks" in the accepted sense, were professed religious following an adapted monastic horarium and forming an integral part of the monastic community.

There are three possible channels by which influence could have occurred:

a) Through the Vallombrosan foundations in France (Corneilly and Chézal-Benoît were probably founded sometime before Cîteaux),

- b) Through the papal legate Hugh of Die who was aware of monastic developments in northern Italy and an active player in all reform activities, or
- c) By personal contact: it is suggested that Stephen, on his pilgrimage to Rome before entering Molesme, became acquainted with the Vallombrosans and adopted some of their ideas in modified form.

It is interesting to note that despite the initial influence of the eremitical revival, the Cistercian reformers showed no inclination to adopt a solitary lifestyle like that institutionalised by Bruno for the Carthusians. Their intention was, rather, to restore quality to the cenobitic life, as envisaged by St Benedict.

The reformed monastery of Molesme appeared rather late in the day. It was one monastic initiative among many, somewhat distinguished by the importance given to the faithful following of Benedict's Rule and by the unceasing efforts of its founder, Abbot Robert to establish an uncompromised monastic observance.

In addition to monastic reforms which took the Rule of St Benedict as their benchmark, there were parallel reforms in canonical life based on the Rule of St Augustine, and the ongoing work of clergy renewal. The different modes of reform were complementary, rather than in competition. What is surprising to us is the number of persons who entered monastic life at this time. In England, between 1066 and 1154, the number of monks rose from about 850 to over 5,500, including 1,400 Cistercians. The number of nuns was less, but it also was rising. We are left to ponder what were the factors that precipitated such an interest in monasticism and even a preference for its more austere expressions. Whatever the answer, it is certain that those orders were most successful in attracting recruits which read best the signs of the times, and were thus able to fashion a product which corresponded most closely with the spiritual needs of the rising generation.

The Monastic Adventure

"A life of spiritual adventure [in the monasteries], or of intellectual adventure in the rapidly growing schools, was a rival in appeal to the traditional life of hunting and fighting of the European ruling classes, or to the life of mercantile enterprise or travel. The horizons were opening in every direction.

Christopher Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962-1154, p, 120.

UNIT ONE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOUNDATION BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR COMMUNITIES

SOME GENERAL TITLES

- 1. BROOKE Christopher, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages: 962-1154* (Longman, London, 1975).
- 2. CHIBNALL Majorie, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1984).
- 3. JEDIN Hubert [ed.], *History of the Church, Volume III: The Church in the Age of Feudalism* (Crossroad, New York, 1987).
- 4. MATTHEW Donald, *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (Phaidon, Oxford, 1983).
- 5. MORRIS Colin, *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200* (University of Toronto Press, 1980).
- 6. PLATT Colin, *The Atlas of Medieval Man*, (Macmillan, London, 1979)
- 7. SOUTHERN R. W., *The Making of the Middle Ages* (Hutchinson, London, 1978).
- 8. STEINEN Wolfram von den, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters von Karl dem Grossen zu Bernhard von Clairvaux* (Francke Verlag, Bern, 1967).
- 9. TIERNEY Brian, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1964).

A: THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

- 10. BREDERO Adriaan, "The Eleventh Century and the Transition to the Twelfth," in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1994), pp. 18-26.
- 11. BOUCHARD Constance B., "Twelfth-Century Burgundy: The Great Unknown?" in Francis R. Swietek and John R. Sommerfeldt [ed.], *Studiosorum Speculum: Studies in Honor of Louis J, Lekai, O.Cist.* (CSS 141; Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, 1993), pp. 33-51.

Reference Bibliography Page 1

- 12. BYNUM Caroline Walker, "Did the Twelfth Century Dicover the Individual?" in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982), pp. 82-109.
- 13. RICHARD Jean, "Dans l'Europe du XIIe siècle," in *Bernard de Clairvaux: histoire, mentalités, spiritualité* (SChr 380; Cerf, Paris, 1992), pp. 83-102.
- 14. TORRE Juan Maria de la, "Aproximaciones y acotaciones históricas, sociales y teológicas" and "El feudalismo, clave del medievo," in *Guillermo de Saint Thierry: Un formador de creyentes* (Publicaciones Claretianas, Madrid, 1993); pp. 15-48.

B: BENEDICT OF ANIANE

15. LACKNER Bede, "Benedict of Aniane and Post-Carolingian Monachism," in *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux* (CSS 8; Cistercian Publications, Washington, 1972), pp. 1-39.

C: CLUNY

- 16. BOUCHARD Constance Brittain, "The Tenth-Century Background of Reform," in *Sword, Miter and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1987), pp. 90-101.
- CONSTABLE Giles, "Cluny Cîteaux La Chartreuse: San Bernardo e la diversitá delle forme di vita religiosa nel XII secolo," in *Studi su S. Bernardo di Chiaravalle nell'ottavo centenario della canonizzazione* (Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 6; Editiones Cistercienses, Rome, 1975), pp. 93-114. Reprinted in *Cluniac Studies* (Variorum Reprints, London,1980).
- 18. EVANS Joan, "The Monks of Cluny," in *Monastic Life at Cluny 910-1157* (Archon Books, Hamden, 1968), pp. 47-64.
- 19. LACKNER Bede, "Cluny (909-1100)," in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 40-91
- 20. LECLERCQ Jean, "Un Sommet: Cluny," in *Aux Sources de la spiritualité occidentale* (Cerf, Paris, 1964), pp. 91-173.
- 21. LECLERCQ Jean, "Saint Odon et son idéal," in *Témoins de la spiritualité occidentale* (Cerf, Paris, 1965), pp. 127-135.
- 22. LECLERCQ Jean, "Saint Majolus and Cluny," in *Aspects of Monasticism* (CSS 7; Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, 1978), pp. 207-226.
- 23. LECLERCQ Jean, "Priait-on à Cluny?" COCR 52 (1990), pp. 330-342.

- 24. LINAGE CONDE Antonio, (El orto de Cluny etc.,) in *San Benito y los Benedictinos* (Edição da Irmanade de S. Bento da Porta Aberta, Braga,{8 volumes} 1991-93), Vol. I, pp. 271-296.
- 25. SCHMITZ Philibert, "Les reformes: Cluny," in *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît* (Les Éditions de Maredsous, 1948, rp 1976), Vol. I, pp. 135-158.
- 26. WARRILOW Joseph, "Cluny: Silentia Claustri," in David Hugh Farmer [ed.] *Benedict's Disciples* (Fowler Wright Books, Leominster, 1980), pp. 118-138.

D: THE GREGORIAN REFORM

- 27. FLICHE Augustin, "L"influence de Grégoire VII et des idées grégoriennes sur la pensée de S. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard et son temps* (Academie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres, Dijon, 1928), Vol. I, pp. 137-150.
- 28. MORRISON Karl F., "The Gregorian Reform," in Bernard McGinn *e.a.* [ed.], *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (World Spirituality 16; Crossroad, New York, 1987), pp. 177-193.

E: MONASTIC INITIATIVES

- 29. BOUCHARD, Constance Brittain, "Monastic Foundations and Reform in Burgundy," in *Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 102-124.
- 30. CHENU M.-D., "The Evangelical Awakening," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp.239-269.
- 31. CONSTABLE Giles, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in Robert L. Benson *e. a.* [ed.] *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp. 37-67.
- 32. DUBOIS Jacques, "Les moines dans le societé du moyen âge," in *Histoire monastique* en France au XIIe siècle: les institutions monastiques et leur évolution (Variorum, London, 1982).
- 33. KNOWLES David, "The New Orders," in *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 191-207.
- 34. LECLERCQ Jean, "La crise du monachisme au XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Aux Sources de la spiritualité occidentale* (Cerf, Paris, 1964), pp. 175-199.
- 35. LECLERCQ Jean, "Consciousness of Identification in 12th Century Monasticism," CSQ 14 (1979), pp. 219-231.

- 36. LEKAI Louis J., "The Eleventh-Century Reforms," in *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent State University Press, 1978), pp. 1-10.
- 37. LEYSER Henrietta, "The Origins and Development of the [eremitical] Movement: a Geographical Sketch," in *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150* (Macmillan, London, 1984), pp. 29-37
- 38. MAHN Jean-Berthold, "La vie monastique à la fin du XIe siècle," in *L'ordre cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIIIe siècle (1098-1265)* (Éditions E. de Bocard, Paris, 1982), pp. 21-39.
- 39. RACITI Gaetano, "Monachisme et réforme ecclésiastique au XIe-XIIe siècle," COCR 30 (1968), 278-283.
- 40. SOUTHERN Richard W., "The Monasteries," in *The Making of the Middle Ages* (Hutchinson, London, rp 1978), pp. 149-162.
- 41. VAN ZELLER Hubert, "In its Offshoots," in *The Benedictine Idea* (Burns & Oates, London, 1959), pp. 106-132.

E1: CAMALDOLI

- 42. BELISLE Peter-Damian, "Primitive Romualdian/Camoldolese Spirituality," CSQ 31.4 (1996), pp. 413-429.
- 43. LACKNER Bede, [Romuald] in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 168-176.
- 44. LINAGE CONDE Antonio, "La Camáldula, de Romualdo a Pedro Damiano," in *San Benito*, Vol. II, pp. 406-416.
- 45. PHIPPS Colin, "Romuald Model Hermit: Eremitical Theory in Saint Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*, chapters 16-27,"in W. J. Shiels [ed.], *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, (Studies in Church History 22; Blackwell, Oxford, 1985), 65-77.

E2: FONTE AVELLANA

- 46. HAMILTON Bernard, "S. Pierre Damien et les mouvements monastiques de son temps," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), pp. 175-202. Reprinted in *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900-1300)* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1979).
- 47. JESTICE Phyllis, "Peter Damian against the Reformers," in E. Rozanne Elder [ed.] *The Joy of Learning and the Love of God: Essays in Honor of Jean Leclercq* (CSS 160; Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo), pp. 67-94.
- 48. LACKNER Bede, [Peter Damian] in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 176-187.

- 49. LECLERCQ Jean, "Saint Pierre Damien et la flagellation volontaire,"in *Témoins de la spiritualité occidentale* (Cerf, Paris, 1965), pp. 112-125.
- 50. RESNICK Irven M., "Odo of Tournai and Peter Damian: Poverty and Crisis in the Eleventh Century," *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988), pp. 114-140.

E3: VALLOMBROSA

- 51. LACKNER Bede, [John Gualbert] in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 187-196.
- 52. LINAGE CONDE Antonio, "San Juan Gualberto y los vallombrosanos," in *San Benito*, Vol. II, pp. 416-420.

E4: GRANDMONT

- 53. HUTCHINSON Carole A., *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont* (CSS 118; Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 27-50.
- 54. LACKNER Bede, [Stephen of Thiers] in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 196-203.
- 55. LINAGE CONDE Antonio, "Esteban de Muret y Grandmont," in *San Benito*, Vol II, pp. 420-422.
- 56. WILKINSON Maire, "The *Vita Stephani Muretensis* and the Early Life of Stephen of Muret," in Judith Loades [ed.] *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition* (Headstart History, Bangor, 1990), pp. 102-126.

E5: LA GRANDE CHARTREUSE

- 57. BELL David N., "The Carthusian Connection: Guigo I of La Chartreuse and the Origins of Cistercian Spirituality," CSQ 27.1 (1992), pp. 51-62.
- 58. DUBOIS Jacques, "Les limites des Chartreux," in *Histoire monastique en France au XIIe siècle: les institutions monastiques et leur évolution* (Variorum, London, 1982).
- 59. LACKNER Bede, [Bruno of Cologne] in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 203-214.

E6: MOLESME

60. LACKNER Bede, "Molesme, the Home of Cîteaux," in *Eleventh Century*, pp. 217-274.

Short accurate treatments of these topics can be found in general references such as the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* and the *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*.

Reference Bibliography Page 5

RULERS OF THE PERIOD 1050-1150

PAPACY	FRANCE	BURGUNDY	GERMANY	ENGLAND
1049-54 Leo IX 1055-57 Victor II	1031-60 Henry I	1031-75 Robert I	1046-56 Henry III 1056-06 Henry IV	1042-66 Edward Conf.
1057-58 Stephen IX 1058-61 Nicholas II	1060-08 Philip I			
1061-73 Alexander II	1000 00 1 mmp 1			1066 Harold 1066-87 William I
1073-85 Gregory VII		1075-78 Hugh I 1078-02 Odo I		
1086-87 Victor III 1088-99 Urban II				1087-00 William II
1099-18 Paschal II		1102-43 Hugh II		1100-35 Henry I
	1108-37 Louis VI	1102-45 Hugh H	1106-25 Henry V	
1118-19 Gelasius II1119-24 Calixtus II1124-30 Honorius II				
1130-43 Innocent II			1125-37 Lothair II	1135-54 Stephen
1143-44 Celestine II1144-45 Lucius II1145-53 Eugene III	1137-80 Louis VII	1143-62 Odo II	1137-52 Conrad III	

ABBOTS OF CLUNY, MOLESME & CÎTEAUX 1050-1150

	CLUNY	MOLESME			CÎTEAUX
1049-09	Hugh I	1075-11	Robert I	1098-99 1099-08	Alberic
1109-22 1122	Pons de Melgueil Hugh II	1111-32	Guy of Chatel-Censoir	1108-33	Stephen
1122-56	Peter the Venerable	1132-40	Evrard	1133-34 1134-50	Guy Raynald of Bar
		1140-48 1148-56	Girard Stephen I	1150-55	

Please note: there is some variety in the way some medieval names were spelled.

Unit One: Reflection Sheet

Note: The "Reflection Sheet" is intended to help you focus your ideas as you reflect on the material of each unit. It is not to be handed up, but it may serve as a basis for group sharing.

L. Jot down on a piece of paper ten points in the presentation that helped you to understand better the world in which the first Cistercians lived.

2. Select three of these elements for fuller reflection: what effect did they have on monastic life and how did the first Cistercians respond to them?

	ELEMENT	EFFECT ON MONKS	CISTERCIAN RESPONSE
1			
2			
3			

3. Reflect on your own society at this time: name three important components to which monastic life needs to respond — positively or negatively.

888	ELEMENT	RESPONSE
1		
2		
3		

4. Write 1-2 sentences to summarise in a general way what you have learned from this unit and hope to remember.

Exordium Unit One: Extra Reading

Unit One is difficult because, even though it contains many items of information, it is necessarily incomplete. This is where your extra reading is important.

When you find a point that seems worthwhile pursuing, because it seems important or arouses you interest, try to find more information about it. The bibliography for this Unit contains some suggestions; you will be able to find more by looking around the relevant sections in your community library.

If each one reads according to personal attraction, then when several come together as a group to reflect on the material, all will have something additional to contribute.

I. As you read the Introduction, mark one or two points that you would like to pursue. Afterwards, look them up in a standard reference book, such as an encyclopedia. Make notes as you go to help your memory.

2. Spend 30 minutes reading a little more about one element in the presentation. S-t-r-e-t-c-h your knowledge, whatever level it is at now. Topics worth pursuing, for example:

- d) Everyday life in Western Europe: 1050-1150 (Compare it with life in a monastery),
- e) The Gregorian Reform (How did it influence our Founders?),
- f) The eleventh-century spiritual movements (what values did they pursue?),
- g) The new monastic orders (similarities and differences between these and the Cistercians).

3. If there are any words or terms in the notes that you do not understand, ask someone about them or look them up in a dictionary. Then write into the notes your own explanation. *This is a very important means of learning*.

Unit One: Topic for Group Sharing

The discussion is meant to lead towards the question of the importance of the necessity of reading the "Signs of the Times" and of being responsive to them.

I. The Group could begin by asking each person to share briefly what lessons were learned from reflecting on the historical background of the events of 1098.

2. This will lead naturally to attempting to see more clearly the factors influencing the Founders as they began life at the New Monastery. Do you consider the Founders to have been "original"? If so, how?

3. This leads to reflection on parallels between the 11^{th} and 12^{th} centuries and our own.

4. We may then feel drawn to share our own reading of these times. To what issues and movements should we be responding as we continue the process of renewing monastic life.

5. Someone may wish to reflect on whether our present *Constitutions and Statutes* represent an attempt to respond to the "Signs of the Times".

6. If we become conscious of a special call within our own stage of history, what means can we take to discern its validity and how can we incorporate the value into monastic living in our community.