

ABBOT STEPHEN HARDING

AND

THE RISE OF CÎTEAUX

by

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PREFACE

Monasticism, broadly interpreted, in the sense of a life dedicated to the establishment of some contact with the supernatural world, is older than Christianity. As a natural development of man's religious instinct, it goes back as far as the beginnings of the human race, it is as old as religion itself. All ages and all civilizations produced men and women who, animated by the desire to serve God exclusively, renounced worldly affairs or spent themselves in works of charity. Thus we find prophets in the Old Testament and, where monotheism prevailed, even religious communities, such as the Sons of the Prophets, the Essenes, and the consecrated virgins of the temple. Paganism, too, had its monks and vestals. In general, however, these various forms of monasticism were ill-defined and unstable and, besides, lacked authoritative direction and definite aims.

Christian monasticism, far from creating a new type of life, breathed a new soul into the existing structure by giving definite form, divine sanction and supernatural elevation to it. The evangelical counsels, inviting chosen souls to lead a life of voluntary poverty, chastity and obedience, found responses from the beginning of our era by both sexes. The men were called ascetics or confessors, and the women virgins of Christ. During the first two centuries they did not as yet form communities; rather, they pursued their ascetic practices in their own homes, living in retirement according to the circumstances.

The desire for a more complete separation from the world brought

about the institution of the anchorites who led a solitary life outside the cities and towns. The Decian persecution in the middle of the third century constrained these men to retire even more and seek refuge in the wilderness. The most famous representative of this type of life is Saint Paul of Thebes (228-341).

Subsequent decades witnessed further evolution of the monastic idea, when the anchorites, though living in separate cells and following no common rule, grouped themselves around certain elders eminent for their wisdom and piety, in order to benefit from their direction. The first of these monastic villages, the so-called lauras, was governed by the great Saint Anthony (250-356) who became the spiritual father of all the monks of the Thebaid in Egypt.

The first monastery according to our present terminology was the work of Saint Pachomius (292-348) at Tabenna in the Upper Thebaid. Since he introduced the common life (though leaving much freedom to the individual) and wrote the first monastic rule, he may truly be called the father of the coenobites.

In the East, Saint Pachomius' rule had soon to give way to that of Saint Basil the Great (329-379) which introduced true community life and remains without rival to the present day.

In the West, the monastic idea, though not entirely unknown, exercised less attraction, until it found in Saint Athanasius (a. 296-373) an ardent champion during his exile in Rome. From then on, also through the efforts of Saint Martin of Tours (372-397), Saint Vincent of Lerins (died a. 434) and most of all Cassian (360-420), monasticism spread rapidly throughout Europe.

After more than a century, there were four kinds of monks in the West: the hermits, the coenobites, and the newly risen sarabaites and gyrovagues. The sarabaites lived in their families or in small communities, however, without rule or superior. The gyrovagues, as their name indicates, spent their time passing from one monastery to another, only staying long enough in each to scandalize the community with their sloth and sensuality.

Around 540, Saint Benedict of Nursia (480-547) wrote his Regula Monachorum, Rule of Monks which soon superseded all other rules in the West and profoundly influenced the destinies of Europe. This was mostly due to the fact that Saint Benedict regulated the details of monastic life in a way that had never been done before him in the East or in the West (e.g. the liturgical legislation or the penal code) and, secondly, that in his discretion he set up a standard of asceticism less severe than that of Egypt or Syria, one that could be attained by all monks, leaving it to the individuals to practice greater austerities if they felt the need of it and had proper permission. A considerable part of the rule is borrowed from different sources. Saint Benedict was fully acquainted with the lives of the Desert Fathers, with the writings of Saint Basil and Cassian, and, basically, he had no intention to depart from the precedents created by these great predecessors. Nevertheless, Saint Benedict's prudent synthesis produced a completely new monastic system. The rule is not made to govern an order but to regulate the life of a single coenobitic community bound together by the newly introduced vow of stability. This vow united each monk for life to the particular monastery in which the vows were pronounced. We see here a very beneficial modification of pre-existing practices with the result of assuring continuity of theory and practice in each monastery. The monastery's government is monarchic in form and rests

with the abbot, elected for life by free and universal suffrage. The almost unlimited authority of the abbot and the unquestioning obedience of the subject monks are the two pillars of Benedictine monastic life. The daily occupation of the monk embraces three essential duties: the divine office, the common liturgical prayer said at certain intervals of the day, spiritual reading, including the study of Holy Scripture, the Church Fathers and ascetic writers, and manual labor, the great disciplinary force for human nature. This life is a constant search for God in silence and solitude, bringing about a conversion of morals and an increase in virtue.

On account of its moderation, Saint Benedict's rule, though it had a serious rival in the rule of Saint Columban (543-615), famous for its severity, gradually won the same position in the West which Saint Basil's rule occupied in the East. The centuries following Saint Benedict's death, however, lost sight of the patriarch's original ideals; consequently many innovations opposed to the rule were introduced. The reasons for such a relaxation lay, strange as it may sound, to a certain extent in the rule itself. For, since the rule did not establish organic bonds of union between the individual monasteries, the danger of disunion found no effective remedy, and the result was lack of fervor and decline. Moreover, the thousands of monks making up the great number of Benedictine monasteries in Europe were almost constantly exposed to war, invasions, political strife, and this unavoidably had its disastrous repercussions. Oftentimes it became impossible to keep away from worldly affairs, to keep worldliness out of the monasteries. Consequently, the monks of the West often failed to live up to their monastic ideals, introduced new customs favorable to a

more comfortable living and, in order to justify such a procedure, too easy interpretations were given to the original prescriptions of the rule.

Several attempts were made to reform the deplorable situation, two of which merit special attention. The first one is connected with the reformatory activities of Saint Benedict of Aniane (a. 750-821) at whose instigation the Emperor Louis the Pious convoked a congregation of abbots in Aix-la-Chapelle (817). The assembly passed eighty canons, or capitula as they were called, to remedy the existing abuses and to promote a greater uniformity in questions of observance. These canons received imperial sanction and became obligatory in the whole Frankish Empire which at the time comprised the entire Christian West. This meant the introduction of Saint Benedict's rule in all Western monasteries and the disappearance of all rival rules.

There can be no doubt about the right intentions of Saint Benedict of Aniane, still in order to obtain his ends, he had to modify the ancient rule in many ways. Keeping the rule as a basis, he granted additional clothing, mitigated the regulations of fasting, and considerably increased the liturgical services. Sundays and feastdays were almost exclusively reserved to liturgical functions, and, in general, liturgical prayer became almost the only occupation of the monks, to the detriment of the other essential components of Benedictine monasticism: spiritual reading and manual labor. The latter, though reinstated, was reduced to a minimum, and agricultural work was altogether discontinued.

Saint Benedict of Aniane's efforts, as could be foreseen, failed to produce the desired results. It was certainly unfortunate that he built his reform work more on the protection of the Emperor than on the understanding and sympathy of his fellow abbots.

The foundation of Cluny in 910 marks the second important step towards reform and monastic revival. Able leaders, outstanding in personal holiness, enforced strict observance of the rule. This attracted many vocations so that soon other monasteries could be founded. Cluny's success was largely due to its peculiar organization by which every monastery founded from it, either directly or indirectly, remained in absolute dependence on the mother abbey. The abbot of Cluny exercised full jurisdiction in all subject monasteries, appointed superiors of his own choice, and without his sanction no religious in any house could be permanently accepted. By the beginning of the twelfth century, Cluny practically headed a new order with several hundred houses, mostly in France. In importance it ranked next to Rome as a religious center, and its abbots became sovereign princes within the limits of their extensive possessions, exercising the fullness of legislative, judicial and executive power, with the rights of minting money and even declaring war.

The system flourished as long as Cluny had saints for rulers but proved to be an unsatisfactory solution in the case of unworthy abbots. The Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century, creating a general desire to return to the very sources of Christianity, made this even more evident. In numerous monasteries the desire to rejuvenate and purify the Church according to the ideals of the primitive Church resulted in an increased study of the traditions of the Desert Fathers, and, though the authority of Saint Benedict's rule was hardly questioned by anyone, generated a serious desire for monastic reforms. Thus rose Saint Romuald's (a. 950-1027) foundation, Camaldoli, famous for its solitary life, perpetual silence, severe fasts and other austerities in imitation of the Desert Fathers. Similar considerations

prompted Saint John Gualbert (died 1073) to establish Vallumbrosa in Tuscany with its purely contemplative life, in strict silence and enclosure. Another reform monastery, the Grand Chartreuse in Savoy, was the work of Saint Bruno (925-965) who also advocated a return to an austere and simple eremitical life.

The second half of the eleventh century produced another champion of monastic renewal: Saint Robert (a. 1028-1111), the founder of the monastery of Molesme, Burgundy, in 1075. This was another attempt to approach the common ideal of a strict asceticism, in agreement with the above mentioned contemporary undertakings. The problem of the proper interpretation of Saint Benedict's rule, however, soon divided the new community. In the ensuing tension a circle of monks reached a significant conclusion: in order to reconstruct the basic ideals of monasticism, one must return to the original purity of the Rule, disregarding later interpretations, modifications or additions of any kind.

This conviction ultimately led to the foundation of Cîteaux, or New Minster as it was first called, in 1098, and marks the beginning of the Cistercian reform. Stephen Harding, later on third abbot of Cîteaux, played a decisive part in these undertakings. Subsequently he consolidated the reform and by his Charter of Charity constructed the legal framework for the reform's future development. For all this, he ranks among the greatest personages of the twelfth century and will always have an eminent place in the history of monasticism. The present thesis is an attempt to reconstruct with the help of contemporary and secondary source material Stephen Harding's life and activities in so far as they are connected with the foundation and rise of Cîteaux.

A scientific account of Stephen Harding's life and work has never

been published in any language. The only biography thus far existing is a 1898 reprint of J. B. Dalgairns' Life of St. Stephen Harding, a hagiographic work, edited in London in 1844. Although it has been translated into French, German, and more recently into Hungarian, no one can seriously deny the long-felt necessity of a thorough scientific investigation of Stephen Harding's contribution to monastic revival in the twelfth century, especially in view of the ever increasing interest of our times in medieval monasticism.

Several primary sources facilitate such an undertaking. The most important of them is the Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii, commonly called Exordium Parvum, Stephen Harding's account of Cîteaux's foundation. It was published by Philippe Guignard, librarian of the Municipal Library of Dijon in France, under the title Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne (Dijon, 1878). The text itself is taken from a manuscript of Cîteaux, dating back to the years between 1224-1236. Hugh Séjalon edited an improved text of the Exordium Parvum in his Nomasticon Cisterciense (Soleuse, 1892). A still earlier text of the Exordium Parvum, written in the first half of the twelfth century, was published by Tiburtius Humpfner in Exordium Cistercii cum Summa Cartae Caritatis et fundatio primarum quantuor filiarum Cistercii (Vác, 1932).

Among other contemporary sources, the testimony of William of Malmesbury, a contemporary English Benedictine (died a. 1143), thus a countryman of Stephen Harding, has a peculiar value. William was an indefatigable writer of world and Church history. In Book Four of his Gesta Regum Anglorum, published in J. P. Migne's Patrologia Latina (Paris, 1899), volume 179, he dedicated an entire chapter to the Cistercians (De Cistellensibus). In this, after an account of Stephen Harding's origin, he describes the life and, briefly, the early history of Cîteaux, concluding

with Stephen's first years of government. William of Malmesbury's account abounds in his countryman's praise and for this its author was accused of extreme nationalism by later historians. One may, however, doubt that national consciousness gained such an eminence in the twelfth century; consequently, William of Malmesbury's information remains most valuable to anybody interested in Stephen Harding's life.

The Exordium Magnum Ordinis Cisterciensis, written by Conrad, then a monk of Clairvaux, around 1170 and published by J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris 1854), volume 185bis, though no contemporary source, is still indispensable for Stephen Harding's biographer. It furnishes a considerable wealth of information about Stephen's character, his virtues and activities, and, therefore, rightly interpreted, supplements the accounts of previously mentioned authors.

Angelus Manrique's annals covering the early history of Cîteaux, Cistercium seu verius Ecclesiasticorum Annalium a Condito Cistercio, Tomus IV (Lyons, 1642-1659), also contain valuable source material for the historian, even though some of the conclusions expressed in the annals are not shared by modern authors.

In the field of periodical literature, the Cistercienser-Chronik, a monthly publication of the Cistercian abbey of Mehrerau in Austria since 1889, contains several expert articles of basic importance on Stephen Harding. The Trappist quarterly, Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum, a French publication of Westmalle abbey in Belgium since 1934, is also rich in source material. The same must be said of the Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, a yearbook mostly in Latin published by the Cistercian General House in Rome since 1945. Beside the above mentioned works the author of this thesis has used and consulted the remaining primary as well as secondary sources mentioned in the bibliography, and, after having

expressed his deep gratitude to Dr. Cyril Smith, professor of Medieval history at Marquette University, for valuable help and guidance, it is his only desire that his efforts may lead to a better understanding of abbot Stephen Harding's lasting contribution to monastic history.

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CHAPTER I

FROM SHERBORNE TO MOLESME

In one of his writings, the Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii, commonly called the Exordium Parvum, Stephen Harding himself tells us that he was "an Englishman by nationality." The surname Harding corroborates this testimony, and, besides, points to an Anglo-Saxon origin. Unfortunately, the year of Stephen Harding's birth cannot be established with definite certainty. Most Cistercian authors, however, agree that Stephen was born some ten years before the Norman conquest, i.e. around the year 1056. The fact that, according to the information given by the Exordium Magnum Ordinis Cisterciensis, briefly called Exordium Magnum, Stephen resigned his office on account of his advanced age in 1133 justifies such a presumption. Stephen was the son of noble parents of Northern England, in the words of William of Malmesbury, the best contemporary authority, "non ita reconditis natalibus procreatus," which could be translated "not of humble birth."¹

¹"Gesta Regum Anglorum," Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1899), tom. 179, col. 1287.--As to Stephen's English origin the Exordium Parvum, xvii. states the following: "Vir autem domni (Domini) albericus ...migravit ad dominum. Huic successit quidam frater stephanus nomine, anglicus natione." Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Ph. Guignard (Dijon, 1878), 73.--The account of the Exordium Magnum is found in Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1854), tom. 185bis, col. 1018, and reads thus: "Cum autem beatus Pater Stephanus officium sibi commissum... strenue administrasset, longo confectus senio, ita ut caligarent oculi ejus, et videre non potest, curam pastorem deposuit." -- For additional information of Stephen Harding's birth see Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux vom Jahre 1109 bis 1119," Cistercienser-Chronik, 28(1916), 2; and J. B. Dalgairns, Life of St. Stephen Harding Abbot of Cîteaux and Founder of the Cistercian Order (London, 1898), 2. In the latter we meet with the supposition that "St. Stephen would...be a collateral ancestor of the Lords of Berkeley, who held Berkeley Castle continuously for seven hundred years and played a conspicuous part in English history."

As a child he was brought to the Benedictine priory of Sherborne near Salisbury in Dorsetshire where he received his early education and monastic training. Following an abortive insurrection of the native population against the Norman conquerors, or, perhaps, as a consequence of the constant raids of the Norsemen, he left England and went to Scotland, or, as some historians say, to Ireland. By this time he had already given up the idea of definitively joining a monastery, possibly as a result of his dissatisfaction with Benedictine life as observed in Sherborne.²

We next find him in Paris, famous for its excellent schools, where he spent several years in the study of liberal arts. His later life will

²William of Malmesbury's unequivocal testimony: "primo Scotiam, mox Franciam contendit" in "Historia Regum Anglorum," Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, col. 1287 is challenged in favor of Ireland by E. Vacandard, Vie de Saint Bernard (Paris, 1895), I, 39 and by the Irish Trappist author Ailbe J. Luddy, The Cistercians (Dublin, 1952), 11. According to Luddy, William of Malmesbury's text reads "Ex Anglia studiorum causa primum in Scotiam transfretavit;" consequently, the expression "transfretavit" cannot be applied to a journey to Scotland. Moreover, in the eleventh century the name "Scotia" was given to both Scotland and Ireland, as can be seen from early Cistercian martyrologies. --Luddy's assertions, however, are shared by very few historians. For, a comparison of the passage quoted by Luddy with the critical edition of the works of William of Malmesbury (Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque, 2 vols., edited by William Stubbs, London, 1887-1889) makes it clear that the text used by Luddy is not genuine. There is no "transfretavit" in William of Malmesbury's respective passage but "contendit," meaning "he proceeded" or "he travelled." Besides, in William of Malmesbury's writings "Scotia" always refers to Scotland. Lastly, even if the original text should have read "transfretavit," it justifies no conclusion in favor of Ireland, for the expression can also mean "he passed over," "he crossed" and then it does not necessarily imply a sea voyage. Gen. 32:10, referring to the Jews crossing the Jordan river, seems to confirm such an interpretation. --The fact that Stephen Harding was brought to Sherborne at such an early age should not cause any difficulty. In chapter 59 of his Rule of Monks, Saint Benedict permits the admission of young boys into his monasteries, provided the parents gave their consent: "Si quis forte de nobilibus offert filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minori aetate est, parentes ejus faciant petitionem." The Rule of Saint Benedict in Latin and English. Edited and translated by Abbot Justin McCann (Westminster, 1952), 134.

testify how seriously Stephen pursued his studies. While in Paris, he received the call to devote himself to the service of God. This vocation was neither clear nor well-defined; it could hardly be considered more than an awareness of the fact that he was not in the place where God wanted him to be. In order to find an answer to his question, Stephen began visiting the shrines and sanctuaries of various saints in Champagne and Burgundy. On one of his pilgrimages he became acquainted with another devout traveller, Peter, afterward known under his nickname of Saint Pron.³

Peter was also of English origin. After the death of his parents, he left his brothers and his only sister and went to France. While visiting monasteries and shrines in the north of the country, he met with Stephen. Seeing and approving Stephen's manners and especially admiring his continent life, Peter associated himself with his fellow-countryman. The two soon became intimate friends. Keeping aloof from worldly affairs, they led a life of spiritual recollection and gave themselves to devotional exercises with an ardent zeal. In their great fervor they recited daily all the hundred and fifty Psalms. Stephen and his companion soon decided to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. Following the custom of the time, they observed strict silence on their way, except for the daily recitation of the Psalter, from which exercise nothing could dissuade them. In Rome they visited the churches of Saints Peter and Paul as well as many other sanctuaries.⁴

³"Vita Sancti Petri Prioris Juliensis Puellarum Monasterii, et Monachi Molismensis," Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Parisii, 1854), tom. 185, col. 1257.

⁴William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum Anglorum", Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, col. 1287. In all probability, Stephen visited also Camaldoli and Vallumbrosa on his way to Rome. "Qu'il ait, au cours de ce pèlerinage, visité des sanctuaires célèbres comme Camaldoli, Vallombreuse...c'est très possible. En tout cas l'itinéraire qu'il suivit le mit certainement en relations avec des monastères vallombrosiens, et par l'intermédiaire d'Etienne Harding,

On their return to Burgundy a decisive event took place. Led by divine Providence, as the biographer of Saint Pron, a Cistercian monk, relates, the two stopped at the newly founded monastery of Molesme of which they had probably heard before. Finding the community of Molesme, under a saint's leadership, both fervent and exemplary, Stephen and his companion at once joined the monastery and found the peace their souls had so long sought.⁵

The abbey of Molesme in the valley of Langres had existed only since 1075. It owed its origin to a feudal lord, Hugh of Maligny, who with the consent of his family decided to give his property at Molesme to a religious community and entrusted a Benedictine named Robert--probably a kinsman--with the task of establishing the new monastery. Robert, since 1074 heading a group of hermits at nearby Colan, agreed, moved with his men to Molesme and became the abbot of the newly established foundation.⁶

The life of these pioneers was full of hardships. For the first four or five years the community encountered great difficulties in the struggle to procure the means of subsistence. After that period, however, conditions greatly improved, largely through donations made by the bishop of the diocese and the nobles of the vicinity who were much edified by the

Vallombreuse aurait pu exercer une notable influence sur Cîteaux." Bernard de Clairvaux. Edited by Commission d'Histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux (Paris, 1953), 61.

⁵"Vita Sancti Petri Prioris Juliensis," Patrologia Latina, tom. 185, col. 1259. Also William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum Anglorum," Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, col. 1287.

⁶Robert's biography, Vita Beati Roberti Primi Abbatis Molismensis et Cisterciensis, was written by a monk of Molesme around 1220, on the occasion of his canonization by Pope Honorius III. Kolumban Spahr, an Austrian Cistercian, published the critical edition of the Vita Beati Roberti and gave its evaluation in his book Das Leben des hl. Robert von Molesme. Eine Quelle zur Vorgeschichte von Cîteaux (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1944), 2 - 43.

austere life of the monks. The monastery's prosperity brought also an increase in vocations. Consequently, within ten years of its foundation, the abbey, possessing extensive tracts of land, several parishes and daughter-houses, emerged from its former state of extreme poverty to be one of the most flourishing Benedictine abbeys of the time.⁷

Since Molesme was not founded by an abbey, the new settlement could follow its own observance and customs as devised by abbot Robert. But when defining the monastery's way of life, Robert made the mistake of not following the stricter interpretation of Saint Benedict's rule. Thus alleviations crept in with fateful consequences. Meanwhile, Robert named the monk Alberic, a man of letters and in all likelihood one of the hermits at Colan, prior of the monastery; Stephen, who in due time completed his monastic training and was ordained priest, became the subprior. Both Alberic and Stephen were lovers of the rule which became their main study. They compared its prescriptions with the state of affairs at Molesme and came to the conclusion that there was a great discrepancy between the rule and the actual observance of it. Encouraged by like-minded monks, they set out with great zeal to remedy these conditions. But since they also attacked customs which the rest of the monks considered as having become legitimate through century-old practice, a storm broke loose and Alberic, the highest ranking exponent of the reform movement "had to suffer many insults, prison and beatings."⁸

⁷Gregor Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," Cistercienser-Chronik, 10 (1898), 34-36. Also Vom Cistercienser Orden (Bregenz, 1927), 9, by the same author.

⁸"Pro hoc negotio multa opprobria, carcerem et verbera perpressus fuerat." "Exordium Parvum," ix. in Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 67. For the antecedents see "Exordium Parvum," iii, *ibid.*, 63: "Viri isti apud molismum positi, sepius inter se...conquerebantur, videntes se ceterosque monachos...regulam sollempni professione servaturos promississe, eamque minime custodisse."

Those eager for a reform did not merely wish to correct the existing abuses; their ideal was the realization of Saint Benedict's rule in its full meaning, with no mitigations whatsoever. As could be foreseen, some of the monks vehemently opposed any idea of changes and innovations, but not all did. A small group was ready to accept the plan conceived by the reformers. The latter, in view of the strong opposition, soon realized their ideals could not be carried out at Molesme; so they decided to follow the only remaining alternative: to secede and found a new monastery. Time came when Robert had to be informed about these plans. Without his consent nothing could have been undertaken, for it would have been a violation of the rule, the restoration of which was the reformer's chief concern. Robert not only approved the proposals laid before him, but even declared his readiness to take an active part in their realization.⁹

The necessary preparations were immediately begun. Since the new settlement was more than an ordinary foundation, it seemed not only advisable but even necessary to obtain the permission of the Holy See for the enterprise. The *Exordium Parvum* records this important event: "In the year 1098 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Robert of blessed memory, the first abbot of the community of Molesme, in the diocese of Langres, and certain of the brethren from the same community appeared before the venerable Hugh, then legate

⁹"(Spiritus Sanctus) misit in corda quorundam fratrum, qui in coenobio quodam degebant, quod...Molismus vocatur. Hi itaque servi Dei...dum quotidianas Regulae lectiones in capitulo audirent, et aliud Regulam praecipere, atque aliud consuetudines Ordinis tenere perpenderant, gravissime contristabantur...transgressionem suam conquerebantur...considerantes...quod Regula quam modis omnibus perfecte servare cupiebant, praecipit corripere eum, qui sine permissione abbatis quidpiam facere praesumpserit, abbatem suum humiliter adeunt, de transgressionem Regulae querimoniam proponunt, voti sui ferventissimum desiderium pandunt, et ut ejus consilio pariter et auxilio, quod Spiritu sancto inspirante mente conceperant, perficere possint suppliciter precantur... abbas ille propositum servorum Dei laudat; et non solum consilium auxiliumque se praebiturum, verum etiam seipsum individuum comitem eorum in tam sancto proposito futurum firmissime pollicetur." "Exordium Magnum," x. *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 185bis, col. 1007.

of the Apostolic See and archbishop of the Church of Lyons. Before him they promised to arrange their life in the observance of the Holy Rule of Father Benedict, and begged therefore fervently that he give them his support as well as the strength of the Apostolic authority for the unhindered realization of this intention."¹⁰

The petitioners, "abbot Robert, and the brethren Alberic, Odo, John, Stephen, Letald and Peter as well as others" did not appear before the legate to complain about conditions in Molesme, for in that case the archbishop should have reprimanded abbot and prior alike for having been unable to maintain order and discipline in their monastery. On the contrary, they openly admitted that so far they observed the rule of saint Benedict poorly and neglectfully. But there, before the legate, they pledged themselves to follow the rule more strictly and more perfectly. Of course, they had to confess, this could not be done at Molesme.¹¹

The legate gladly espoused their wish. In his letter of approval, he praised the monks' intention and sanctioned their project of secession to a more suitable place with the following words: "Since it has been proven that because of many hindering circumstances you could not accomplish your aim in the aforementioned place, we--keeping in view the spiritual welfare of both parties, **namely** of the departing and of the remaining--consider that it would be expedient for you to retire to another place which the Divine

¹⁰"Anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo, beate memorie Robertus molismensis ecclesie in episcopatu lingonensi fundate primus abbas, et quidam ejusdem cenobii fratres, ad venerabilem hugoem tunc apostolice sedis legatum ac lugdunensis ecclesie archiepiscopum venerunt, vitam suam sub custodia sancte regule patris benedicti se ordinaturos pollicentes, et idcirco ad hoc liberius exequendum ut eis et sui iuvaminis apostoliceque auctoritatis robur porrigeret constanter flagitantes." "Exordium Parvum," i. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 62.

¹¹"Exordium Parvum," ii. loc. cit., 62.

Munificence will point out to you, and there serve the Lord undisturbedly in a more wholesome manner. Therefore, to you who presented yourselves...as well as all others who properly and by unanimous consent have decided to join you, we advise and commend to persevere in this holy endeavor which we, through the impression of our seal corroborate forever by the Apostolic authority."¹²

Some authors are inclined to attribute the selection of Cîteaux as a place for the new settlement to direct divine intervention. Saint Robert and his companions, they say, set out from Molesme and journeyed with no fixed plan 'til they heard a voice from above: "siste hic," "stay here". A critical analysis of extant sources, however, discredits this view of all historical value. For, the pioneers were undoubtedly wise men, so it was unlikely that they left Molesme with no ideas as to the site of the new establishment. Divine Providence, of course, aided them; it provided favorable circumstances. The duke of Burgundy, Odo, visited Molesme on several occasions, and was always accompanied by a group of noblemen. The viscount of Beaune may have been among their number, a fact of far-reaching consequences. On its way to Lyons, the small group of monks traversed the viscount's territory and he certainly must have inquired about the purpose of their journey, unless he already knew it. Thus it can well be imagined how the far-removed, worthless spot of land attracted the travellers' attent-

¹²"Quod (propositum) quia in loco predicto pluribus impediētibz causis constat adimpleri non posse: nos utriusque partis salutē, videlicet inde recedentium, atque illic remanentium: providentes, in locum alium quem vobis divina largitas designaverit, vos declinare, ibique salubrius atque quietius domino famulari, utile duximus fore. Vobis ergo tunc presentibus... sed et omnibus quos regulariter et communi consilio vobis sociare decreveritis. Hoc sanctum propositum servare et tunc consuluimus, et ut in hoc perseveretis precipimus et auctoritate apostolica per sigilli nostri impressionem in perpetuum confirmamus." "Exordium Parvum," ii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 62.

ion and was subsequently given to them. A cartulary of Cîteaux confirms this supposition and furnishes the following historical notice of the transaction: "Let it be known to everyone ..that Raynald, viscount of Beaune, with the assent of his wife, Hodierna, and their sons, Hugh, Humbert, Raynald ...with the view of obtaining remission of their and their ancestors' sins, deed over a part of their property at Cîteaux to the lord Robert and the brethren associated with him, and to his successors, for the purpose of inaugurating there a more strict and perfect observance of the rule of Saint Benedict than existed heretofore." The monks, therefore, knew the place on which they were going to establish their monastery, prior to their arrival, and as the Exordium Magnum explicitly states, "they happily started on their way to the hermitage which was named Cîteaux, a place which they, through the grace of God, already knew to be a suitable one for the realization of their plan."¹³

¹³According to Angelus Manrique, the famous Cistercian historian (1577-1649), divine intervention played a decisive part in the selection of Cîteaux: "Cistercij locum diuinitus ostensum Roberto, & sociis in noui Monasterij nouam fabricam, conueniunt omnes Auctores illius temporis: Dubium an in Molismo adhuc manentibus, an post discessum quaerentibus mansionem?... tradunt non infimae notae Auctores, Angli uterque, Matthaeus Paris, & Vvestius. Hi itinerantes stetisse aiunt in loco, qui inde Cistercius dictus est, nempe a voce coelitus audita. CISTAVS quod vernacula lingua sonat hic state. Ego ut diuinum responsum, sub his, aut aliis verbis certum credo." Cisterciensium seu Verius Ecclesiasticorum Annalium A Condito Cistercio, Tomus Primus: Continentis Ab Anno M. XCVIII. Vsque ad M.C. XLIV. Inclusive. (Lugduni, 1642), 9. Cited hereafter as Annales Cistercienses, I.--Gregor Müller and all modern historians disagree with Manrique and the authors mentioned by him. Vom Cistercienser Orden, 11. -- For the transaction between Raynald of Beaune and the monks see Manrique, op.cit., 9: "Notum sit omnibus...quod Raynaldus, Belnensis Vicecomes, et uxor eius Hodierna nomine, & eorum filij Hugo, Humbertus, Raynaldus...pro suorum peccatorum remissione antecessorumque suorum Domino Roberto, & fratribus, qui cum eo regulam sancti Benedicti arctius, ac perfectius, quam illuc usque tenuerant, observare cupiebant, contulerunt de praedio suo quod antiquitus Cistercium vocabatur, quantumcumque ipsis, & eorum successoribus." --The passage taken from the Exordium Magnum reads in the original text: "(abbas...et fratres)... ad locum quem proposito suo congruum jam ante per gratiam Domini praeviderant, ...ad eremum quae Cistercium dicebatur, alacriter tetenderunt." Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, col. 1009.

The Exordium Parvum gives no information concerning the day of the foundation; the Exordium Magnum, however, furnishes this important datum. According to its version, the new monastery was founded on the feast of Saint Benedict, March 21, 1098, which in that year coincided with Palm Sunday. These two mysteries of the day contain the nucleus of the ideal that animated the small group: Entrance into the Easter mystery of dying and rising with the Lord, as represented by the liturgy of Palm Sunday, and the complete following of Saint Benedict's rule.¹⁴

New Minster, Novum Monasterium, as the place was called 'til 1119, the year of the approbation of the Charter of Charity, was a lonely place, "situated in the diocese of Chalons....inhabited only by wild animals, since it was a wilderness of dense woods and thorny thickets, impenetrable for humans." It lay on the borders of Burgundy and Bresse, in the commune of Saint Nicholas and the parish of Villebichot. A swampy plain is formed by the basin of the Saône, which lies a short distance to the south, forming a junction with the tributaries Doubs and Deuthe. As the name Cistercium indicates, the new monastery was on this side of the third milestone (cis tertium /lapidem miliarium/) of the Roman road leading from Langres to Chalons-sur-Saône. The stone itself was at Dijon, some fifteen miles northward.¹⁵

¹⁴"Anno...ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo... duodecimo Kalendas Aprilis, solemni die natalis sanctissimi Benedicti, quem geminata laetitia tunc celebrem reddiderat, ob Dominicam Palmarum, quae in ipsum occurreret...Cisterciensis domus...exordium sumpsit." Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, col. 1009.

¹⁵Archdale A. King. Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters. (London, 1954), 3-5.--For other possible explanations of Cistercium see Gregor Müller, "Gründung der Abtei Cîteaux," Cistercienser-Chronik, 10(1898), 74-75. The description of the place is found in Exordium Parvum, iii: "(Qui locus) in episcopatu cabilonensi situs, et pro nemoris spinarumque tunc temporis opacitate accessui hominum insolitus, a solis feris inhabitabatur." Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 63.

The recapitulation of events preceding and--it may be said--necessitating the foundation of New Minster (Cîteaux) leads to a question of primary importance: the determination of the authorship of the Cistercian reform. The question could also thus be formulated: was Saint Robert who headed the group of monks seceding from Molesme, or Saint Alberic, the zealous champion of monastic renewal at the monastery of Molesme and successor of Robert after the latter's short sojourn at New Minster (Cîteaux), or Saint Stephen Harding whose genius perpetuated the Cistercian movement the author and chief instigator of the reform? The answer to it will illustrate Stephen Harding's role in the origin of the Cistercian reform.

Historians and present-day manuals generally attribute the origin of the Cistercian reform to Saint Robert of Molesme. Indeed, Saint Robert rendered invaluable services to this great undertaking. He approved the scheme of those monks who worked for a monastic renewal and, thus, gave an immense moral support to the reform party. He headed the group of monks seceding from Molesme, thus greatly facilitating the establishment of New Minster, whose first abbot he became. Lastly, abbot Robert left the new establishment only out of consideration for the Pope, the papal legate, and the monks of Molesme.¹⁶

Cistercian as well as other (mostly Benedictine) chroniclers of the twelfth century corroborate the view of the above mentioned historians. The Cistercian author of the Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem

¹⁶"Ego...censeo...prae aliis...Roberto Patri creatio prima conuenit, quippe primo factori totius Ordinis." Manrique, Annales Cistercienses, I, 6.--"Den Grund zum Zisterzienserorden legte der Benediktinerabt Robert von Molesme in der Diözese Langres, als er, unzufrieden mit seinen unbotmässigen Mönchen, 1098 in der Einode von Cîteaux (Cistercium) bei Dijon mit 20 Gefährten ein neues Reformkloster errichtete." Karl Bihlmeyer and Herman Tüchle, Kirchengeschichte (Paderborn, 1952), II, 221.

Monachum, composed around 1170, for example, thus writes on the subject:

"The founders of our Order recorded their deeds...These I relate in a brief summary...The abbot of Molesme...and some of his brethren frequently spoke and complained among themselves about the transgression of the rule ...For that reason they came to this solitude." The information given by Ordericus Vitalis, a contemporary Benedictine countryman of Stephen Harding (died 1143), also makes Robert the author of the Cistercian reform: "The venerable abbot Robert diligently studied the rule of Saint Benedict. Assembling the brethren, he addressed them in the following way: 'We, dear Brethren, made profession according to the rule of holy Father Benedict. But, in my opinion, we do not keep it in its integrity...Therefore I propose that we fully observe the rule of Saint Benedict, carefully avoiding deviations either to the right or to the left' ...The assembly of the monks disagreed...The abbot, remaining steadfast in his view, seceded from them with twelve like-minded (monks). He spent a long time in search for a suitable place for himself and his companions who...wished to observe the rule of Benedict...to the letter. Finally, Odo, the son of duke Henry of Burgundy, had compassion on them and donated to them an estate of the place called Cistercium." Robert of Thorigny, another Benedictine contemporary (died 1186), writes as follows: "Robert, having studied the rule of Saint Benedict to the letter, wished to persuade his disciples to live by the work of their hands...But they, holding fast to the customs which were observed in the monasteries of the West...said they would not renounce them; Robert, unyielding, left them with twenty-one monks who agreed with him."¹⁷

¹⁷"Auctores nostri Ordinis gesta sua scripserunt...eadem brevi summa...refero. Molismensis Abbas...et quidam fratres ejus saepius inter se...de transgressione Regulae...loquebantur, conquerebantur...propter hoc...ad hanc solitudinem...veniebant." Edmond Martène, and Ursin Durand, The-saurus Novus Anecdotorum (Parisiis, 1717), V, 1593.--"venerabilis Rodber-

All these assertions, however, exaggerate St. Robert's influence on the Cistercian reform movement. For neither the Exordium Parvum, the earliest official account of the foundation of New Minster (Cîteaux), nor any of the other contemporary documents of the Cistercian Order attribute the leading role to Robert, a fact hardly explainable should Ordericus Vitalis' information be correct. Moreover the Exordium Magnum explicitly states that Robert heard about the reform plans only when the reformers presented their problem to him and then joined their group "ad horam compunctus", "suddenly overcome by his emotions", i.e. his decision was not the result of long reflection. Besides, considering that Robert changed places so many times before he became abbot of Molesme, and recalling the papal legate's remark about Robert's "usual fickleness", recorded in the Exordium Parvum, the conclusion is easily reached that Robert was not the man to conceive and carry out such a bold and even revolutionary enterprise as was the foundation of New Minster (Cîteaux). Finally, the circumstance, too, that both the Exordium Parvum and all the other Cistercian authors of the twelfth

tus...Abbas...Sancti Benedicti Regulam diligenter perscrutatus est, convocans fratres, sic affatus est: 'Nos, fratres charissimi, secundum Normam sancti Patris Benedicti professionem fecimus. Sed, ut mihi videtur, non eam ex integro tenemus...Laudo igitur ut omnino Regulam Sancti Benedicti teneamus, caventes ne ad dexteram vel ad sinistram ab ea deviemus...Monachorum chorus non acquievit...Abbas, in sua satis pertinax sententia, recessit ab eis, cum duodecim sibi assentientibus. Diuque locum quaesivit idoneum sibi suisque sodalibus, qui sancti decreverant Regulam Benedicti...ad litteram servare penitus. Tandem Odo, filius Henrici, Burgundiae dux, illis compassus est, et praedium in loco qui Cistercius dicitur...largitus est.' Ordericus Vitalis, "Historia Ecclesiastica", iii, 8. Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Parisii, 1890), tom. 188, cols. 636-640.--"Robertus abbas...Regulam sancti Benedicti perscrutatus ad litteram, voluit persuadere discipulis suis ut labore manuum suarum viverent...At illi...nitentes consuetudinibus quae in occidui orbis monasteriis observabantur...dicebant se ab eis non recedere...Robertus...in sua sententia permanens, recessit ab eis cum viginti et uno sibi assentientibus." Robert of Thorigny, "Tractatus de Immutatione Ordinis Monachorum," i, 1. Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne (Parisii, 1855), tom. 202, cols. 309-310.

century leave Robert unmentioned in the catalog of the abbots of Cîteaux (thus expressing their misgivings about his return to Molesme) militates against crediting Robert with the principal role in the reform movement. For, had Robert indeed been the head of the movement, the Exordium Parvum undoubtedly would have mentioned it, even if it disapproved his return to Molesme. A modern biographer of Saint Robert, therefore, rightly concedes: "Let us get resigned to the fact of refusing to Saint Robert the authorship of Cîteaux" and one may safely accept his conclusion.¹⁸

Was, perhaps, Saint Alberic the author of the Cistercian reform? Gregor Müller, the great Cistercian historian (1842-1934), answers in the affirmative. So does the Exordium Magnum. Alberic unquestionably played an eminent role in the reform movement, and, as was seen, suffered for his endeavors "many insults, prison and beatings". The Exordium Parvum leaves no doubt about this. Still, it is difficult to suppose that Stephen Harding, the author of the Exordium Parvum, made no mention of Alberic's principal role, had the latter really been the soul of the movement. Moreover, when the reform movement began to take shape, Alberic was already well advanced in years, and men usually do not fight for radical reforms in their

¹⁸"Résignons-nous à refuser à saint Robert l'initiative de Cîteaux." Seraphin Lenssen, "Saint Robert Fondateur de Cîteaux," Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem, 4(1937), 95. The information given by the above quoted chroniclers is, therefore, at times highly inaccurate and must be discounted as far as it disagrees with the Exordium Parvum.--The Exordium Magnum's account reads: "Servi Dei...abbatem suum humiliter adeunt, de transgressione Regulae quaerimoniam proponunt, voti sui ferventissimum desiderium pandunt...ad horam compunctus abbas ille propositum servorum Dei laudat; et...seipsum individuum comitem eorum in tam sancto proposito futurum firmissime pollicetur." Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, col. 1007. --The legate's remarks are found in Exordium Parvum, vii: "Hugo lugdunensis ecclesie servus. Karissimo fratri roberto lingonensium episcopo salutem...remittimus eum (Robertum) dilectioni vestre. ut molismensi ecclesie illum restituatis. ita tamen ut si deinceps eandem ecclesiam solita levitate deseruerit, nullus ei substituatur." Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 64-65.

old age. (It is quite understandable, though, that the furor of the monks opposed to salutary changes fell upon Alberic, for the latter indeed strongly advocated the necessity of a reform and was its highest ranking promoter.) For these reasons Alberic cannot be considered the originator of the Cistercian reform.¹⁹

The exclusion of Robert and Alberic leaves only one man to whom the origin of the reform is to be attributed: Stephen Harding. This, then, makes the silence of the Exordium Parvum understandable; Stephen Harding, the author of the document, abstained in his humility from all personal references. On the point in question he, therefore, simply says: "These men, while still living in Molesme and inspired by divine grace often spoke, complained, and lamented among themselves over the transgression of the rule of Saint Benedict, the father of monks. They realized that they themselves and

¹⁹Gregor Müller thus advocates Alberic's cause: "Zum Prior hatte Abt Robert den Mönch Alberich ernannt...Je mehr sich dieser in das Studium der Regel...vertiefte und mit deren Vorschriften das Leben in der Abtei (von Molesme) verglich und erkannte, dass es damit nicht in befriedigendem Einklang stand, desto eifriger war er bemüht, ihnen Geltung zu verschaffen...Da er aber auch Bräuche und Gewohnheiten beseitigen wollte...brach der Sturm los...Alberich wollte aber mehr als blosse Missbräuche abstellen; sein Ideal war, die Vorschriften der Regel...in ihrem vollen Umfang, ohne jegliche Milderung zur Geltung zu bringen...Eine Anzahl (der Mönche) zeigte sich bereit auf den Plan einzugehen, den ihnen der Prior entwickelte. Besonders begeistert dafür zeigte sich der Mönch Stephan...Da Alberich und Stephen erkannten, dass an die Ausführung ihres Planes in Molesme nicht zu denken war, so beschlossen sie, ihn an einem anderen Orte zu verwirklichen. Es war nun aber auch an der Zeit, ihre Absicht dem Abte zu offenbaren...Nachdem der Abt Robert den Plan reiflich erwogen hatte, erklärte er sich...bereit, an dessen Verwirklichung sich zu beteiligen." Vom Cistercienser Orden, 9-10.--For the Exordium Parvum's testimony see supra, 8. --The information given by the Exordium Magnum, I, 17 is found in Tiburtius Humpfner, "Der bisher in den gedruckten Ausgaben vermisste Teil des Exordium Magnum S. O. Cist.," Cistercienser-Chronik, 20(1908), 100: "Destituta novella nove religionis ecclesia spirituali patre...virum nomine albericum sibi in abbatem promoverunt...qui...multum...laboraverat, ut fratres ad illum de Molismo transmigrarent locum." In chapter 21 of the same book we read: "Vir autem domini albericus cystericiensis cenobii per gratiam dei primus abbas cuiusque precipue labore et industria. fratres ad illum transmigraverunt locum...opprobria multa...verbera et carcerem sustinuerat." Humpfner, loc. cit., 104.

the other monks had not at all observed it, even though they had promised by solemn vow to follow the rule...This was the reason...why they came into this solitude."²⁰

Other arguments positively corroborate the testimony given by the Exordium Parvum. The Exordium Magnum, for example, reveals the following about Stephen's role in the reform movement: "Whenever there had been a discussion about the renewal of the Order, Stephen worked with the most ardent zeal, first among the first ones, and vigorously urged that the place and the order of Cîteaux be instituted."²¹

Helinand of Froidmont, a Cistercian author of the early thirteenth century, explicitly states that Stephen Harding was the originator of the reform movement that led to the foundation of Cîteaux and the rise of the Cistercian Order. "From the monastery of Molisme twenty-one monks went with...Robert to Cîteaux...It belongs to the glory of England that she brought forth a man who was the founder and the mediator of this order. He was Harding...When he was told to do certain things not mentioned by the rule, he set out to investigate their motivating reason and disputed so long with one or the other about some superfluous customs that he won the abbot himself and twenty-two others for his opinion. Thus they came to Cistellae."²²

²⁰"viri isti apud molismum positi sepius inter se dei gratia aspirati de transgressione regule beati benedicti patris monachorum loquebantur. conquerebantur, contristabantur. videntes se ceterosque monachos hanc regulam sollempni professione servaturos promississe. eamque minime custodisse...propter hoc...ad hanc solitudinem...veniebant." "Exordium Parvum," iii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 63.

²¹"Cum verbum innovandae religionis...motum fuisset, ipse (Stephanus) primus inter primos ferventissimo studio laboravit ac...institit, ut locus et ordo Cisterciensis institueretur." "Exordium Magnum," i, 15. Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, col. 1010.

²²"Ex coenobio Molismensi viginti et unus monachi cum...Roberto Cistercium devenerunt...Pertinet...ad gloriam Angliae, quod talem virum genuerit, qui hujus religionis auctor fuit et mediator. Is fuit Hardingus...

Helinand received his information from William of Malmesbury whose testimony should be accepted without hesitation. According to William of Malmesbury, "it is England's glory that she brought forth such a man who was the author and mediator of this order. His is ours, and in his youth he conducted his first (religious) warfare in our country. Therefore, since we are not filled with jealousy, we so much more obligingly esteem his merits, the more we consider him as one of ours. Moreover, I wish to bring up his praises, for it is a sign of greatness if you see something good in another which you do not perceive in yourself. He was Harding."²³

Gerald of Wales, an English Benedictine who lived in the second half of the twelfth century, confirms the information given by William of

Cum ei quaedam proponerentur observanda, quae non erant de Regula, coepit eorum rationem inquirere, et tandiu de quibusdam superfluis cum uno et alio disputavit, ut abbatem ipsum et alios 22 in suam sententiam induceret. Igitur Cistellas venera." "Chronicon," xxxvii. Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne (Parisiis, 1855), tom. 212, cols. 990-991.--William of Malmesbury thus reproduces Stephen's argumentation: "Ratione supremus rerum Auctor omnia fecit, ratione omnia regit; ratione rotatur poli fabrica, ratione ipsa etiam quae dicuntur errantia torquentur sidera, ratione moventur elementa; ratione et aequilibrata debet nostra subsistere natura. Sed quia per desidiam saepe a ratione decidit, leges quondam multae latae; novissime per beatum Benedictum regula divinitus processit quae fluxum naturae ad rationem revocaret; in qua etsi habentur quaedam quorum rationem penetrare non sufficio, auctoritate tamen acquiescendum censeo. Ratio enim et auctoritas divinorum scriptorum, quamvis dissonare videantur, unum idemque sunt; nam cum Deus nihil sine ratione creaverit, et recreaverit; quo fieri potest ut credam sanctos patres, sequaces scilicet Dei, quicquam praeter rationem edicere, quasi soli auctoritati fidem debeamus adhibere? Itaque illorum, quae praecudit, aut rationem aut auctoritatem afferte. Quamvis non multum debeat credi, si quid humanae rationis possit allegari, quod aequipollentibus argumentis valeat enervari. Quapropter ex regula quae ratione et auctoritate nixa, utpote omnium iustorum spiritu dictata est, date exempla; quod si non potestis, frustra profitemini illius praerogativam cujus contemptis sequi doctrinam." "Gesta Regum Anglorum," iv. Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, cols. 1287-1288.

²³"ad Angliae gloriam pertineat, quae talem virum produxerit qui hujusce religionis fuerit auctor et mediator. Noster ille, et nostra puer in palestra primi aevi tirocinium cucurrit. Quapropter, si non invidi sumus, eo illius bona complectimur gratiosius quo agnoscimus propinquius; simul et laudes ejus attollere mihi est animus, quia ingenua mens est si bonum in alio probes quod in te non esse suspices. Is fuit Hardingus.. "Gesta Regum Anglorum," iv. Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, col. 1287.

Malmesbury and Helinand of Froidmont: "Inspired by God...and animated by the desire to serve God in a more perfect way, four monks of an English monastery of the Cluniac observance near Sherborne in the diocese of Salisbury, crossed the French Sea some years before our times...After long wandering, they settled at...Cîteaux...One of the four who founded the order, as it is said, was their first abbot. His name was Harding."²⁴

After such lengthy considerations it is safe to arrive at a conclusion regarding the authorship of the Cistercian reform movement. The Exordium Parvum's silence on the subject, the weighty reasons militating against attributing the first place to Saint Robert and Saint Alberic as well as the manifold Cistercian and other contemporary testimony given in favor of Stephen Harding leave no doubt in this important question: it was Stephen Harding who started the Cistercian movement, became the soul of it and, finally, brought it to a successful conclusion. And this fact alone is a sufficient proof for Stephen Harding's greatness.

²⁴"Quatuor...monachi de quodam Anglicano Cluniacensis ordinis coenobio apud Sireburniam scilicet diocesis Salisburiensis, paucis annorum ante tempora nostra...divinitus inspirati...Deoque perfectius inserviendum, mare Gallicum transierunt...longe lateque permeando...parvenerunt...Cistercium...Unus autem illorum quatuor, ut dicunt, qui ordinem coeperunt, cui nomen Hardinc, primus eorum abbas fuit." Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1861-1891), IV, 111.

CHAPTER II

FIRST YEARS AT CÎTEAUX

As the Exordium Parvum informs us, the monks arriving from Molsme found shelter at the new foundation, but the latter satisfied their needs only temporarily. So the monks "after they had cut down the woods and removed the dense thorny thickets, they began to build a monastery there under the approval of the Bishop of Chalons and with the permission of the landlord." The archbishop of Lyons did not forget his protégés; he heard about their departure to Cîteaux and strongly recommended them to the benevolence of the landlord. In consequence "Lord Odo, the duke of Burgundy, pleased with their holy fervor, and having been requested in a letter by the aforementioned Legate of the Holy Roman Church, completed with his own means the wooden monastery which they had begun, and provided them there abundantly for a long time with everything necessary, with land as well as with live-stock."²⁵

The first monastery was a simple wooden building and served as a refectory and general living room. A ladder led to the floor above which was the dormitory. The oratory was, according to Manrique, badly construct-

²⁵"memoris et spinarum densitate precisa ac remota monasterium ibidem voluntate cabilonensis episcopi. et consensu illius cuius ipse locus erat. construere ceperunt...domnus odo dux burgundie sancto fervore eorum delectatus. sancteque romane ecclesie prescripti legati litteris rogatus. ut monasterium ligneum quod inceperunt de suis totum consummavit. illosque inibi in omnibus necessariis diu procuravit. et terris ac pecoribus abunde sublevavit." "Exordium Parvum," iii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 63.

ed and very rough. It was, however, soon replaced by a stone church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, between the end of 1098 and July 1099 by the bishop of the diocese, Walter of Souches, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the viscount of Beaune, and other nobles.²⁶

The monks called their new establishment Novum Monasterium, Newminster, New Monastery, which denomination prevailed 'til the approbation of the Charter of Charity in 1119. As has been seen, the settlers found a generous benefactor in the person of duke Odo of Burgundy, who bought the rest of Raynald of Beaune's possessions and gave it to the monks. The duke, whose second son Henry joined the community, donated also his vineyard at Mersault to the monks around Christmas, 1098. This may explain why in later times duke Odo of Burgundy was considered and called the founder of Cîteaux.²⁷

Meanwhile an important question had to be settled: the election of a new abbot. The logical choice was Robert, who resigned his office at Molesme and now became the first abbot of the new foundation. As the Exordium Parvum relates, "the abbot who had come here, upon the command of the above mentioned Legate, received from the Bishop of the diocese the shepherd's staff together with the charge of the monks, and made the brethren who had come with him affirm in the proper manner their stability at the same place." The profession of the monks had the following text: "The profession and stability which I made in your presence at the Monastery of Molesme, the same, I affirm before God and his Saints, I will keep in this place New Minster, in obedience to you and to your successors lawfully

²⁶Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 10. --See also Othon J. Ducorneau, Les Origines Cisterciennes (Ligugé, 1933), 60-61.

²⁷Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 13.

appointed." Thus, in the words of the Exordium Parvum, "that growing monastery, through Apostolic authority, rose canonically to an abbey." The monk Alberic became once more the prior, and Stephen Harding was appointed subprior.²⁸

This question having been successfully settled, an unexpected difficulty arose. The monks of Molesme and even their new abbot, feeling the loss of abbot Robert and realizing the damage caused to their reputation by the latter's secession, sent an embassy to Pope Urban II in Rome begging him to reinstate Robert to his former office. The Pope did not easily give his consent, for Robert left Molesme with his legate's approval but, finally, "moved to yield by their importunacy...ordered the Legate, namely the venerable Hugh, that the same Abbot, if it could be done, should return and the monks who loved the hermitage might stay there in peace." The Pope, as can be seen, did not order Robert's return, as asserted by so many historians, but left the decision to the legate. The legate, a sincere friend of Newminster (Cîteaux), disinclined to assume all responsibility in the matter, decided to invite the abbot and a number of monks to the city of Anse where a council of four bishops, Norigundus of Autun, Walter of Chalons, Barandus of Macon, and Pontius of Belley, and of the abbots Peter of Tournus, Jarento of Dijon, Jocerandus of Ainay, and Peter, papal chamberlain, was supposed to examine the case. This meeting took place at

²⁸"abbas qui advenerat ab episcopo illius diocesis virgam pastorem cum cura monachorum iussu predicti legati suscepit. fratresque qui secum advenerant. in eodem loco stabilitatem regulariter firmare fecit. sicque ecclesia illa in abbaciam canonice apostolicaque auctoritate crescendo surrexit." "Exordium Parvum," iv. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 63.--The text of the profession is found in ms. 4221, folio 2v at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and was written in the first half of the twelfth century.

the beginning of June, 1099 and decided in favor of Robert's return to Molesme. The legate determined the modalities of Robert's return in a long letter addressed to Bishop Robert of Langres. Robert, according to this letter preserved in the Exordium Parvum, should resign his office into the hands of the bishop of Chalons and declare the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) free of the profession made to him. Those, however, who wished to return with him, the legate gave a free choice to do so. As to the sacred vessels and the vestments which were brought from Molesme, the legate ordered that "all remain safely with the brethren of the New Monastery...with the exception of a certain breviary which, upon the approval of the monks of Molesme, they may keep until the celebration of the feast of Saint John the Baptist, so that it may be copied." And so "Robert returned with a few monks who did not find the hermitage to their liking."²⁹

Robert's return to Molesme diminished the number of the pioneers but not their determination. "Deprived of its shepherd, the community of Cîteaux assembled and through a regular election they elevated a certain brother by the name of Alberic to be their abbot. He was a man of letters, well versed in both divine and human sciences, and a lover of the Rule and the brethren." The Exordium Parvum also states that Alberic had taken over the shepherd's office very reluctantly. He probably reminded the brethren

²⁹"Quorum importunitate motus papa. mandavit legato suo venerabili scilicet hugoni. ut si fieri posset idem abbas reverteretur, et monachi heremum diligentes in pace consisterent." "Exordium Parvum," v. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 64. --Details of the synod of Anse are found in Manrique, Annales Cistercienses, I, 13. --The legate's letter is published in the "Exordium Parvum," vii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 64-66.

of his advanced age and may have preferred Stephen Harding's election.³⁰

Although from the words of the Exordium Parvum we gather that Molesme and Newminster (Cîteaux) "due to Apostolic ruling...remained in peace and in complete freedom," in reality things were different. The monks of Molesme, not satisfied with Robert's return, continued to agitate against the new foundation, causing much harm to the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux). In their distress and probably on the advice of the archbishop of Lyons, the latter sent two monks, John and Ilbodus to Rome in order to procure a letter of protection from Pope Paschal II. Equipped with recommendations from the two cardinal legates, John and Benedict, then in the country, and from archbishop Hugh of Lyons and bishop Walter of Chalons, the two monks began their journey. The archbishop thought the monks' petition was justified since "the brethren from Molesme and some other monks from the neighborhood do not cease to annoy and disturb them, thinking that in the eyes of the world they are valued less and looked upon with contempt if the world will take notice what exceptional and new kind of monks are living in their midst."³¹

The two envoys met the Pope at Troia in the Capitanata. Paschal II granted their request and issued on October 19th, 1100, a papal letter of protection named after its initial words Desiderium quod or, more commonly, the "Roman Privilege." In this privilege the Pope ordered that the place

³⁰"Viduata igitur suo pastore cisterciensis ecclesia convenit, ac regulari electione quendam fratrem albericum nomine in abbatem sibi promovit. virum scilicet litterarum. in divinis et humanis satis gnarum. amatorem regule et fratrum." "Exordium Parvum," ix. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 67.

³¹"molismensis ecclesie fratres. et quidam alii adjacentes monachi. eos infestare et inquietare non desinunt. estimantes se viliores et despectiores haberi apud seculum. se isti quasi singulares et novi monachi inter eos habitare videantur." "Exordium Parvum," xii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 68.

chosen by the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) "in order to live in monastic tranquillity, be secure and free from any annoyance by all men and that an abbey may exist there forever and be particularly sheltered through the protection of the Apostolic See, not impairing the canonical reverence to the Church of Chalons." The Pope even threatened with sanctions: "should in the future an archbishop or bishop, an emperor or king, a prince or a duke, a count or viscount, a judge or any other clerical or secular person knowingly dare to counteract this our constitution, and upon two or three reprimands not make amends for his mistake through adequate satisfaction, he shall be deprived of the powers and honor of his dignity and it should be known that he is guilty before the divine judgement."³²

Several medieval and modern historians maintained that the Roman Privilege actually exempted Newminster (Cîteaux) from the jurisdiction of the local bishop. Others, disagreeing with the formers' assumption, pointed out there is a distinction between apostolic protection and exemption, and that the first does not necessarily mean or include the second. The document issued by the Pope was not more than a letter of protection, and such letters were given to other monasteries, too. Moreover, the words "not impairing the canonical reverence to the Church of Chalons" clearly indicate there was no question about exemption, a condition which was not

³²"Locum igitur illum quem inhabitandum pro quiete monastica elegistis. ab omnium mortalium molestiis tutum ac liberum fore sancimus. et abbatiam illic perpetuo haberi ac sub apostolice sedis tutela specialiter protegi. salva cabilonensis ecclesie canonica reverentia." The Pope's sanction reads in the original: "si qui in crastinum archiepiscopus aut episcopus. imperator aut rex. princeps aut dux. comes aut vicecomes. iudex. aut ecclesiastica quelibet secularisve persona. hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens. contra eam venire temptaverit. secundo tertiove commonita. si non satisfactione congrua emendaverit. potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat. reumque se divino iudicio existere cognoscat." "Exordium Parvum," xiv. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 70-71.

to come before the thirteenth century. Notwithstanding, since even bishops were prohibited to interfere with the customs of Newminster (Cîteaux), the Roman Privilege may be considered a definite step toward exemption.³³

The three letters of recommendation sent to the Pope on behalf of the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) unanimously testified that life at the new foundation was in strict accordance with the prescription of the rule of Saint Benedict. To safeguard the continuance of regular observance, abbot Alberic laid down certain rules which were called Institutum monachorum cisterciensium de Molismo venientium, Statutes of the Cistercian monks who departed from Molesme, which became the fundament and pattern for future legislation. Although these statutes were drawn up under abbot Alberic, in their present form they are redacted by the author of the Exordium Parvum. Stephen Harding, whose exceptional ability to draw up statutes became evident some two decades later. The ordinances of Saint Alberic may be grouped under the following headings:

a. The means of subsistence for the community. As to clothing and food, everything unnecessary should be given up. The monks therefore "rejected what was contrary to the Rule, namely wide-sleeved habits, furs, linen shirts, cowls and drawers, combs and blankets, mattresses, a wide variety of dishes in the refectory as well as fat and everything else which is opposed to the Rule."³⁴

³³"Es war nur ein Schutzbrief wie andere Klöster deren auch besaßen; er machte den Konvent nicht exemt gegenüber dem Bischof, was auch durch die Worte 'salva cabilonensis ecclesie canonica reverentia' deutlich erklärt wird. Da aber selbst den Bischöfen verboten wird, gegen die Bräuche und Einrichtungen in Cîteaux etwas zu unternehmen, so können wir darin immerhin einen Ansatz zur späteren Exemption erkennen." Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 16.

³⁴"reicientes a se quicquid regule refragabatur. froccos videlicet et pellicias. ac staminia. caputia quoque ac femoralia. pectines et coopertoria. stramina lectorum. ac diversa ciborum in refectorio fercula. sagimen etiam et cetera omnia que puritati regule adversabantur." "Exordium Parvum," xv. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 71.

b. The monastic possessions and sources of income. In the Middle Ages no monastery was able to exist without sufficient landed property. Newminster (Cîteaux) received its land from Raynald of Beaune, and the duke of Burgundy completed the donation. There were, however, other means by which a monastery's possessions could be increased and developed; the statutes of Saint Alberic indicate of what a nature they were. "Since they could not find either in the Rule or in the life of Saint Benedict that this teacher ever possessed churches, altars and offerings, burial places or tithes of other people, or bakeries or mills or farmhouses or serfs or that women had ever entered his monastery, or that anybody was ever buried there...they renounced all that." The monks, thus, decided to have oratories rather than churches, for they thought direct contact with the faithful was contrary to the rule of Saint Benedict. Through this wise ordinance many disturbances with other religious and with the secular clergy could be avoided, and the spread of the Cistercian reform into different dioceses was greatly facilitated. Also, in those days, kings, ecclesiastics and noblemen liked to be buried in monasteries, either in the cemetery or in the church, and gave rich gifts to monasteries for such a favor. In the interest of monastic discipline and peaceful relationship with the secular clergy, Saint Alberic rather renounced to such an advantage. The categorical refusal of such forms of income, however, did not exclude every kind of income as the statutes show: "They also wanted to take on landed properties which lay removed from human dwellings, as well as vineyards and meadows and woods and waters in order to install mills, but only for their own use, and because of the fishing, also to keep horses and cattle and various things that are needed and useful to men."³⁵

³⁵"quia nec in regula nec in vita sancti benedicti eundem doctorem legebant possedissee ecclesias. vel altaria. seu oblationes. aut sepulturas. vel decimas aliorum hominum. seu furnos. vel molendina. aut villas. vel

c. Manual labor. This usually meant work on the field by which the monks procured their daily bread, and was a logical consequence of the preceding ordinance. Saint Benedict stated in chapter 48 of his rule that his followers are only then "truly monks when they live by the labor of their hands, like our fathers and the apostles." His spiritual sons at Newminster (Cîteaux) desired to follow his instructions also in this point. In the words of the statutes: "I account it the dignity of the monk who possesses his lands that he may live by laboring both through his own effort and that of his animals." This ordinance was of the greatest importance for the future, for wherever Cistercians made a settlement, they soon changed the wilderness into arable and fertile land, as was attested even by their critics.³⁶

d. The guest department. Manual labor was not only introduced for the sole purpose of procuring the means of subsistence to the monastery, but also to enable the monks to give alms to the poor and needy and to practice hospitality. Therefore "the new soldiers of Christ, poor themselves as Christ was poor...began to consult with one another, how, with what work or occupation, they should provide in this world for themselves as well as

rusticos. nec etiam feminas monasterium eius intrasse. nec mortuos ibidem... sepelisse. ideo hec omnia abdicaverunt...(diffinierunt) suscepturos quoque terras ab habitatione hominum remotas. et vineas et prata et silvas. aquasque ad faciendos molendinos. ad proprios tamen usus et ad piscationem et equos peccoraque diversa que necessitati hominum utilia." "Exordium Parvum," xv. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 72.

³⁶"tunc vere monachi sunt, si labore manuum suarum vivunt, sicut et patres nostri et apostoli." The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. Justin McCann, 110. Gerald of Wales wrote in 1138: "Give these monks a naked moor or a wild wood; then let a few years pass away and you will find not only beautiful churches but dwellings of men built around them." "Itinerarium Cambriae," Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1861-1891), vi, 45.--See also "Exordium Parvum," xv: "in hoc compoto personam monachi qui terras suas possidet. unde et per se. et per peccora sua laborando vivat." Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 72.

for their arriving guests, rich and poor alike, who after the Rule were to be welcomed as Christ."³⁷

e. The admission of laybrothers. Realizing the scarcity of their number which on account of the monks' obligation to be present at the Divine Office would have rendered impossible effective self-support by manual labor, the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) resolved to admit laybrothers. This ordinance, rather daring at the time, helped to bridge over class differences in the twelfth century and led, gradually, to the final disappearance of serfdom. In the words of the statutes: "Since they realized that without their help they would be unable to fulfill perfectly the precepts of the Rule day and night, they decided to admit unlettered men as laybrothers with the approval of the bishop and to treat them in life and death as their own, except for the rights reserved for choir monks."³⁸

f. The foundation of new monasteries. The monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) still struggling with difficulties common to all new undertakings, confiding in Divine Providence, were convinced their work of reform would spread and bring abundant fruit. Therefore, "since it was known to those holy men that Saint Benedict had built monasteries not in towns or in fortified places or in villages, but in places removed from the traffic of men, they promised to follow the same, and as he installed twelve together with a father abbot in each of the newly erected monasteries, so they declared

³⁷"novi milites xpi cum paupere xpo pauperes. inter se tractare quo ingenio quove artificio seu quo exercitio. in hac vita se hospitesque divites et pauperes supervenientes. quos ut xpm suscipere precipit regula. sustentarent." "Exordium Parvum," xv. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 72.

³⁸"Tuncque diffinierunt se conversos laicos barbatos licentia episcopi sui suscepturos. eosque in vita et morte excepto monachatu ut semetipsos tractaturos...quia sine adminiculo istorum non intelligebant se plenarie die sive nocte precepta regula posse servare." Supra, 37.

their wish to proceed in the same manner."³⁹

Another important event during abbot Alberic's administration is equally linked to the person of Stephen Harding. As the history of the foundation of Newminster (Cîteaux) reveals, the monks seceding from Molesme endeavored to restore the rule of Saint Benedict in its original purity. Following the words of Saint Benedict, they considered the chanting of the Divine Office their most important occupation. Accordingly, they spared no effort to procure the liturgical books necessary for divine worship. They soon acquired a beautiful copy of the Bible, commonly called the Bible of Saint Stephen, for it was the latter who revised and corrected it according to the original text and old Vulgate manuscripts. The question whether Stephen Harding possessed the necessary qualifications for such an undertaking is justified but, nevertheless, purely academic. For Stephen received his higher education in Paris which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had several famous schools, such as the schools of Notre Dame, of the abbey of Saint Genieve and of the monastery of Saint Victor. The study of Holy Scripture occupied an eminent place in the curriculum of these schools, consequently, Stephen Harding had unlimited opportunities to deepen himself in the study of Holy Scripture.⁴⁰

For his undertaking Stephen procured several Bibles from different monasteries and churches in the neighborhood. Among these manuscripts he

³⁹"Quia etiam beatum benedictum non in civitatibus nec in castellis aut in villis. sed in locis a frequentia populis remotis cenobia construxisse sancti viri illi sciebant: idem se emulari promittebant. Et sicut ille monasteria constructa per duodenos monachos adiuncto patre abbate disponebat: sic se acturos confirmabant." "Exordium Parvum," xv. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 72.

⁴⁰Tiburtius Humpfner, "Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding," Cistercienser-Chronik, 29(1917), 74. -- See also Georg Schmid, Geschichte der Erziehung (Stuttgart, 1892), II, 373.

found one which greatly differed from all the other copies and was also longer. This became his model. Stephen caused it to be copied and distributed in four volumes. The copying having been completed Stephen was greatly surprised when he noticed the difference between the copied text and the other manuscripts, since, as he well knew, all had their common origin in the Vulgate, Saint Jerome's translation from the Hebrew and Chaldean original. In order to determine the correct reading, he consulted all available manuscripts and even sought the aid of Hebrew scholars, well versed in the Old Testament. Thus he succeeded in re-establishing the Latin text of the Old Testament in close conformity with the Hebrew and Chaldean texts. However, instead of transcribing the entire Bible, a colossal task, he could by no means contemplate, he contented himself with the erasing of faulty passages and replacing them by the corresponding corrected texts. Any blanks after erasure were left unfilled. Even at the present day these corrections as well as the traces of the erasures are quite distinguishable from the rest of the manuscript. This Bible is today at the Municipal Library at Dijon in France (ms. 12-15). At the end of the second volume (ms. 13, folio 150v) we find a letter of Stephen Harding called Nota S. Stephani which gives us information about the origin of this Bible. From this historic note we also learn that "In the year 1109 of the Incarnation of Our Lord this Book was completed while Stephen, second abbot of the monastery of Cîteaux was ruling."⁴¹

⁴¹The Nota S. Stephani reads as follows: "Fratres STEPHANUS. Novi monasterii abbas, et praesentibus et futuris servis Dei salutem. Hanc historiam scribere disponentes, inter plurimos libros quos de diversis ecclesiis congregavimus ut veraciorem sequeremur, in quendam fere ab omnibus multum dissonantem iniepinus. Et quia illum pleniorum caeteris invenimus, fidem ei accomodantes, hanc historiam, secundum quod in eodem libro invenimus, scripsimus. Qua digesta, non modice de dissonantia historiaram turbati sumus, quia hoc plena docet ratio, ut quod ab uno interprete, videlicet beato Hieronymo, quem, caeteris interpretibus omissis, nostrates jamjamque susceperant, de uno Hebraicae veritatis fonte translatus est, unum debeat sonare. Sunt tamen quidam Veteris Testamenti libri, qui non de Hebraico, sed de

The individual volumes of the Bible were copied by different persons and they consist of four large volumes in folio of unequal dimensions. The contents are distributed in the following way: Volume One contains the Pentateuch, Joshua, The Judges and Ruth. It is written on twelfth century parchment, has 115 folios in two columns and its size is 474x326 mm. The titles have everywhere beautiful initials, especially in the book of Genesis. The miniatures in the Bible are said to be related to the Carolingian art of the great abbey of Artois, and also to the Anglo-Norman art of the Winchester school, and to the Irish and Northumbrian art of the eleventh century. The whole volume, bound in goffered velum, bears in the middle the Superexlibris with the coat-of-arms of Cîteaux in gold. On the first folio a later interpolation can be found: Liber Sancte Marie Cistercii. Volume Two, numbering 150 pages with two columns each, has first a mnemonic poem about the order and abbreviations of the individual sacred books. Then follow the Books of the Kings, Isias, Jeremias, The Lamentations of Jeremias, Ezechiel,

Chaldaico sermone ab eodem nostro interprete sunt translati: quia sic eos apud Judaeos invenit, sicut ipsemet in prologo super Daniele scribit, nosque illos sicut caeteros libros secundum ejus translationem suscepimus. Unde nos multum de discordia nostrorum librorum, quos ab uno interprete suscepimus, admirantes, Judaeos quosdam in sua Scriptura peritos adivimus, ac diligentissime lingua Romana inquisivimus de omnibus illis Scripturarum locis, in quibus illae partes et versus, quos in praedicto nostro exemplari inveniebamus, et jam in hoc opere nostro inserebamus, quosque in alijs multis historiis Latinis non inveniebamus. Qui suos libros plures coram nobis revolventes, et in locis illis ubi eos rogabamus, Hebraicam, sive Chaldaicam scripturam Romanis verbis nobis exponentes, partes vel versus, pro quibus turbabamur, minime reppererunt. Quapropter Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae varietatis, et multis libris Latinis, qui illa non habebant, sed per omnia duabus illis linguis concordabant, credentes, omnia illa superflua prorsus abrasimus, velut in multis hujus libri locis apparet, et praecipue in libris Regum, ubi major pars erroris inveniebatur. Nunc vero omnes qui hoc volumen sunt lecturi rogamus, quatenus nullo modo praedictas partes vel versus superfluos huic operi amplius adjungant. Satis enim lucet in quibus locis erant, quia rasura pergameni eadem loca non celat. Interdicimus etiam auctoritate Dei et nostrae congregationis, ne quis hunc librum, magno labore praeparatum, inhoneste tractare, vel ungula sua per scripturam vel marginem ejus aliquid notare praesumat." Then follows the date: "Anno 1109 ab Incarnatione Domini liber iste finem sumpsit scribendi, gubernante Stephano II abbate coenobium Cisterciense." Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Parisii, 1894), tom. 116, cols. 1373-1376. For the English translation of the Nota see Appendix III, page 87.

Oseah, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Micheas, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias and Malachias. Corrections are far more numerous in this volume than in the other three. At the end of it, i.e. on folio 150v, we find the already mentioned Nota S. Stephani. The volume has the same size as Volume One. Volume Three includes the Books of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Daniel, Paralypomenon, Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias and the two Books of the Maccabees. Its initials are rather numerous and detailed. Size of the volume is 425x300 mm. Volume Four contains the New Testament, i.e. an introduction and the canon of the Gospels, then the Gospels of Matthew, Marc, Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the so-called Epistolae Catholicae, the Epistles of Saint Paul, and the Apocalypse. Size of the 204 folios is 442x325 mm.⁴²

From the Nota S. Stephani we learned that Stephen Harding consulted Hebrew scholars in order to determine the correct reading of faulty passages in the Old Testament. With the same care and applying the same principles, he corrected also the New Testament. Marginal notes testify that Stephen used old manuscripts as well as the Greek version of the New Testament for his purpose. In the four Gospels alone there are about two hundred corrections made by Stephen Harding. Since the Old Testament has far more corrections, it can easily be seen what an immense work Stephen Harding accomplished. In his text-criticism he applied the right principles.

⁴²Tiburtius Humpfer, "Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding," Cistercienser-Chronik, 29(1917), 74-75. More on the miniatures and decorations is found in "Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46 (1934), 139-141, by the same author, in André Michel, Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos (Paris, 1906), II, 298-299 and 305-306, in Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters (London, 1954), 17 and in Anselme Dimier, "Saint Etienne Harding et ses idées sur l'art," Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum, 4(1937), 178-193.

His corrections mostly follow the Greek text, but if the greater part of his old Vulgate manuscripts had a different reading, he would adopt it.⁴³

Stephen Harding's recension has perhaps no great value in the eyes of theologians; still, its text-criticism has attracted the attention of many Scripture scholars. Moreover, the fact that the author of the revision has used glossaries and explanatory notes, is certainly no small achievement if one remembers that the Bible correction took place at the beginning of the thirteenth century. A work of such a nature and standard should prove sufficiently Stephen Harding's uncommon intellectual abilities and show that in him science and scholarship were in harmony with the greatest piety. The work would probably have rendered great services when the revision of the Vulgate was decreed by the Council of Trent; unfortunately nobody knew of its existence until Mabillon found it when publishing the works of Saint Bernard. Vacandard, in his Vie de Saint Bernard, rightly concluded "Bernard's master had left us a work of biblical criticism superior to anything the other monasteries of that period had produced not excepting Cluny, which had achieved great renown for learning and erudition."⁴⁴

⁴³ Tiburtius Rumpfner, "Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding," Cistercienser-Chronik, 29(1917), 78-79. -- See also J. P. P. Martin, Saint Etienne Harding et les premiers révisseurs de la Vulgate Latine, Theodulphe et Alcuin (Amiens, 1887), 27ff.

⁴⁴ E. Vacandard, Vie de Saint Bernard, I, 54. -- See also Amadeus Fruytier, "Bibel des hl. Abtes Stephan von Cîteaux," Cistercienser-Chronik, 23(1911), 220-221 and 247-248 as well as Tiburtius Rumpfner, "Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 138.

CHAPTER III

ABBOT OF CÎTEAUX

Abbot Alberic died on January 26th, 1109, in the words of the Exordium Parvum "the man of God, Alberic...after having practiced fruitfully regular discipline in the school of Christ for nine and a half years, went to the Lord, glorious in his faith and virtues, therefore deservedly rewarded by God in the eternal life." To find a successor to abbot Alberic posed no difficulty, and the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) had certainly no doubt about the person of the next abbot. The Exordium Parvum is again brief on the subject: "(Alberic's) successor was a brother by the name of Stephen, an Englishman by nationality, who had also come here with the others from Molesme, a lover of the Rule and the new place."⁴⁵

When Stephen assumed the government of Newminster (Cîteaux), one

⁴⁵"Vir...domni albericus in scola xpi per novem annos et dimidium regulari disciplina feliciter exercitatus. migravit ad dominum. fide et virtutibus gloriosus. et ideo in vita eterna a deo beandus. Huic successit quidam frater stephanus nomine. anglicus natione. qui et ipse cum aliis de molismo illuc advenerat. quique amator regule et loci erat." "Exordium Parvum," xvii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 73. --According to William of Malmesbury, Stephen was absent at the time of his election: "Tum, haud dubie nutu divino, Stephanus absens etiam in abbatem eligitur." "Gesta Regum Anglorum," Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, col. 1289. This absence could be explained as a flight in order to avoid his election. However, since the Exordium Parvum does not mention this occurrence, William of Malmesbury's statement is not accepted by historians.--Manrique publishes Stephen's sermon delivered on the occasion of Alberic's death, Annales Cistercienses I, 50. One may, however, question the genuineness of this funeral oration, for Manrique's informant, the Portuguese chronicler Brito, is famous for his love of legendary elements.--The English translation of Stephen's sermon is given in J. B. Dalgairns, Life of St. Stephen Harding Abbot of Cîteaux and Founder of the Cistercian Order, 84-85.

of his first acts was to prohibit benefactors of the monastery from entering the monastic enclosure with their suites. At the time such visits were not uncommon in other monasteries which usually owed their foundation to the grants of a landlord upon whose territory the monks had settled and were dependent upon his generosity for their maintenance. The monks, out of gratitude, received such benefactors and their entourage at certain times, and perhaps this was done in order to avoid monetary reimbursement that might have been exacted from them. Saint Alberic, viewing the question in this light, tolerated such visits; in consequence, the duke of Burgundy was accustomed to hold his court at Newminster (Cîteaux) on great festivals. Stephen Harding, seeing in it a question of principle and realizing that such a custom would sooner or later endanger monastic discipline, was opposed to such visits. Hence, when he became abbot, he "prohibited (that) the duke of that country or any other sovereign should keep court at any time in that monastery as they used to do at great feasts." Therefore he asked duke Hugh to discontinue his usual visits.⁴⁶

Whether this ordinance of the new abbot caused any friction between the duke and the monastery is not clear, even if certain writers assert that the monastery's subsequent destitution was the result of the withdrawal of the duke's favor. The Exordium Parvum seems to indicate the opposite, for it relates that "In those days the monastery increased in its possessions of land, vineyards, meadows, and farmhouses." The destitu-

⁴⁶"Huius temporibus interdixerunt fratres una cum eodem abbate ne dux illius terre seu alius princeps. curiam suam aliquo tempore in illa ecclesia tenerent. sicuti antea in sollemnitatibus agere solebant." "Exordium Parvum", xvii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 73.--See also (Alberic Wulf), Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order (Gethsemani, 1944), 39.

tion probably occurred at a later period and under different circumstances. For we know duke Hugh, whose father was buried at Newminster (Cîteaux) and whose brother was a monk of the new foundation, continued to make donations to the monastery. Thus, through his mediation the Benedictine abbey of Saint Benignus at Dijon gave two parcels of land to the monks. From other benefactors, like Lubaud of Mani and Arnold Cormi, Newminster (Cîteaux) received further donations. The monks of Saint Germain des Prés in Paris who had possessions in Burgundy also came to the aid of the monastery, ceding land at Giguy and Bretigny as well as rights of pasturing. Stephen Harding had hardly taken over the administration of the monastery when Elizabeth de Vergy, with the consent of her husband, Savarus, and of her two sons, opened the long series of donations which was to stabilize the hitherto rather unstable economic life of the community. The cartulary records no less than fifty donations made to Newminster (Cîteaux) in the first ten years of Stephen Harding's government, whereas we find only one during abbot Alberic's reign and very few under Saint Robert. In these days it also happened that the Benedictines of Gilly allowed the monks to use their woods and meadows and donated twelve acres (journaux) of their possessions at Gemigny. In 1110, Hugh de Vergy presented the monks with vineyards which have since become famous as one of the premier vintages of France, the Clos de Voguest.⁴⁷

In spite of these happy events, the first years of Stephen Harding's administration also gave rise to worries. The number of the monks

⁴⁷The Exordium Parvum treats with this period in chapter xvii: "Illis diebus in terris et vineis ac pratis curtibusque eadem ecclesia crevit." Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed Guignard, 74. --See also Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 20-22 as well as Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters, 19 and Bernard de Clairvaux, ed. Commission d'Histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux, 32 and 117.

had been reduced to seventeen or eighteen, and there were few newcomers. As the Exordium Parvum describes the situation, "it caused some sorrow in those days that seldom did anyone come there in order to become their imitator. Namely, the holy men vehemently desired to hand down to their successors, for the benefit of many souls, this treasure of virtues found in such heavenly manner. Nevertheless, almost all those who saw and heard of the unusual and almost unprecedented rigor of their manner of life, instead of approaching them, tried anxiously to avoid and forget them, doubting always in their perseverance." The monks cried and wept before God "day and night, groaning long and deep and had almost come to the rim of despair because they had no successors." As had been indicated, the main cause of Stephen's worry lay in the fear lest with the extinction of the community the reform work so zealously and energetically begun at Newminster (Cîteaux) should end in failure. In this connection a legend is told of a dying brother whom Stephen Harding commanded in virtue of religious obedience to return from the other world with an answer to his question. Some days later the deceased brother indeed appeared to the abbot and encouraged him with the assurance that the way of life led by his community was pleasing to God; in a little while their patience would be rewarded in a way that would surpass all their expectations. For recruits would soon arrive who "like bees swarming in haste and overflowing the hive, would fly away and spread themselves in many parts of the world."⁴⁸

⁴⁸This miraculous event is recorded in the "Exordium Magnum" i, xvi. Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, cols. 1012-1014.--For the dearth of vocations in Alberic's time see "Exordium Parvum," xvi. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed Guignard, 73: "abbatem (albericum) et suos aliquantulum mesticie subdidit, quod raro quis illis diebus illuc ad eos imitandos venerit. Viri enim sancti thesaurum virtutum celitus inventum. successoribus ad multorum salutem profuturum committere gestiebant, sed fere omnes videntes et audientes vite eorum asperitatem insolitam et quasi inauditam. plus corde et corpore elongare quam approximare se eis

At the beginning of his administration, abbot Stephen also introduced simplifications in the church and altar furnishings, in order that "in the house of God, in which it was their desire to serve God devoutly day and night, nothing would remain that savored of pride and superfluity or eventually corrupt poverty, the safeguard of virtues." Therefore it was resolved "not to keep golden or silver crosses but only painted wooden ones, no candelabra but only one of iron; no thuribles, but only of copper or iron, no chasubles, except of wool or linen, without silk, gold or silver weave; no albs or amices but of linen, similarly without silk, gold or silver. They eliminated all kinds of palliums, copes, dalmatics and tunics. However, they retained silver chalices, not golden, but when it could be done, gold plated, as well as the communion tube of silver, gold plated if possible; stoles and maniples were of silk only, without gold and silver. They also ordered that the altar cloths be made of plain linen and without embroideries and that the cruets should have nothing in gold and silver on them."⁴⁹

festinabant. et de perseverantia titubare non cessabant." The "Exordium Parvum," chapter xvii, also relates how the same problem affected Stephen Harding and his monks: "ad se clamantes. coram se lacrimantes. die ac nocte longa profundaue trahentes suspiria. et fere ostio desperationis appropinquantes. pro eo quod successoribus pene carerent." Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 74.

⁴⁹"Deinde ne quid in domo dei in qua die ac nocte deo devote servire cupiebant remaneret quod superbiam aut superfluitatem redoleret, aut paupertatem custodem virtutum quam sponte elegerant aliquando corrumpere: confirmaverunt ne retinerent cruces aureas seu argenteas. nisi tantummodo ligneas coloribus depictas. neque candelabra nisi unum ferreum. neque thuribula nisi cuprea vel ferrea. neque casulas de fustaneo. vel lino sine pallio auroque et argento. neque albas vel amictus nisi de lino. similiter sine pallio. auro et argento. Pallia vero omnia et cappas atque dalmaticas tunicasque ex toto dimiserunt: sed calices argenteos non aureos. sed si fieri potest deauratos. et fistulam argenteam. et si possibile fuerit deauratam. stolas quoque ac manipulos de pallio tantum. sine auro et argento retinuerunt. Pallie autem altarium ut de lino fierent sine pictura plane precipiebant. et ut ampulle vinarie sine auro et argento essent." "Exordium Parvum," xvii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 73-74.--See also Archdale A. King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders (London, 1955), 118-128, and Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux vom Jahre 1109 bis 1119," Cistercienser-Chronik, 28(1916), 34-38.

The dead laybrother's prophecy was fulfilled shortly before Easter, 1112, when Bernard of Fontaines, the future abbot of Clairvaux, entered Newminster (Cîteaux) with thirty companions. According to the prescriptions of the rule, the newcomers spent several days in the guesthouse, and then they were led into the chapter room where their formal petition to be admitted was unanimously granted. Thus began their noviciate which is a year of trial and religious formation. All having remained steadfast in their vocation, they pronounced the monastic vows upon completion of the noviciate. The news of this event reached the outside world also, so that from then on many followed the example of Bernard. Stephen Harding thus records this joyful event: "God's mercy had sent to that community so many literate clerics as well as laymen who were in the world as powerful as they were distinguished, that thirty all at once happily entered the cells of novices and by bravely combating their own vices and the temptation of the evil spirit completed their course. Through their example old and young, men of every walk of life and from various parts of the world became encouraged, since they saw through them that what they had feared impossible, the observance of the Rule, was possible. So they began to flock together there in order to bow their proud heads under the sweet yoke of Christ, and to love fervently the vigorous and burdensome precepts of the Rule, and they began to make that community wonderfully happy and strong."⁵⁰

⁵⁰"tot clericos litteratos et nobiles. laicos etiam in seculo potentes et eque nobiles. uno ad illum dei gratia transmisit ecclesiam. ut triginta insimul in cellam novitiorum alacriter intrarent. ac bene contra propria vitia et incitamenta malignorum spirituum fortiterque decertando. cursum suum consummarent. Quorum exemplo senes et iuvenes. diverseque etatis homines in diversis mundi partibus animati. videntes scilicet in istis. possibile fore. quod antea impossibile in custodienda regula formidabant. illuc concurrere. superba colla iugo xpi suavi subdere. dura et aspera regule precepta ardentem amare. ecclesiamque illam mirabiliter letificare et corroborare ceperunt." "Exordium Parvum," xvii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 74. --The same turn of events is

The increase of Newminster's community enabled abbot Stephen to carry out his long cherished plan of expanding the reform. The problem of accomodation may have been an additional reason. Therefore, the abbot, with the consent of the monks, decided to found a second monastery in which the monks, separated from the others in body but not in spirit, might serve God in holiness and religious observance. He probably mentioned his intention to his friend, the bishop of Chalons, on whose recommendation the count of Chalons, William of Thiers, and the latter's uncle, Savenis de Donzy, gave their property in the canton of Sennecy and commune of Saint Ambreuil, situated on the north (left) bank of the Grône river, near the south-east border of the forest of Bragne and twelve miles from Chalons-sur-Saône, to the monks in order to make a new foundation. After the successful transfer of the property the building of a new monastery was immediately begun. This makes it probable that an advance party came to the new place toward the end of 1112. The rest of the community, headed by Bertrand and accompanied by Stephen Harding, arrived on May 16, 1113. Two days later the bishop of Chalons, Walter of Couches, and Joceran, bishop of Langres, dedicated the new church. The 18th of May is, therefore, considered as the day of the new monastery's foundation. Stephen named it Firmitas (La Ferté), to indicate the strength and vigor of the Cistercian reform.⁵¹

recorded by the "Exordium Magnum," (i, xv.) in Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis cols. 1011-1012.--See also Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser-Orden, 22-24 and Vincentius Hermans, "De Noviciatu in Ordine Benedictino-Cisterciensi et in Jure Communi usque ad Annum 1335," Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 3 (1947), 59-106.

⁵¹The antecedents of La Ferté's foundation are recorded in the "Exordium Magnum," i, xxi. Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, cols. 1016-1017. --Manrique says: "Tantus erat numerus fratrum apud Cistercium, quod neque substantia, quam habebant, eis sufficere, nec locus, in quo manebant, eos convenienter capere posset. Placeat itaque fratribus, ut locum alium quaerent, in quo pars ipsorum, ab aliis corpore non animo separata, Deo deuote et regulariter deservirent. Hoc decreto firmato cunctorum votis, Stephanus

In the year 1114, Newminster (Cîteaux), steadily increasing in number, was able to found its second daughter-house. A priest named Arsius who lived as a hermit at Pontigny, some twelve miles from Auxerre, developed a great admiration for the monks of Newminster and proposed Pontigny for a new foundation. Stephen Harding accepted the offer, on condition of the local bishop's approval. The bishop of Auxerre favored the project, and so did the count of Auxerre. The monks arrived at Pontigny on May 31st, 1114. The monastery and the village take their name from a bridge over the Serein river which marks the boundary between Burgundy and Champagne. Stephen Harding appointed Hugh de Vitry, one of Bernard's companions, abbot of the new foundation. He subsequently received his abbatial blessing from bishop Humbert (Humbald) of Auxerre. The latter's promise of obedience to the bishop contained the important clause "salvo ordine nostro," ("saving the obedience due to the order"), thus establishing a precedent which was followed for several centuries by all future abbots of the order.⁵²

Newminster (Cîteaux) made its third foundation on June 25th, 1115. Clairvaux, situated in the valley of Wormwood, some eight miles south-east of Bar-sur-Aube and thirty-five miles south-east of Troyes, was a family foundation and for that reason Stephen Harding appointed Bernard first abbot of the new establishment.⁵³

inquiendo loco accingitur." Annales Cistercienses I, 69.--See also L. Janauschek, Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I (Viennae, 1877), 3 (hereafter cited as Originum Cisterciensium I), Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters, 106-108, and Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux vom Jahre 1109 bis 1119," Cistercienser-Chronik, 28(1916), 135-137.

⁵²L. Janauschek, Originum Cisterciensium I, 4, Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters, 148-149 and Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux vom Jahre 1109 bis 1119," Cistercienser-Chronik, 28(1916), 135-137.

⁵³L. Janauschek, loc.cit., 4, Archdale King, loc.cit., 207-211 and Gregor Müller, loc.cit., 139-140.

Morimond, the fourth daughter-house, was founded in the same year, probably at the end of June. Situated east of Newminster (Cîteaux), it lay in a marshy valley surrounded by desolate forest land in the county of Bassigny on the confines of Lorraine to the east, and Franche Comté, then part of the German Empire, to the south. Through its geographical situation, the monastery became very important, for it opened the way for the reform's spread into Germany. In fact, the first abbot of Morimond, Arnold, was of German origin and a brother of the then archbishop of Cologne. The place belonged to a hermit named John who afterwards turned it over to Newminster (Cîteaux). The bishop of Langres, Joceran de Brancion, and Odolric, lord of Aigremont, as well as the count of Chefmont gave their consent. The original name of the place, Moiremont, was changed by a monk into Morimond (mori mundo, to die to the world.)⁵⁴

The first four foundations of Newminster (Cîteaux) acquired a special status in the Cistercian order and preceded in rank all other foundations. Their abbots were called primi abbates, primary (proto-) abbots and played an important role in subsequent times.

The rapid succession of four foundations within two years considerably reduced the community of Newminster (Cîteaux); time and new vocations were needed to fill the gap caused by the secession of forty-eight monks. However, with Newminster's constant increase in fame a further spread of the reform could be reasonably foreseen. This brought up the subject and necessity of uniting the monasteries already existing and those to be established in the future into an organic unity and of determining their mutual

⁵⁴L. Janauschek, Originum Cisterciensium I, 5, Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters, 329-331, and Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux vom Jahre 1109 bis 1119," Cistercienser-Chronik, 28(1916), 140-142.

relationship. Undoubtedly, Stephen Harding foresaw the problem and had definite ideas about the fundamental principles of the legislation that was needed, for the long years spent in the monastery gave him much experience. Still, unwilling to proceed independently, he sought an agreement with the four primary abbots. Therefore, in 1116 he invited them to Newminster (Cîteaux) in order to define the degree of their dependence from the mother-abbey and the principles governing their mutual relations. In addition to Stephen Harding, three abbots were present at this first chapter: Bertrand of La Ferté, Hugh of Pontigny, and Arnold of Morimond. Illness prevented Bernard of Clairvaux from attending in person. Abbot Stephen presided at the meeting and presented the assembled abbots with the draft of a tentative law code. The articles were read and discussed, but no decision reached; instead, the abbots agreed to study the draft for some time and to submit their observations at the next chapter. This chapter was held either in 1117 or 1118, when the text proposed by Stephen Harding was accepted without any alteration, another indication of his greatness.⁵⁵

Meanwhile several new foundations were made. In October 1118, the abbey of Clairvaux sent out its first colony to found Trois Fontaines (Tres Fontes) in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Marne. Two months before, in August of the same year, Stephen Harding was able to found his fifth daughter-house, Preuilly, in the diocese of Sens. About the same time, Guido, cardinal-archbishop of Vienne, invited the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) into his diocese, but due to several obstacles, the new abbey, Bonneval, was only started on July 11, 1119. A month later, Newminster (Cîteaux), made another foundation, La Cour Dieu, in the diocese of Orléans. In September

⁵⁵Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 88-89, Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 27-28.

1119, Pontigny founded Bouras in the diocese of Auxerre, and somewhat later Caudoin (October 20 or 28). On October 29th, Clairvaux established its second daughter-house, Fontenay. This brought the number of abbeys founded by Newminster (Cîteaux) or its daughter-houses up to twelve.⁵⁶

About the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14, 1119, the first plenary general chapter assembled at Newminster (Cîteaux). The abbots represented the following abbeys: Newminster (Cîteaux), La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, Morimond, Preully, Trois Fontaines, La Cour Dieu, Bonneval and Bouras. In this meeting the constitution drawn up by Stephen Harding, which he called Charter of Charity, Charta Caritatis, was given final approval. The document received this name "because putting aside the burden of any money contribution, it pursued only charity and the utility of souls in things human and divine."⁵⁷

The Charter of Charity, a document of about 1,680 words, was by no means intended to supplant the rule of Saint Benedict; it aimed primarily at bringing together the various abbeys into a harmonious relationship without, however, depriving the individual monasteries of their autonomous life. In Stephen's mind this became necessary in view of existing departures from the rule, especially manifest in the destruction of the independence of monasteries. Some greater abbeys began to send out offshoots in the form of daughter-houses which remained dependent on the mother-abbey. Thus, for

⁵⁶Manrique, loc.cit., 95-96; 98-100, L. Janauschek, Origines Cistercienses I, 5, Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 28.

⁵⁷"Hoc etiam decretum. cartam caritatis vocari censebant quia eius statutum omnis exactionis gravamen propulsans solam caritatem et animarum utilitatem in divinis humanis exequitur." "Charta Caritatis," Preface. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 79.--Also Gregor Müller, "Die Entstehung der Charta Caritatis," Cistercienser-Chronik, 9(1897), 19-24 and 57-61.

example, the abbot of Cluny retained leadership of all dependent houses, appointed priors over them as his vicars, who, without his sanction, had no authority over the monks. The Cluniac system, flourishing in Stephen Harding's time, established one scattered family of vast size. Stephen, perceiving the deficiencies of this system, wished rather to preserve the patriarchal character of the individual monasteries, in accordance with Saint Benedict's concept, by which each individual monastery constituted an individual family, headed by a father, the abbot, elected for life. Stephen Harding, well aware of the dangers of complete autonomy on the one hand, and the consequences of strict centralization (as practiced by Cluny) on the other, succeeded in finding the golden middle way. While recognizing the individual character of each monastery, he united these families into an order. Thus he succeeded in establishing a vital union between the different monasteries without, however, sacrificing the autonomous and independent system of government in each. In the words of Stephen Harding, "In this decree the aforesaid brethren, in the intention of obviating rupture of mutual concord explained and ordered and transmitted to those who come after, the bond and manner, or rather the charity whereby their monks divided in the body in abbeys in different parts of the world, should be indissolubly banded together in the spirit."⁵⁸

In consequence, it was decreed that "all the abbots of our Order shall meet each year in General Chapter, without excuse, except if they are prevented by grievous sickness; and then they shall depute a proper repres-

⁵⁸"In hoc...decreto predicti fratres mutue pacis futurum pre-caventes naufragium: elucidaverunt et statuerunt. suisque posteris reliquerunt: quo pacto quove modo immo qua caritate monachi eorum. per abbacias in diversis mundi partibus, corporibus divisi animis indissolubiliter conglutinentur." "Charta Caritatis," Preface. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 79.

entative." An exception is made also in the case of those who live in far distant countries, "which shall be decided by the Chapter..In the General Chapter, the abbots shall consult upon matters that appertain to the salvation of souls, and shall ordain what is to be corrected, or what carried out in the observance of the rule and the constitutions of the Order. They shall likewise mutually confirm each other in the bond of peace and charity. If any abbot be less zealous about the rule than he ought, or be too much intent upon secular business or be worthy of censure in any way, he shall be charitably reprimanded in the General Chapter." In his wisdom, Stephen Harding invested the general chapter with the supreme authority of the order. He could have made himself head of the order, if he had wished, for his authority was unquestioned; instead, he preferred a better solution, namely to give the general chapter the supreme legislative, executive and judicial powers in the order. The later history of the order amply justified Stephen Harding's foresight.⁵⁹

Another important means devised by Stephen in order to maintain unity between the different monasteries and to strengthen monastic discipline, was the ordinance that "the abbot of a mother-house shall visit annually, either in person or by one of his co-abbots, all the filiations

⁵⁹"omnes abbates de ordine nostro singulis annis ad generale capitulum cisterciense omni postposita occasione convenient: illis solis exceptis quos corporis infirmitas retinuerit. Qui tamen idoneum nuntium delegare debebunt: per quem necessitas remotionis eorum capitulo valeat nunciari. Et illis item exceptis qui in remotioribus partibus habitantes eo termino venerint qui eis fuerit in capitulo constitutus. Quod si quis quacumque alia occasione quandoque remanere a nostro generali capitulo presumpserit. sequentis anni capitulo pro culpa veniam petat. nec sine gravi animadversione pertranseat. In quo capitulo de salute animarum suarum tractent in observatione sancte regule vel ordinis si quid est emendandum vel augendum ordinent. bonum pacis et caritatis inter se reformat. Si quis vero abbas minus in regula studiosus. vel secularibus rebus nimis intentus. vel in aliquibus viciosus repertus fuerit: ibi caritative clametur." "Charta Caritatis," vi. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 81-82.

of his monastery." Newminster (Cîteaux) was no exception from this rule. Its abbot had the right to go to any other monastery for the purpose of visitation. To safeguard the autonomy of the individual monasteries, however, the faculties of the visitors were considerably limited. The Charter of Charity explicitly states, "the abbot...in his own monastery will always, even in the presence of an abbot of superior dignity, profess his own novices at the end of their year of noviceship." Moreover, the abbot of Newminster (Cîteaux) is admonished "not to touch anything, ordain anything or dispose of anything, with reference to the possessions of the monastery which he visits, without the consent of the abbot and his brethren. And even if he would find that the precepts of the rule or the institutions of the order were violated in a monastery, he should not proceed without consulting the local abbot."⁶⁰

Unity and uniformity in the observance of the rule and in the liturgy was a further demand of the Charter of Charity. "We wish henceforward and command them to observe the Rule of Saint Benedict in everything, as it is observed in the New Monastery, and to understand it in no other sense than that which our pious forefathers of Cîteaux have given to it and maintained, and which we ourselves now understand and hold after their example." As to the liturgy, the Charter of Charity prescribes "that all our monasteries should have the same usages in chanting, and the

⁶⁰ On visitations in general, the Charter of Charity states: "Semel per annum visitet abbas maioris ecclesie. per se vel per aliquem de coabbatibus suis: omnia cenobia que ipse fundaverit" (chapter v.)--"abbas loci in presentia illius maioris abbatis: novicios suos post regularem probationem benedicat." (chapter iii.)--With regard to the abbot of Cîteaux, the Charter of Charity prescribes: "abbas autem novi monasterii caveat ne quicquam presumat tractare et ordinare. aut contingere. de rebus illius loci ad quem venerit: contra abbatis vel fratrum voluntatem." (chapter iii.) "Charta Caritatis" in Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 80.

same books for the divine office day and night and the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, as we have it in the New Monastery." Then follows the famous and often quoted passage: "that there...be no discord in our daily actions, but that we...all live together in the bond of charity under one rule, and in the practice of the same observances."⁶¹

The Charter of Charity, foreseeing and providing for the case that a house should fall into a state of extreme indigence, urged the respective abbots "to give notice to the General Chapter; then all the abbots assembled, animated by a lively charity, shall contribute to its relief, according to the means with which God may have blessed them."⁶²

Stephen Harding's constitution regulated also the question of precedence in cases when more abbots came to a monastery, prescribed the procedure to be observed at the election of the abbot of Newminster (Cîteaux) and of the other abbots, made arrangements for the case that an abbot should resign, prove himself unworthy or unfit for his office, the abbot of Newminster (Cîteaux) not excepted, and provided effective measures for each of

⁶¹"volumus illisque precipimus ut regulam beati benedicti per omnia observent; sicuti in novo monasterio observatur. Non alium inducant sensum in lectionem sancte regule. sed sicut antecessores nostri intellexerunt et tenuerunt, et nos hodie intelligimus et tenemus; ita et isti intelligent et teneant...opportunum nobis videtur et hoc etiam volumus ut mores et cantum et omnes libros ad horas diurnas et nocturnas. et ad missam necessarios. secundum formam morum et librorum novi monasterii possideant quatinus in actibus nostris nulla sit discordia, sed una caritate una regula similibusque vivamus moribus." "Charta Caritatis," ii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 80.

⁶²"Quod si aliqua ecclesia pauperiem intollerabilem incurrerit: abbas illius cenobii coram omni capitulo hanc causam intimare studeat. Tunc singuli abbates maximo caritatis igne succensi illius ecclesie penuriam rebus sibi a deo collatis prout habuerint sustentare festinent." "Charta Caritatis," vii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 82.

these cases.⁶³

Stephen Harding's wisdom reveals itself once more in the ordinance expressed in the preface of the Charter of Charity, which made the foundation of any new monastery depending on the respective bishop's approval of the order's constitution. Thus, "Father Stephen and his brethren, with a view to avoid all difficulties between the bishop and the monks, ordained that no abbey should by any means be founded in any diocese before the bishop should approve and confirm the decree passed between the abbey of Cîteaux and its filiations."⁶⁴

The idea of a general chapter in a broader sense, understood as an assembly of abbots or other superiors of monasteries in order to provide for common needs, to safeguard religious discipline, existed some time before abbot Stephen Harding. Even the name Capitulum Generale seems to have been in existence before the Charter of Charity. Abbot Stephen's merit lay in the fact that he perceived the imperfections of this system. His mission therefore was to improve the functioning of the general chapter and make it the essential element of religious constitutions, not only in his own order but in all religious communities of subsequent times. In this sense, Stephen Harding may be called the originator of general chapters as they exist

⁶³The question of precedence is settled in Charter of Charity, chapter iii. Chapter ix of the same document regulates the election of abbots; chapter x. provides for the case of an abbot's resignation, and chapters xi. and xii. deal with the question of unworthy abbots. "Charta Caritatis," iii, viii-ix, x, xi-xii. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 30-34.

⁶⁴"domnus stephanus et fratres sui ordinaverunt ut nullo modo abbacie in alicuius antistitis diocesi fundarentur antequam ipse decretum inter cisterciense cenobium et cetera ex eo nata exaratum ratum haberet et confirmatum: propter scandalum inter pontificem et monachos devitandum." "Charta Caritatis," Preface. Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, ed. Guignard, 79.

in all religious communities. This institution revived and strengthened religious life throughout the universal Church, and for that reason Stephen Harding ranks among the greatest founders of religious orders.⁶⁵

As has been seen, the so-called lex filiationis, the system of filiation was another important institution devised by Stephen Harding to avoid deviations from regular discipline. If an incapable or unworthy abbot was elected, Saint Benedict sought help from the populace, from neighboring abbots and from the local bishop, in accordance with canonical legislation of his own times. The history of monastic orders, however, testified that such measures had frequently fatal results in the course of time. Stephen Harding realized this; hence the introduction of the lex filiationis which proved to be an extraordinary remedy against digressions from the rule. So that a Pater Abbas, Pater Immediatus, (Father Abbot, Father Immediate,) may conscientiously fulfill his duties and in order to avoid any abuses connected with the office of a Father Immediate, Stephen Harding made the general chapter the judge and supervising authority of the Fathers Immediate and of the visitors. In application of this, the general chapter annually controlled the visitors as well as the administration of their office. Thus, Stephen took effective precautions against relaxations in discipline and uniformity of observance; besides, he freed the individual monasteries from undue external influences and safeguarded them against such interferences

⁶⁵"Man kann den hl. Stephan ohne Bedenken als den Schöpfer des Generalkapitels im eigentlichen Sinne, wie es, in mehr oder weniger verschiedener Form, sich heute bei allen Ordensgenossenschaften findet, bezeichnen. Durch die Schöpfung des Generalkapitels im eigentlichen Sinne in der Form einer kollegialen obersten Regierungs- und Gerichtsbehörde hat der hl. Stephan der Entwicklung des Verfassungsrechtes der religiösen Genossenschaften neue Bahnen gewiesen, die Wege geebnet und das Ordensleben überhaupt über den eigenen Orden hinaus in der ganzen Kirche neu belebt, gefestigt und gesichert." Matthäus Quatember, "Der hl. Stephan und das Generalkapitel," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 270.

in the future. The author of such ideas may truly be called an organizational genius.⁶⁶

It certainly required a great amount of courage to petition the head of the Church for the approval of a document, the Charter of Charity, which never mentions the Pope. Still, papal sanction became imperative. Stephen Harding was fortunate enough, for Pope Callixtus II, the former archbishop of Vienne, was a friend of his, visited Cîteaux on a previous occasion and favored the monastery's reform movement. In all probability Stephen went personally to the Pope. This meant no journey to Rome, for in December 1119 the Pope was still in France and held his court at the small town of Saulieu, not far from Newminster (Cîteaux). Besides the Charter of Charity, Stephen presented the Pope with another important document: the written account of the foundation and of the first years of Newminster (Cîteaux), commonly called Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii, or simply Exordium Parvum. There is a certain connection between the Charter of Charity and the Exordium Parvum; the latter took the form of a historical introduction.⁶⁷

The Pope approved the Charter of Charity at Saulieu on December 23, 1119. By this the Charter of Charity automatically became a law. At the same time papal approbation of the constitution implied also the recognition of the reform monasteries as a new order. Before 1119 there was only a group of Benedictine monasteries following a special way of life according to their interpretations of Saint Benedict's rule. Pope Callixtus II's

⁶⁶Matthäus Quatember, "Der hl. Stephan und das Generalkapitel." Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 270.--See also Karl Kreh, "Die Carta Caritatis des heiligen Stephan und die Filiation," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 201-208, 246-253 and 47(1935), 33-43.

⁶⁷Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 30, "Aus den letzten Lebensjahren des hl. Stephan, Abtes von Cîteaux (1120-1134)," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 2-3 and "Das Exordium Parvum," Cistercienser-Chronik, 9(1897), 311-315, 341-350 and 371-378 by the same author.

approbation united these monasteries into an independent order. In the bull of approbation, called Ad hoc after its initial words, the Pope praised the work undertaken by the monks of Newminster (Cîteaux) and promised them his protection. In virtue of his apostolic powers he gladly approved the ordinances and the constitution and ordered that they should be in vigor forever. Should any ecclesiastic or lay person attempt to disregard this papal approbation, he would eo ipso, automatically, be excommunicated until he made emendation.⁶⁸

The general chapter held in 1120 saw thirteen abbots assembled at Cîteaux, three more than in the previous year, since the foundation of Caudoin, Fontenay and Bellevaux (March 22, 1120) occurred after the chapter of 1119. Undoubtedly, the first item of this chapter was the study of Pope

⁶⁸The papal bull of approbation has the following text: "Calixtus, Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimis in Christo filiis Stephano, venerabili Cisterciensis monasterii Abbati, & ejus fratribus: salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. AD HOC in Apostolicae Sedis regimen, Domino disponente, promoti conspiciamur, ut ipso praestante religionem augere, & quae recte atque ad salutem animarum statuta sunt, nostri debeamus auctoritate officii stabilire. Idcirco, filii in Christo carissimi, petitionis vestrae caritate debita impertimur assensum, & religioni vestrae paterno congratulantes affectu, Dei operi quod coepistis manum nostrae confirmationis apponimus. Siquidem consensu & deliberatione communi Abbatum & Fratrum monasteriorum vestrorum, & Episcoporum in quorum parochiis eadem monasteria continentur, quaedam de observatione Regulae beati Benedicti, & de aliis nonnullis quae Ordini vestro & loco necessaria videbantur capitula statuistis. Quae nimirum ad majorem monasterii quietem & religionis observantiam auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae petitis confirmari. Nos ergo vestro in Domino profectui congaudentes, capitula illa & constitutionem auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, & omnia in perpetuum rata remanere decernimus. Illud nominatim omnimodis prohibentes, ne Abbatum aliquis monachos vestros sine regulari commendatione suscipiat. Si qua igitur ecclesiastica saecularisve persona nostrae confirmationi huic & constitutioni vestrae temeritate aliqua obviare praesumpserit, tanquam religionis et quietis monasticae perturbatrix, auctoritate beatorum Petri & Pauli & nostra, donec satisfaciatur, excommunicationis gladio feriatur. Qui vero conservator extiterit, omnipotentis Dei & Apostolorum ejus benedictionem & gratiam consequatur. Interdicimus autem ne quis conversos laicos, vel professos vestros ad habitandum suscipiat. Ego Calixtus catholicae Ecclesiae Episcopus confirmavi & subscripsi. Datum Sedeloci per manum Grisogoni sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Diaconi Cardinalis & Bibliothecarii, X Kal. Januarii, Indictione XIII, Incarnationis dominicae anno MCXIX, pontificatus autem Domini Calixti II Papae anno I." Monasticon Cisterciense, ed. Hugo Séjalon (Solesmes, 1892), 73-74.

Callixtus II's bull of approbation and also of the Charter of Charity. The abbots then devoted most of their time to two other items. The first of them was regarding the monastic habit. According to the rule of Saint Benedict, the monks should not preoccupy themselves with the material and the color of their monastic habit, but either follow local customs or do what economy counsels. It will therefore surprise no one that the abbots assembled at Cîteaux wore different garments. This may be explained by the different quality and color of the wool from which the monks made their habits. For at the time it was forbidden to change the color of the wool. Thus it happened that the material of the monastic habit was interwoven with white, black and brown wool. Soon, however, the white color gained preference, and at the chapter of 1120 it was recommended to everybody.⁶⁹

The other item regarded the institution of laybrothers. As has

⁶⁹"Dieser Wechsel vollzog sich nicht auf einmal, sondern nach und nach. Im Generalkapitel von 1120 wurde er aber allgemein anbefohlen." Gregor Müller, "Aus den letzten Lebensjahren des hl. Stephan Abtes von Cîteaux (1120-1134)," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 46(1934), 5.--One of Peter the Venerable's letters, written before 1124, expressing criticism of the Cistercians' white habit, seems to substantiate Gregor Müller's assertions: "Et vos sancti, vossingulares, vos in universo orbe vere monachi, aliis omnibus falsis et perditis secundum nominis interpretationem, solos vos inter omnes constituitis, unde et habitum insoliti coloris praetenditis, et ad distinctionem cunctorum fere mundi monachorum, inter nigros vos candidos ostentatis. Et certe haec vestium nigredo, antiquitus humilitatis causa a Patribus inventa, cum a vobis rejicitur, meliores vos ipsis candorem inusitatum praeferendo judicatis. De magno tamen illò et admirabili, vereque monacho Martino non legitur, quod albo et curto, sed quod nigro et pendulo pallio processerit. Inde quoque et Regulam, cujus defensores magis quam observatores videri vultis, valde transgredimini: qua jubente didicistis, ut de vestium colore aut grossitudine non causentur monachi. Cuius manifestissimi praevaricatores esse convincimini, qui colorem humilitati et dejectioni magis competentem abjicitis, et illum quo etiam in scripturis gaudium et sollemnitas figuratur (Act. 1.) album scilicet, contra iam dicta Regulae mandata assumitis. Cumque in valle lacrymarum positos, quibus praecipitur, ut semper luctui, nunquam laetitiae intendant, deceant vestimenta luctum et poenitentiam designantia, vos econtra in miseriis felicitatem, in moerore gaudium, in luctu laetitiam, vestium candore monstratis." "Patri Venerabilis Opera Omnia, Epistola XXVIII." *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Parisiis, 1890), tom. 189, cols. 116-117.

been said, the White Monks accepted laymen into their monasteries who became equal to them, except that they were not monks. By the time of the chapter of 1120, there was a great number of such laybrothers in the monasteries, so the necessity was felt to define more clearly the distinction between monks and laybrothers. It was therefore decided that each abbey should have a separate refectory, dormitory, infirmary and auditorium for the laybrothers. The brothers were not supposed to communicate with the monks, not even when working together at the same place. A special place was assigned to them also in the oratory. They could not enter the regular places, e.g. the chapter room. Thus the monasteries consisted of two communities, but in spite of this distinction there existed only one monastic family.⁷⁰

The general chapter of 1124 dealt with the case of the abbot of Morimond who, after founding the monastery of Kamp in the diocese of Cologne and inspired by a false zeal, left his monastery with several of his best monks and went southward, to make a new foundation in Palestine, as it was rumored. All this happened without the knowledge or permission of Stephen Harding, Arnold's Father Immediate, and without the approval of the general chapter. The chapter, therefore, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the abbot and his followers, in strict application of the Charter of Charity. Arnold was deprived of his office and Walter, the prior of Clairvaux, appointed abbot of Morimond, of course on Stephen Harding's re-

⁷⁰Gregor Müller, "Aus den letzten Lebensjahren des hl. Stephan, Abtes von Cîteaux (1120-1134)," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 6-8. -- See also Edmond Sharpe, The Architecture of the Cistercians (London, 1875) "Domus Conversorum."

commendation. A few months later Arnold died, on January 3rd, 1125.⁷¹

In 1125 Abbot Stephen visited the monastery of Saint Vaast at Arras in Flanders. The monks were gratified and overjoyed by Stephen's visit as they considered him a "truly religious man" and they established an association of prayers with him. On this occasion Stephen asked the monk Gisbert to make him a copy of Saint Jerome's commentary on the Prophet Jeremias. Gisbert, gladly complying, copied the book (326x217mm), and for this Stephen made him recipient of many spiritual favors. Folio 103 describes the circumstances of Stephen's visit. On folio 104 we find a large miniature painting (230x140 mm) which represents the particular history of the manuscript. The Blessed Virgin, crowned and holding a book in her hand, is on an altar, with the abbot of Arras on the right and the abbot of Cîteaux on the left, each holding a model of his church, while the scribe, kneeling and inclined toward Stephen, holds out an open copy of his work. This richly decorated manuscript has thus the earliest known portrait of abbot Stephen, perhaps the only portrait made during his lifetime. Unfortunately, the facial traits are only sketchy, indicating that the artist had no intention of exact portrayal. The manuscript, consisting of 158 folios, is now at Dijon.⁷²

⁷¹Saint Bernard's statement "Juxta omnium abbatum nostrorum sententiam" certainly refers to decisions taken in general chapter. "Epistola vii." Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Parisii, 1862), tom. 132, col. 105.
--See also Manrique, Annales Cistercienses, I, 160-162 and Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters, 335.

⁷²Ms. 130 at the Municipal Library of Dijon. On folio 103 we read: "Benedicta gloria Domini de loco suo, qui per presentiam domni abbatis Stephani Cisterciensis, vere religiosi viri, Atrebatenses fratres nobilis cenobii Beati Vedasti episcopi quondam visitavit et visitando in consortium mutue fraternitatis coniunxit et coniungendo valde ob tam amabile beneficium in Domino exhilaravit. Idem vero memorabilis abbas fratrem Gisbertum a pueritia eiusdem congregationis nutritum, ut hunc sibi scriberet librum, devote expetiit, qui paterne obtemperans petitioni devotissime hoc iniunctum opus, Domino manum eius regente, sic complevit, omnium beneficiorum Cister-

As time went on, the new order and the Cistercian general chapter increased in fame, commanding the respect of all. This is proven by the fact that in 1129 the archbishop of Sens, Henry, and Stephen, bishop of Paris, came to the chapter and asked for the order's mediation in their dispute with the King of France. These bishops, and also the famous abbot Suger, feudal lords rather than shepherds of souls, were won over by Bernard of Clairvaux to a more ecclesiastical life and thus contracted the anger of King Louis the Fat. Now they implored the chapter to help them to settle their differences with the King. The general chapter agreed and addressed letters to Pope Honorius II, and to the papal chancellor, Haimeric, on the bishops' behalf. It also sent a letter, supposedly composed by Bernard of Clairvaux, to the French King. The letter speaks in resolute and even bold terms, a sign of the order's increasing strength and reputation.⁷³

After the death of Pope Honorius II in 1130, two Popes were elected; one called himself Innocent II, the other Anacletus II. The double election brought about a schism within the Church. Innocent II went soon after his election to France where the council of Etampes, largely through the efforts of Bernard of Clairvaux, acknowledged him as the true Pope. The Pope's sojourn in France had important consequences for the Cistercians. Stephen Harding, taking advantage of the Pope's presence, sent Bernard of Clairvaux to him in order to make some petitions. This we learn from the Pope's bull Habitantes in domo Dei, issued in the abbey of Cluny on February 10,

ciensis ecclesie ab eodem abbate concessa sibi participatione."--See also Saint Bernard's "Epistola v.," Patrologia Latina, tom. 182, col. 89, Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 160 and Tiburtius Humpfer, "Die Bibel des hl. Stephan Harding," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 139.

⁷³Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1116 ad Annum 1786, vol. I (Louvain, 1933), 5-7. Also Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 192-194, and Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 38.

1132. In it the Pope, grateful for the order's services, approved all the possession of Cîteaux and even those it would receive in the future. As a further sign of his favor he exempted the Cistercian abbots from the obligation of participating in diocesan synods, except in questions concerning the Catholic faith: "because where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, that ye may be able with the greater freedom to follow out the service of God, and with the clear vision of the soul to dwell at peace in contemplation, we forbid that any bishop or archbishop should compel thee, or thy successors, or any abbot of the Cistercian order, to come to a council or synod, save on account of the faith." The Pope also gave the abbey of Cîteaux the privilege to choose its superior from any abbey of the order and issued regulations for the case that other abbeys would elect an abbot from another monastery. Furthermore the Pope ordered that a laybrother, after pronouncing his vows could not be accepted and kept by any bishop or abbot without the consent of the Cistercians. The concluding words of the bull contain a very important provision: a concession by which the Pope freed the Cistercians, who, as it was exposed, renounced all tithes from the beginning but paid their taxes like all other monasteries, from paying tithes on their own property or other fields they cultivated at their own expense as well as on their animals.⁷⁴

Around the year 1131 abbot Stephen addressed a letter to abbot Thurstan and the other monks of Sherborne, the monastery where he spent several years in his youth. Although the contents of this letter add but little to the facts already known about Stephen Harding, it is still worthwhile to mention it, for in it we find some traits of the abbot's inner life,

⁷⁴Patrologia Latina, tom. 179, col. 122. Also Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 253-234.

such as grateful remembrance and fatherly love. This love prompts Stephen, approaching the end of his earthly journey, to exhort his addressees to remain steadfast in the practice of monastic virtues, for in that case God will reward them as He rewarded him (Stephen), who, once poor and alone, has now many companions and confidently awaits the call of his Master.⁷⁵

In the year 1132 or 1133 abbot Stephen introduced the Cistercian observance into the convent of Tart, some eight miles north-east of Cîteaux, which thus became the first Cistercian convent. Tart, founded in 1125 by Benedictine nuns of Juilly-les-Nonnais, came soon under the jurisdiction of Molesme. In their desire to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict more strictly, the nuns of Tart gradually accustomed themselves to the life of Cîteaux, so that by 1132 the convent could be called Cistercian in observance. Abbot Stephen encouraged the nuns in their endeavor, as it is related; however, he proceeded on his own initiative and was not commissioned by the general chapter. For, at first the order did not accept the care

⁷⁵The text of the letter reads: "T. uenerabili abbati scireburnie. et Congregationi sibi a deo commissa. frater Stephanus cisterciensis Ecclesie servus. christum cum dilectione timere. et cum timore diligere. Epulare officium est alloqui absentes quase presentes. et coniungere per caritatis contubernium. quos interualla locorum ab inuicem secludunt. Unde quia os nostrum et caro nostra estis. commoneo uos. ut me pauca scribentem patienter paululum sufferatis. Ego monachus uester fui. et in baculo meo mare transiui. ut in me omnium uestrum minimo. nullius momenti apud uos. dominus diuitias misericordie sue demonstraret. et uos ad emulandum me prouocaret. Uas enim uacuum uelut uiuus fons sicut uoluit impleuit. ut vos qui meliores sanctissima parentela eratis. religionem fortiter tenere. et de domino presumere auderetis. Nunc enim qui solus de terra mea et pauper egressus sum: diues et cum XL turbis uiam uniuerse carnis letus ingredior. securus expectans denarium operariis fideliter in uinea laborantibus repromissum. Unde uestram cohortor dilectionem. ut bonam famam que de uobis ad nos usque manauit. profectu uirtutum applicare satagatis. ut de bono in melius proficientes. et uere religioni firmiter inherentes. castitatem. humilitatem. studiis parsimonie cum caritate inservientes. corde et corpore usque ad mortem tenere non desistatis. ut deum deorum uidere mereamini amen." Hugh Talbot, "An Unpublished Letter of St. Stephen," Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem, 3(1936), 68-69. The English translation of the letter is found in Appendix IV, page 89.

and spiritual guidance of nuns; soon, however, it modified its attitude, and thus Tart retains the honor of having been the first community of Cistercian nuns.⁷⁶

At the general chapter of 1133 an important event took place. According to the Exordium Magnum, "the blessed father, Stephen, having manfully administered the office entrusted to him, according to the true pattern of humility given us by Our Lord Jesus Christ, worn out with old age and so dim-sighted that he could hardly see, wished to lay down his pastoral charge that he might consecrate the remainder of his days to God and his own soul exclusively, in the sweetness of divine contemplation." The assembly of abbots accepted the resignation only with greatest reluctance, and then urged abbot Stephen to designate his successor. This the latter declined to do, preferring an election by voting. Thus it happened that Guido, second abbot of Trois Fontaines, became Stephen Harding's successor. Soon, however, it became obvious that Guido was unfit for his office; so the general chapter deposed the unworthy abbot in 1134 and elected Rainard (Rainald) in his place, a man worthy to succeed the founding fathers of Cîteaux.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Gregor Müller, Vom Cistercienser Orden, 37-38, Ailbe J. Luddy, The Cistercian Nuns (Dublin, 1931), 11-12, and (Alberic Wulf) Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order, 94.

⁷⁷"Cum autem beatus Pater Stephanus officium sibi commissum secundum veram humilitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Regulam strenue administrasset, longo confectus senio, ita ut caligarent oculi ejus, et videre non potest, curam pastorem deposuit, soli Deo et sibi per sacrae contemplationis gustum vacare desiderans." "Exordium Magnum," I, xxiii. Patrologia Latina, tom. 185bis, col. 1018. Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 260-261. --According to G. Roger Hudleston, the author of "Stephen Harding" in The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. xiv., Stephen Harding appointed his successor, a certain Robert de Monte. The account of the Exordium Magnum as well as the testimony of such recognized authorities as Manrique, Mabillon, Janauschek, Gregor Müller and the Cistercian Breviary unmistakably prove the falseness of this assertion. --See also Kassian Haid, "Vor 800 Jahren, Zum Abschluss des Stephans-Jubiläums," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 373.

After this sad and unfortunate event Stephen Harding's earthly life came slowly to its end. According to the Exordium Magnum, when about to breathe his last, Stephen Harding overheard the monks around him speaking of his virtuous life and of the confidence with which he could appear before his Judge to render an account of his life. But the dying abbot felt differently: "What is this you are saying? Let me tell you in all sincerity that I go before my God as full of fear and such diffidence as if I had never performed a single good action. Whatever good has been done through me, and whatever fruit has rewarded my labors, is all due to His helping grace; and I tremble to think that through my pride and unworthiness that grace has been rendered less fruitful." The great abbot died on March 28, 1134, leaving more than 75 abbeys behind him. He was buried in the cloister of Cîteaux, at the entrance to the church.⁷⁸

After the suppression of the religious orders by the French Revolution, the body of Saint Stephen was transferred to Dijon and hidden. This we learn from a letter written by abbot Sebastian Steinegger of Wettingen, Switzerland, dated December 13, 1791. Unfortunately, the body has never since been recovered.⁷⁹

The death of abbot Stephen caused universal grief in the Cister-

⁷⁸"Quid est quod loquimini? In veritate dico vobis quia sicut trepidus et sollicitus ad Deum vado, quasi qui nunquam aliquid boni fecerim. Nam et si boni aliquid in me fuit, vel si fructus aliquis per parvitatem meam provenire potuit cooperante gratia Dei, timeo valde et contremisco ne forte minus digne, minusve humiliter eandem gratiam apud me detinuerim." "Exordium Magnum," i, xxiii. Patrologia Latina, tom. 185 bis, col. 1019. Manrique, Annales Cistercienses I, 269-270.--According to Acta Sanctorum Aprilis Tomus Secundus (Parisii et Romae, 1866), 498, the inscription of the crypt read: "Sancti et venerabiles Patres, Abbates monasterii et Ordinis Cisterciensis fundatores et amplificatores, hic simul reconditi sunt, D. Albericus, D. Stephanus... quorum felices animae, omnipotenti Deo viventes, nostri semper memores existant."

⁷⁹Archdale King, Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters, 21.

cian order. Like his two predecessors, Stephen Harding was invoked as a saint as soon as he died and as time went on, the veneration of Stephen steadily increased. Whether or not he was formally canonized by the Church is still an undecided question. Advocates of Stephen's formal canonization point to the fact that Stephen's name was inserted into the Roman Martyrology. This, however, is not sufficient proof and, besides, no other reliable documentary evidence supports the assertion. Therefore, as in so many cases, we should rather speak of what canonists call canonizatio aequipollens, equivalent canonization, a modified canonical process in the absence of sufficient contemporary documents, by which the Church enrolled a large number of men and women of past centuries among her saints, on condition that their heroic virtues and miracles are related by reliable historians, that they were the object of veneration from a remote period and, lastly, that the fame of their miraculous intercession is not interrupted.⁸⁰

⁸⁰Alexis Presse, "Notes sur le Culte Liturgique Rendu à S. Etienne Harding dans l'Ordre de Cîteaux," Cistercienser-Chronik, 46(1934), 105-108, Maurique, Annales Cistercienses I, 271

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE EXORDIUM PARVUM*

Preamble to the Beginning of the Community of Cîteaux--We Cister-

cians, the original founders of this community, make known to our successors through this present writing by what canonical procedure, under what authority and by which persons as well as what time the community and their manner of living had its beginning. After the publication of this matter which has been written with sincere truthfulness may they love more tenaciously the place as well as the observance of the Holy Rule, which, with God's grace, we ourselves have somehow begun therein; and may they pray for us who have suffered indefatigably the burden and the heat of the day, and may they labor on the straight and narrow way prescribed by the Rule until the exaltation of their souls, so that after the burden of the flesh has been sloughed off, they may happily pause in eternal rest.

i. The Commencement of the Community of Cîteaux.--In the year 1098 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Robert of blessed memory, the first abbot of the community of Molesme, in the diocese of Langres, and certain of the brethren from the same community appeared before the venerable Hugh, then Legate of the Apostolic See and Archbishop of the Church of Lyons. Before him they promised to arrange their life in the observance of the Holy

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Rule of Father Benedict, and begged therefore fervently that he give them his support as well as the strength of the Apostolic authority for the unhindered realization of this intention. The Legate gladly espoused their wish and laid down the foundations of their beginning with the following letter.

ii. Letter of the Legate Hugh.--Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons and Legate of the Apostolic See, to Robert, Abbot of Molesme, and to the brethren who together with him desire to serve God according to the Rule of Saint Benedict. Be it known to all those who rejoice in the advancement of our Holy Mother the Church that you and some of your sons, brethren of the community of Molesme, appeared before us at Lyons and pledged yourselves to follow from now on more strictly and more perfectly the Rule of the Most Holy Benedict, which so far in that monastery you have observed poorly and neglectfully. Since it has been proven that because of many hindering circumstances you could not accomplish your aim in the aforementioned place, we--keeping in view the spiritual welfare of both parties, namely of the departing and of the remaining--consider that it would be expedient for you to retire to another place which the Divine Munificence will point out to you, and there serve the Lord undisturbedly in a more wholesome manner. Therefore, to you who presented yourselves: Abbot Robert, and the brethren Alberic, Odo, John, Stephen, Letald and Peter as well as others who properly and by unanimous consent have decided to join you, we advise and commend to persevere in this holy endeavor which we, through the impression of our seal corroborate forever by the Apostolic authority.

iii. About the Departure of the Cistercian Monks from Molesme and about their Arrival at Cîteaux as well as about the Monastery which they Commenced.--Supported by such an imposing authority, the above named

Abbot and his followers returned to Molesme and there they chose from the monastic community as their companions brethren devoted to the Rule, so that those who had spoken before the Legate in Lyons and those who were chosen from the community, amounted to twenty-one monks. Surrounded by such a following they happily started on their way to the hermitage which was named Cîteaux. This area, situated in the diocese of Chalon, was inhabited only by wild animals, since it was a wilderness of dense woods and thorny thickets, impenetrable for humans. Here then came the men of God and the more they discovered it to be despised and unapproachable by worldly men the more they found this place suited for their religious life as they had first intended and for which reason they had come here. After they had cut down the woods and removed the dense thorny thickets, they began to build a monastery there under the approval of the Bishop of Chalon and with the permission of the landlord. These men, while still living in Molesme and inspired by divine grace often spoke, complained and lamented among themselves over the transgression of the Rule of St. Benedict, the Father of Monks. They realized that they themselves and the other monks had not at all observed it, even though they had promised by solemn vow to follow the Rule. That was the reason, as we mentioned above, why they came into this solitude by the authority of the Legate of the Apostolic See, namely to fulfill their vows through the observation of the holy Rule. Lord Odo, the duke of Burgundy, pleased with their holy fervor, and having been requested in a letter by the aforementioned Legate of the holy Roman Church, completed with his own means the wooden monastery which they had begun, and provided them there abundantly for a long time with every necessity, with land as well as with live-stock.

iv. How that Place Rose to an Abbey.--At the same time, the Abbot

who had come here, upon the command of the above mentioned Legate received from the Bishop of the diocese the shepherd's staff together with the charge of the monks, and made the brethren, who had come with him, to affirm in the proper manner their stability at the same place. Thus that growing monastery, through Apostolic authority, rose canonically to an abbey.

v. How those from Molesme Annoyed the Pope in the Matter of Abbot Robert's Return.--Shortly afterwards, the monks of Molesme with the consent of their Abbot, Lord Godfrey, the successor of Robert, went to Rome to Pope Urban. They began to demand that the often cited Robert be reinstated in his former position. Moved to yield by their importunacy, the Pope ordered the Legate, namely the venerable Hugh, that the same Abbot, if it could be done, should return and the monks who loved the hermitage might stay there in peace.

vi. Letter of the Pope regarding the Return of the Abbot.--Urban, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to the venerable brother and fellow-bishop Hugh, Vicar of the Apostolic See, greeting and Apostolic blessing. We have heard in council the great clamor of the brethren of Molesme who vehemently demanded the return of their Abbot. Namely, they have said that the regular life in their monastery has declined and that they have become hated by the princes and other neighbors, because of the absence of that Abbot. Compelled then by our brethren we commend Your Grace, through our present script, the indication of our desire, that if it can be done, that Abbot be returned from the hermitage to the monastery. If you cannot accomplish this, let it be your concern that those who love the hermitage may live in peace, and those who are in the monastery observe the regular discipline.--After the Legate had read this Apostolic letter, he assembled capable and God-fearing men and decided the matter in question in the following

manner.

vii. The Legate's Decision in the Whole Matter concerning the Monks of Molesme and Cîteaux.--Hugh, servant of the church of Lyons, to the most beloved brother Robert, Bishop of Langres, greetings. We have considered it necessary to let your Fraternity have knowledge of what we have decided in the recently held meeting at Portansille regarding the matter of the community of Molesme. There appeared before us monks from Molesme with your letter. They described to us the sad conditions and the ruin of their place which was caused through the removal of the Abbot Robert and begged emphatically that he might be given back to them as father. For, they had no hope that peace and quiet could return to the community of Molesme nor that the full vigor of the monastic discipline could be reinstated in its pristine state in any other way. Brother Godfrey, too, presented himself to us, whom you have placed as Abbot over the same community, stating that he would gladly relinquish his place to Robert as to his father if it should please us to return him to the community of Molesme.--Therefore, after considering your request and that of the monks of Molesme and having reread the letter of the lord Pope addressed to us in this matter, in which he left everything to our disposition and decision, and upon the advice of many pious men, bishops as well as others who were there with us in council, we have finally decided in compliance with your and their wishes, to give Robert back to the community of Molesme. This change should be transacted in such a manner, however, that before his return there, he should come to Chalon and deliver his crosier and the charge of the abbey into the hands of our brother the Bishop of Chalon, to whom, following the tradition of other abbots, he had vowed obedience. The monks of the New Monastery, who before him, as their Abbot, had professed

and had promised obedience, he should release and declare free of the profession and obedience. Similarly, he shall then be released by the Bishop of the vows which he had made to him and to the church of Chalon. Also, we have given permission to return with him to Molesme all those brethren of the New Monastery who will follow him when he leaves it, provided that in the future neither side will attempt to convert or receive anyone of them to their side, except in the manner prescribed by Saint Benedict concerning the admission of monks of a known monastery. When he will have done the aforementioned, we shall send him to Your Grace, so that you shall re-install him as the Abbot of the community of Molesme. However, this will only be done on the condition that if, in the future, he should in his usual fickleness leave the same community, no one during the lifetime of the named Abbot Godfrey shall be put in his place without our and yours, as well as Godfrey's approval. Be it understood that all this was arranged by virtue of the Apostolic authority. With regard to Abbot Robert's chapel and the other things which he took with him upon his departure from Molesme and with which he went to the Bishop of Chalon and to the New Monastery, we have ordered that all remain safely with the brethren of the New Monastery. This is with the exception of a certain breviary which, upon approval of the monks of Molesme, they may keep until the celebration of the feast of Saint John the Baptist, so that it may be copied. At this decision were present the bishops Norigaudus of Autun, Walter of Chalon, Barandus of Macon, Pontius of Belley and the abbots Peter of Tournus, Jarento of Dijon, Jocerandus of Ainay, as well as Peter, chamberlain of the lord Pope, and many other honorable and esteemed men.--The Abbot praised all this and also executed it in releasing the Cistercians from the obedience which they had promised him at that place or in Molesme. Likewise,

Bishop Walter of Chalon released the Abbot from the leadership of the said community. And so he returned with a few monks who did not find the hermitage to their liking. In this manner, due to Apostolic ruling, these two abbeys remained in peace and in complete freedom. The returning Abbot, however, brought to his bishop as a shield for his defense the following letter.

viii. Commendation of Abbot Robert.-- To the most beloved brother and fellow-bishop Rodbert, Bishop of Langres, Walter, servant of the church of Chalon, sends his greetings.--Be it known to you that brother Robert whom we had assigned to that abbey which is being called New Monastery, situated in our episcopate, due to the decision of Archbishop Hugh, has been released by us from the vows made to the church of Chalon as well as from the obedience promised to us. He himself, too, has released and declared free those monks who have decided to remain in the aforesaid New Monastery, from their obedience they had promised him and from the tie of profession. Have, therefore, no hesitation to accept him and to treat him with honor from now on.--Fare-well.

ix. About the Election of Alberic the First Abbot of Cîteaux.-- Deprived of its shepherd, the community of Cîteaux assembled and through a regular election they elevated a certain brother by the name of Alberic to be their abbot. He was a man of letters, well versed in both divine and human sciences, and a lover of the Rule and the brethren. For a long time he had served as prior in the community of Molesme as well as here, and he had long urged the brethren to move from Molesme to this place, for which endeavors he had to suffer many insults, prison and beatings.

x. About the Roman Privilege.--After the above mentioned Alberic, although very reluctantly, had taken over the shepherd's position, he began, as a man of admirable wisdom, to weigh what storms or tribulations could

shake and disturb the house delivered into his trust. Taking precaution beforehand, and after consulting the brethren, he sent two monks, John and Ilbodus to Rome, petitioning lord Pope Paschal through them that his community might forever remain quiet and safe under the wings of the Apostolic protection from the pressure of any person, ecclesiastical or secular. The two previously named brethren, furnished with sealed letters from Archbishop Hugh, from John and Benedict, Cardinals of the Roman Church, as well as from Bishop Walter of Chalon, safely arrived at Rome and from there back again. This was before Pope Paschal himself failed in the captivity of the Emperor, and the Apostolic privilege which they received from him was composed entirely according to the wishes of the Abbot and his associates. We consider it suitable to hand down in this little work these letters as well as the Roman privilege, so that our successors might realize with what great circumspection and authority their community has been founded.

xi. Letter by the Cardinals John and Benedict.--To our lord and father, the Pope Paschal, to whom everywhere distinguished praise is to be given, John and Benedict, remain in deepest devotion.--Since it is your office to care for the needs of all churches and to give a helping hand to the just wishes of the petitioners, and since the Christian religion shall receive its growth through leaning on the support of your justice, we beg Your Holiness, with all our strength, that you might lend merciful hearing to the carriers of this letter who, upon our advice, have been sent by certain religious brethren to Your Paternity. Namely, they ask that the decree which they received from your predecessor, our lord Pope Urban of blessed memory, be perpetuated. This is in regard to the peace and solidity of their monastic life and those things which in accordance with the same decree the Archbishop of Lyons, then Legate, and other fellow-bishops

and abbots had settled among themselves in order that the abbey of Molesme from which they had departed because of the religious life, might remain forever undisturbed through the privilege of your authority. We ourselves know them and vouch for their true religious life.

xii. Letter of Hugh of Lyons.--To his most reverend father and lord, Pope Paschal, Hugh, servant of the church of Lyons, in deepest devotion.--The brethren who are delivering the present letter, on their journey to the Highness of Your Paternity, have taken the road through (our town). Since they live in our province, namely in the diocese of Chalon, they asked our unworthy self for a letter of recommendation to Your Highness. You should know, however, that they come from a place which is called New Monastery, where they had settled after they left the community of Molesme with their abbot, in order to live there and to lead a more rigorous and secluded life following the Rule of Saint Benedict. In the observance of this Rule they have resolved in abandoning the usages of certain monasteries where the monks maintain that in their weakness they are unfit to bear such a great burden. For that reason the brethren from Molesme and some other monks of the neighborhood do not cease to annoy and disturb them, thinking that in the eyes of the world they are valued less and are looked upon with contempt if the world will take notice what exceptional and new kind of monks are living in their midst. We, therefore, humbly and trustfully ask your fatherly benevolence, so dear to us, that in your usual kindness you welcome these brethren. Next to the Lord, they have placed all their trust in you. Therefore, they seek refuge in your Apostolic authority, so that they and their monastery may be delivered from this annoyance and disturbance and that you might protect them through a privilege of your authority; since the poor of Christ have no defense

through riches or power against their enviers, but place their hope on God's and your mercy alone.

xiii. Letter of the Bishop of Chalon.--To the Honorable Father, Pope Paschal, Walter, Bishop of Chalon, greeting and due subservience. As Your Holiness most ardently desires the advancement of the faithful in the true religion, so must these brethren not miss the shelter of your protection, the encouragement of your consolation. We, therefore, plead urgently that you might deign to corroborate through the privilege of your authority what has been ordered in regard to these brethren. They have longed for a more severe life, and upon the advice of holy men whom the Divine Mercy has placed in our diocese, departed from Molesme. The delegated bearers of this letter from these men stand before you. All has been done in accordance with your predecessor's order, corresponding to the decision and letter of the Archbishop of Lyons, then Legate of the Apostolic See, as well as other bishops and abbots. On this occasion we were present and acted together with others. We plead therefore that you confirm that the place might remain a free abbey forever, under the canonical subjection, however, due our person and our successors. Moreover, the Abbot whom we have installed in that place and the remaining brethren also ask your kindness most insistently for this confirmation to secure their peace.

xiv. The Roman Privilege.--Paschal, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to the Venerable Alberic, Abbot of the New Monastery, located in the episcopate of Chalon and to all his properly installed successors from this day forward. A petition which is obviously aimed at a religious purpose and the welfare of souls is to be granted without any delay upon God's demand. Therefore, my sons, most beloved in the Lord, we comply with your petition without the least objection, because we

congratulate you with paternal affection on your religious life. We decree, therefore, that the place which you have chosen in order to live in monastic tranquillity, be secure and free from any annoyance by all men and that an abbey may exist there forever and be particularly sheltered through the protection of the Apostolic See, not impairing the canonical reverence to the church of Chalon. By means of this present decree we, therefore, forbid that anyone permit himself to change your way of life or admit monks of your community which is called New Monastery, without the recommendation as demanded by the Rule, nor to disturb your community through any kind of annoyance or violence. Concerning the decision of the controversy between you and the monks of the monastery of Molesme, which has been reached by our brother, the Bishop of Lyons then Vicar of the Apostolic See, together with the bishops of his province and other religious men, by the commitment of our predecessor, Urban II of apostolic memory, we confirm it as a reasonable and laudable one. You must, therefore, remember, sons most beloved and dearest in Christ, that one part of you has left the broad roads of the world, another even the less strict paths of a laxer monastery. Consequently, in order that you may be considered always more and more deserving of this grace, you must strive to keep always in your hearts the fear and love of God, so that the more free you are of the noises and pleasures of the world, the more you aim to please God with all the powers of your mind and soul. Truly, should in the future an archbishop or bishop, an emperor or king, a prince or duke, a count or viscount, a judge or any other clerical or secular person knowingly counteract this our constitution, and upon two or three reprimands not make amends for his mistake through an adequate satisfaction, he shall be deprived of the powers and honor of his dignity and it should be known that he is guilty before the divine judge-

ment because of the committed iniquity and he shall be estranged from the Body and Blood of our God and our Lord Jesus Christ and undergo severe punishment at the Last Judgement. Upon all those, however, who respect the rights of this monastery, rest the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that already here on earth they may receive the fruit of their good deeds and before the strict Judge may find the award of eternal peace.

xv. The Statutes of the Cistercian Monks who Departed from Mol-esme.--Thereupon the Abbot and his brethren, mindful of their vows, unanimously decided to establish and keep the Rule of Saint Benedict in that place. They rejected what was contrary to the Rule, namely wide cuculas, furs, linen shirts, cowls and breeches, combs and blankets, mattresses, a wide variety of dishes in the refectory as well as fat and everything else which is opposed to the Rule. In thus taking the rectitude of the Rule as the norm of conduct for their whole way of life, they fully complied with its directions in ecclesiastical as well as in other observances and arranged themselves accordingly. In this way discarding the old man they enjoyed putting on the new one. And since they could not find either in the Rule or in the life of Saint Benedict that this teacher ever possessed churches, altars or offerings, burial places or tithes of other people, or bakeries or mills or farmhouses or serfs and that women ever had entered his monastery, nor was buried there anybody with the exception of his sister, they renounced all of that saying, where the holy father Benedict teaches that the monks stay aloof from the doings of the world, there he distinctly explains that those things should not have any place in the actions or in the hearts of the monks who, in fleeing the world, ought to live up to the etymology of their name. They also said that the tithes had been divided into four parts by the holy Fathers, who were the instruments of the Holy

Ghost and whose instructions it was a sacrilege to transgress; namely, one part for the bishop, the second for the parish priest, the third for guests who came to the church concerned, or for the widows and orphans or for the poor who had nothing else to live on; the fourth for the maintenance of the church. And since in this distribution they did not find mention of the monk who owns his land for the purpose of living on it through his own work and of his animals, they therefore detested to usurp unjustly the rights of others. And behold, after the new soldiers of Christ, poor themselves as Christ was poor, had denounced the riches of this world, they began to consult one with another, how, with what work or occupation, they should provide in this world for themselves as well as for their arriving guests, rich and poor alike, who after the Rule were to be welcomed as Christ. Since they realized that without their help they would be unable to fulfill perfectly the precepts of the Rule day and night, they decided to admit unlettered men as lay-brothers with the approval of the bishop and to treat them in life and in death as their own, except for the rights reserved for choir monks. For the same reason they resolved to employ hired hands. They also wanted to take on landed properties which lay removed from human dwellings, as well as vineyards and meadows and woods and waters in order to install mills, but only for their own use, and because of the fishing, also to keep horses and cattle and various things that are needed and useful to men. They also decided that when they would have established farmhouses for the practice of agriculture, the said lay-brothers should manage those houses, and not the monks, whose residence according to the Rule should be within their cloister. Since it was known also to those holy men that Saint Benedict had built the monasteries not in towns or in fortified places or in villages, but in places removed from the traffic of men,

they promised to follow the same, and as he installed twelve monks together with a father abbot in each of the newly erected monasteries, so they declared their wish to proceed in the same manner.

xvi. About their Sorrow.--To the aforementioned man of God, the Abbot and those with him, it caused some sorrow that in those days only seldom did anyone come there in order to become their imitator. Namely, the holy men vehemently desired to hand down to their successors, for the benefit of many souls, this treasure of virtues found in such heavenly manner. Nevertheless, almost all those who saw or heard of the unusual and almost unprecedented rigor of their manner of life, instead of approaching them, tried anxiously to avoid and forget them, doubting always in their perseverance. But the mercy of God who had inspired his own for this kind of spiritual military service, continued to enlarge and complete it for the benefit of many, as the following will show.

xvii. About the Death of the First Abbot and the Election of the Second and about their Regulations and their Happiness.--The man of God, Alberic, however, after he had practiced fruitfully regular discipline in the school of Christ for nine and a half years, went home to the Lord, glorious in his faith and virtues, therefore deservedly rewarded by God in the eternal life. His successor was a brother by the name of Stephen, an Englishman by nationality, who had also come here with the others from Molsme, a lover of the Rule and the new place. During his time, the brethren and this Abbot prohibited the duke of that country or any other sovereign should keep court at any time in that monastery as they used to do before at big feasts. Furthermore, in order that in the house of God, in which it was their desire to serve God devoutly day and night, nothing would remain that savored pride and superfluity or eventually corrupt poverty, the safe-

guard of virtues, which they had chosen out of their free will, they resolved not to keep golden or silver crosses but only painted wooden ones; no candelabra, but only one of iron; no thuribles, but only of copper or iron; no chasubles, except of wool or linen, without silk, gold or silver weave; no albs or amices but of linen, similarly without silk, gold or silver. They eliminated entirely the use of all kinds of palliums, copes, dalmatics and tunics. However, they retained silver chalices, not golden, but when it could be done gold plated, as well as the communion tube of silver, gold plated if possible; stoles and maniples were of silk only, without gold and silver. They also ordered that the altar cloths be made of plain linen and without embroideries and that the cruets should have nothing in gold and silver on them.--In those days the monastery increased in its possessions of land, vineyards, meadows and farmhouses; they did not decrease, however, in monastic discipline. Therefore, God visited that place about this time in pouring out his deepest mercy over those who implored, cried and wept before him day and night, groaning long and deep and had almost come to the rim of despair because they had no successors. God's mercy had sent to that community so many literate clerics as well as laymen who were in the world as powerful as they were distinguished, that thirty all at once happily entered the cells of novices and by bravely combatting their own vices and the temptations of the evil spirits completed their course. Through their example old and young, men of every walk of life and from various parts of the world became encouraged since they saw through them that what they had feared impossible, the observance of the Rule, was possible. So they began to flock together there in order to bow their proud necks under the sweet yoke of Christ, and to love fervently the rigorous and burdensome precepts of the Rule, and they began to make that community wonderfully happy and

strong.

xviii. About the Abbeys.--From then on they established abbeys in the various episcopates, which under God's rich and powerful blessing prospered more from day to day, so that within eight years those who departed from Cîteaux and those who descended from them had altogether founded twelve monasteries.

APPENDIX II

THE CHARTER OF CHARITY*

Preface.--Already before Cistercian abbeys had begun to spread Father Stephen and his brethren, with a view to avoid all difficulties between the bishop and the monks, ordained that no abbeys should by any means be founded in any diocese before the bishop should approve and confirm the decree passed between the abbey of Cîteaux and its filiations. In this decree the aforesaid brethren, in the intention of obviating rupture of mutual concord explained and ordered and transmitted to those to come after, the bond and manner, or rather the charity whereby their monks divided in the body in abbeys in different parts of the world, should be indissolubly banded together in the spirit. They also considered this decree should be called Charter of Charity because putting aside the burden of any money contribution, it pursued only charity and the utility of souls in things human and divine.

Chap. i.--Because we are all servants, unprofitable indeed, of the one true King, Lord, and Master, therefore we demand no exaction of temporal profit or earthly goods from the abbots and the brethren whom the goodness of God has been pleased, through our unworthy instrumentality, to bring together in divers places, in the observance of regular discipline. For, desiring only to be of service to them and to the children of Holy Church, we will do nothing toward them that can be either a burden to

*The translation made by Denis Murphy, S.J. (Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii S. Crucis in Hibernia /Dublin, 1891/, xxvi-xxx) is based on the critical edition published by Philippe Guignard in Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne (Dijon, 1878), 79-84.

them or a subtraction of their temporal substance, lest striving to be made wealthy from their poverty, we may incur the guilt of the vice of avarice, which the Apostle terms the "serving of idols." It is, however, our intention, for the sake of charity, to watch with care over their souls; so that if they should at any time decline from their good resolution and the observance of their holy rule, which misfortune may God in his mercy avert, we may be able by our constant solicitude to bring them back to the religious life.

Chap. ii.--We wish henceforward and command them to observe the rule of St. Benedict in everything, as it is observed in the New Monastery, and to understand it in no other sense than that which our pious forefathers of Cîteaux have given to it and maintained, and which we ourselves now understand and hold after their example. And because we receive all monks coming from other monasteries into ours, and they in like manner receive ours, it seems proper to us, that all our monasteries should have the same usages in chanting, and the same books for the divine office day and night and the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, as we have in the New Monastery; that there may be no discord in our daily actions, but that we may all live together in the bond of charity under one rule, and in the practice of the same observances. Let no monastery or person of our Order dare to ask for any privilege from anyone, or if already obtained, to make use of such privilege which is opposed to the established constitutions of the Order, in whatsoever way it may have been obtained.

Chap. iii.--When the abbot of the New Monastery shall go to any other monastery for the purpose of visitation, the abbot of the monastery so visited shall acknowledge the abbey of Cîteaux to be the mother-house, and shall yield precedence to its abbot in every part of his monastery; so

that the abbot of the New Monastery shall take and hold the place of this abbot as long as he remains in that monastery. However, he shall not eat in the guest apartments, but in the refectory with the community to maintain discipline, unless there should be no proper abbot at that time in the monastery. The same rule shall be observed, when several abbots shall come to any monastery. If the abbot of the monastery at the time be absent, then the one who is oldest in the abbatial dignity shall eat at the stranger's table. The abbot, however, in his own monastery will always, even in the presence of an abbot of superior dignity, profess his own novices at the end of their year of noviceship. Let the abbot of the New Monastery be careful not to touch anything, to ordain anything, or to dispose of anything, with reference to the possessions of the monastery which he visits, without the consent of the abbot and his brethren. If he shall perceive that any of the precepts of the rule or the institutions of the Order are violated in the monastery he is visiting, let him, with the advice and in the presence of the abbot, charitably endeavor to correct the brethren. But if the abbot of the monastery be not present, he shall, nevertheless, correct what he finds amiss.

Chap. iv.--The abbot of a mother-house shall visit annually, either in person or by one of his co-abbots, all the filiations of his own monastery. And if he should visit the brethren more frequently than this let it be to them a subject of joy. The four abbots of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond, shall visit in person unless prevented by sickness, once in the year, and on the day which they shall appoint, the monastery of Cîteaux, besides their attendance at the General Chapter, unless one of them is prevented by grave illness.

Chap. v.--When any abbot shall come to the New Monastery, due

respect shall be paid him. If the abbot be absent, he shall occupy his stall and eat in the guest apartments. But he shall not do these things if the abbot is present. The prior, in the abbot's absence, manages the business of the house. Let the following be the rule of abbeys that do not stand in the relationship of filiations or mother-houses. Every abbot shall yield precedence to an abbot paying him a visit, that this admonition of the Scripture may be fulfilled, "in honor preventing one another." If two or more pay a visit at the same time, he who is the senior in the abbatial dignity shall hold the first place. All of them shall take their food in the refectory, as we have said above, except the abbot of the monastery. But when they meet together, they shall take precedence according to the antiquity of their abbeys; so that the abbot of the most ancient house shall occupy the first place. And they shall all mutually pay each other the deference of a profound inclination when they take their seats.

Chap. vi.--Whenever, by the mercy of God, any of our houses shall so increase as to be able to erect another foundation, let both the mother and the daughter follow the rule of charity which we adopt among our brethren; with this exception, that they shall not hold for themselves an annual chapter. But all the abbots of our Order shall meet each year in General Chapter, without excuse, except they are prevented by grievous sickness; and then they shall depute a proper representative. An exception is made also in the case of those who live in too distant countries, which shall be decided by the Chapter. If any abbot from any other cause shall presume upon leave of absence from the General Chapter, he shall ask pardon of the Chapter for his fault the following year, and receive a severe reprimand. In the General Chapter, the abbots shall consult upon matters that appertain to the salvation of souls, and shall ordain what is to be corrected, or

what carried out in the observance of the rule and the institutions of the Order. They shall likewise mutually confirm each other in the bond of peace and charity. If any abbot be less zealous about the rule than he ought, or be too much intent upon secular business or be worthy of censure in any way, he shall be charitably reprimanded in the General Chapter; and when reprimanded, he shall ask pardon, and perform the penance imposed for his fault. No one but an abbot shall make this proclamation. If any controversy shall arise among the abbots, or a fault so grievous shall be charged against any of them that he thereby deserves suspension or deposition, whatever is decreed by the General Chapter in this matter shall be observed. If through diversity of opinion there is engendered discord upon any subject, let that which the abbot of Cîteaux, with the more prudent and more sagacious in council, shall decide with reference to the dispute be faithfully maintained.

Chap. vii.--If any of our monasteries shall become extremely indigent, the abbot shall give notice to the General Chapter; then all the abbots assembled, animated by a lively charity, shall contribute to its relief, according to the means with which God may have blessed them.

Chap. viii.--If any monastery of our Order be without an abbot, the abbot of its mother-house shall take the charge of it until the election of a new abbot. If it is itself a mother-house, the abbots of the several filiations and the monks of that house, being assembled on the day appointed, shall proceed by the advice and desire of the presiding abbot, to choose the new abbot.

Chap. ix.--When Cîteaux, the mother-house of all the monasteries of the Order, is without an abbot, the abbots of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond shall provide for the election of a new abbot. And they shall have the charge of that house until such abbot has been duly elected

and confirmed. Fifteen days' notice at least shall be given previous to the election of the Abbot of Cîteaux. Then all the abbots whose monasteries are filiations of Cîteaux, and such others as the above-mentioned four abbots of the greater houses and the brethren of Cîteaux shall judge proper, being together assembled in the name of the Lord, shall elect the new abbot. It is lawful for any mother-house to choose an abbot not only from the monks belonging to its filiations, but likewise from any of the abbots of the said filiations, if this be necessary. But no person of another Order shall ever be chosen abbot for one of our houses; not shall any of our members be permitted to become an abbot in a monastery of another Order.

Chap. x.--If any abbot, in consideration either of his extreme helplessness or extreme timidity, shall ask permission from the superior of a mother-house to be released from the burden of his abbatial office, let not the superior easily and without a just and necessary cause give his consent. But if the reason alleged be judged sufficient, then let him not do anything of himself; but having called together some other abbots of the Order and asked their advice, let him do what they think ought to be done.

Chap. xi.--If any abbot shall be known to despise the rule and prevaricate against the Order, or shall knowingly connive at the faults of his brethren, the abbot of the mother-house, as soon as convenient, shall either by himself or by his prior, exhort the delinquent, even to the fourth time, to an amendment of conduct. But if, in spite of these admonitions, he will neither correct his fault nor spontaneously abdicate, an assembly of abbots, though not numerous, of our institute shall remove the transgressor of the holy rule from his office; and another worthy of the dignity shall be forthwith elected by the chapter of the mother-house and by

the abbots of the filiations, if any belong to it, and by the brethren of of the monastery, in the manner above described. When an abbot who is deposed, and his religious become contumacious and rebellious (which may God forbid), so as not to acquiesce in the sentence which has been pronounced upon him, let them be excommunicated by the abbot of the mother-house and his co-abbots, and afterward the abbot of the mother-house shall take the means apt and available to make them do their duty. But if any of these disobedient members shall be sorry for his offense and wish to return to his mother, let him be received as a repentant son. Except in this case, no abbot of our Order shall retain the subject of another abbot without his consent. In like manner no abbot shall send members of his own community into the monastery of another without permission.

Chap. xii.--If it happen (which may Heaven forbend) that the abbots of our Order learn that the abbot of Cîteaux becomes cold in the practice of his duties and departs from the observance of the holy rule and constitutions, the four abbots of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond, shall, in the name of all the other abbots, admonish him to the fourth time, that he may correct himself and others. But if he prove incorrigible, then they must diligently carry out the instructions which we have given concerning the deposition of abbots, with this proviso: if he does not abdicate of his own accord, they can neither depose him, nor pronounce against him anathema unless in General Chapter. But if it would be too long to wait for that, they must proceed with their censures in an assembly of abbots who have been taken from the filiations of Cîteaux, with others summoned for the occasion. And when this unworthy superior has been deposed, they together with the brethren of Cîteaux shall choose a person with suitable qualifications to fill this vacancy. But if both the abbot

and the brethren of Cîteaux conjointly prove contumacious, let them be solemnly excommunicated. If later any of these prevaricators repenting of his fault and desirous of saving his soul, shall seek refuge in one of these four houses--La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, or Morimond--let him be received, after due satisfaction, as one of the members of the house, until he shall be reconciled and return to his own monastery, as justice demands. During this time the General Chapter shall not be held at Cîteaux, but where the four abbots above-mentioned shall determine.

APPENDIX III

THE NOTA SANCTI STEPHANI*

Brother Stephen, Abbot of the New Monastery, sends health to both the present and future servants of God.--After we decided to write this history, among the many books we have collected from various churches in order to follow the more trustworthy text, we struck upon one which greatly differed from almost all the others. Finding it more complete than the rest, we--in the belief of its genuineness--wrote our own history according to what we have found in that book. Having arranged everything, we were not a little puzzled by the variance of the different texts, since right reason tells us that whatever was translated by one interpreter--namely Saint Jerome, whom in preference to other interpreters our contemporaries have accepted long ago--from one source: the Hebrew text, ought to agree as one. Moreover, there are certain books of the Old Testament which our same interpreter did not translate from the Hebrew, but from the Chaldaic language, since he found the Jews had it this way, as he himself stated in the prologue of Daniel; and we have accepted them, just like the other books, according to his version. For this reason, greatly surprised at the discord of our books which we had received from one interpreter, we contacted certain Jews skilled in their own writings and inquired of them most diligently in the Roman language about all those Scriptural places which contained those parts and verses which we had found in our aforesaid copy and were already inserting in our own work,

*Author's translation of the original published in J. P. Migne Patrologia Latina, (Parisii, 1894), tom. 166, cols. 1373-1376.

but which we did not find in most other Latin texts. They unrolled many of their books in our presence and explaining to us the Hebrew and Chaldaic text in Latin words did not find the parts or verses we were concerned about in the places we questioned them. Therefore, believing the Hebrew and Chaldaic version and the many Latin books which did not contain those places but agreed in everything else with those two languages, we have entirely erased all the superfluous passages, as can be seen in many places of this book, especially in the Books of Kings where the **greater** part of errors was found. Therefore, we ask now all those who will read this book, never to enter again the aforementioned superfluous parts or verses into this work. For it is evident in which parts they were, since erasures on the parchment clearly indicate those places. We forbid therefore by the authority of God and our Congregation that anybody presume to treat this book--the fruit of so much labor--carelessly, or to make any notes with his thumbnail in its text or margin.

APPENDIX IV

LETTER TO ABBOT THURSTAN OF SHERBORNE*

To the venerable T., abbot of Sherborne, and the community entrusted to him by God, Brother Stephen, servant of the Cistercian community. Fear ye Christ with love and love him with fear. The reason for exchanging letters is to address those who are far away as if they were present and to unite through the bonds of fraternal charity those whom the distance of place separates from one another. Therefore, since you are bone of our bones and flesh of our flesh, I invite you to listen to me, the writer of these few lines, patiently for a little while. I was your monk and with my staff I crossed the sea so that God could manifest the riches of his mercy in me, the least one among you and one of no importance, and thus prompt you to my imitation. For, like a living fountain, he filled the empty vessel according to his liking, so that you, already better than your most holy ancestors, may remain strong and firm in the observance of religious discipline and trust in the Lord. For, alone and poor when I left my country, I am rich now, with forty communities surrounding me. Therefore, I am joyfully preparing to enter upon the road of all flesh, confident in the expectation of the talent promised to the faithful laborers of the vineyard. Let me, then, appeal to your charity, by growing in virtue, keep your good reputation which reached even us, so that progressing from good to better, and firmly adhering to the

*Author's translation from the original Latin published by Hugh Talbot in Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum, 3(1936), 68-69.

true religion, you may unceasingly observe chastity and humility and love the practice of poverty in your heart and body until death, and thus deserve the contemplation of the God of Gods. Amen.

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