Manual Labor: The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Ideal

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MANUAL LABOR: THE TWELFTH-CENTURY CISTERCIAN IDEAL

by

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Throughout the history of western monasticism three principal occupations were repeatedly emphasized for the monk: prayer, lectio divina (spiritual reading/meditation), and manual labor. Periodically, cultural mindsets, social structure, or even geography have produced a variation in the practice of these occupations, resulting in the dominance of one or the other, or even the disappearance of one altogether.

The emergence of the Cistercian Order at the end of the eleventh century was characterized by a spirit of simplicity and austerity with a renewed emphasis on manual labor which had been a neglected element in the monastic regime in the period just prior to the Cistercians. The treatises of the prominent Cistercian authors of the twelfth century indicated a desire to return to and recapture the fervent observance of the monastic regime as lived by the Desert Fathers and earliest monastic communities, and most literally a faithfulness to the Rule of Saint Benedict. The Cistercian emphasis on manual labor was as much an attempt to respond to the popular religious needs of the twelfth century as it was an attempt to restore monasticism to its pristine form. Although Cistercian authors continued to insist upon the performance of manual labor into the thirteenth century, by the end of the twelfth century it ceased to be required of all monks in the Order.
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Dennis R. Overman
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS........................................................................ ii

POEM: "Trappists Working," by Thomas Merton .................... v

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1

II. MANUAL LABOR: ANCIENT MONASTIC TRADITION AND RULES ........................................... 6

III. MANUAL LABOR: THE MONASTIC CLIMATE PRECEDING Citeaux .............................................. 15

IV. MANUAL LABOR: THE CISTERCIAN VIEW IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY: BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE ASCETICAL LIFE ................................................................. 37

Poverty................................................................. 38
Solitude ................................................................. 45
The Apostolic Life ................................................................. 48
Strict Adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict ............... 58

V. MANUAL LABOR: THE CISTERCIAN VIEW IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY: THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS ................................................................. 64

Avoidance of Idleness ................................................................. 65
A Balanced Life ................................................................. 67
The Physical Bases of Spiritual Growth ................. 76
Manual Labor as Mortification|Penance ................ 81

VI. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE MONK IN THE MONASTERY: COUNTER-INDICATIONS ................................................................. 88

The Rise of the Cistercian Lay-brotherhood ............... 88
The Rise of Intellectual and Literary Work ............... 94
The Use and Abuse of Monastic Sources ............... 97

VII. CONCLUSION ................................................................. 101

iii
Trappists Working

Now all our saws sing holy sonnets in this world of timber
Where oaks go off like guns, and fall like cataracts,
Pouring their roar into the wood's green well.

Walk to us, Jesus, through the wall of trees
And find us still adorers in these airy churches,
Singing our other Office with our saws and axes.
Still teach Your Children in the busy forest,
And let some little sunlight reach us, in our mental
Shades, and leafy studies.

When time has turned the country white with grain
And filled our regions with the thrashing sun,
Walk to us, Jesus, through the walls of wheat
When our two tractors come to cut them down:
Sow some light winds upon the acres of our spirit,
And cool the regions where our prayers are reapers,
And slake us, Heaven, with Your living rivers.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The unfolding of the history of Christianity is resplendent with countless attempts to emulate the life of Jesus Christ. With fundamental Gospel principles and various forms of New Testament theologizing, men and women throughout the ages have sought radically to live lives modelled on Jesus Christ. The monastic movement has been one such attempt to live the Gospel, and in so doing seek union with God. Throughout its own history, monasticism has grown, developed, and evolved; shaped by both internal ideological progression as well as by response to developments in the secular sphere. But its aim today is the same as for the first monks in the fourth century: to strip away obstructions impeding the evangelical life, and to set about living a life which would draw them into ultimate union with God.

The context in which the monk chose to pursue this program varied from place to place and from age to age. Basically, tradition informs us of two environments in which the monastic program was embraced: the hermitage, and the cenobium. The hermit's choice divorced him from normal interaction with society. Solitude was the womb in which the hermit stripped himself of his worldly obstructions and unified himself with God. Although consultation with an Abba, a
spiritual father, was an important element in the eremitic tradition, the journey was made primarily in solitude. The cenobite, on the other hand, chose to pursue his calling within a community of brethren. Although solitude was no less important an element in the cenobite's observance than in the hermit's, community added a companionship in which the monk was able to practice humility and charity. The essential characteristic of both traditions was stripping away worldly obstacles in preparation for union with God.

Scripture and the writings of the primitive Church Fathers provided the monk with the fundamental orientation for his life. "... monasticism depends upon a living tradition which is solidly rooted in the Scriptures and in the primitive Church's understanding of the evangelical counsels." In this quotation, Claude Peifer reinforces the assertion that it is the Gospel exhortation which provides the basis for the monastic life. He goes on to say that "the Apostles, together with the Prophets are prototypes of the monk." This equation of the monastic life with the Apostles was a bitterly debated controversy in the twelfth century, especially among canons regular and other more active communities who argued that preaching and administering the sacraments were the essential elements of the vita apostolica. Without engaging in that battle here, regardless of the assertions of the active communities of the twelfth century, the ideal of the monk was to live an evangelical life based on the example of the Apostles.
With the Apostles as models, the monk embraced the task of emulation.

Of what, did the ascetic program of the monk consist? The life of the monk was carefully balanced among prayer, work, and study. Together they formed an integrated monastic program. Engagement in these practices disciplined the life of the monk, enabling him to overcome the innate obstacles to union with God. It was the combination and integration of these practices which procured for the monk a balanced asceticism. Prayer addressed the perfection of the spirit, reading and study the perfection of the mind, and manual labor the occupation of the body. The continual interaction of these activities provided the monk with a disciplined, ascetical program for life.

The following study is an examination of one of the components of this three-fold ascetic regime, that of manual labor. The various sources have been examined in an attempt to identify and illustrate the dominant motives and attitudes inherent in the legislations and theological writings of the monastic authors. The focus of the study is the writings of the founders of the Cistercian Order and prominent Cistercian authors of the twelfth century. To provide a foundational structure out of which to view the Cistercian attitude toward manual labor, the study begins with an examination of the legislation found in the Rule of the Master and the Rule of Saint Benedict. The Rule of Saint Benedict was a primary
monastic formational document for the first Cistercians. The Rule of the Master had exerted its influence on the development of monastic observance since its inclusion in the Codex regularum of Benedict of Aniane in the ninth century. Thus, the rudimentary legislations on manual labor in both documents are significant. Several monastic reform movements which preceded the beginnings of Citeaux are also examined in an attempt to establish the monastic climate and to bring to the surface contemporary attitudes toward manual labor at the time of the emergence of the Cistercians at the end of the eleventh century.

In their own words, the founders of the monastery of Citeaux intended to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict "more strictly and more perfectly." The religious milieu at the end of the eleventh century was characterized by a popular reawakening to the values of the primitive Church. Movements seeking the eremitic life, evangelical poverty, and the apostolic life were widespread. All of these movements look deliberately back to the early Church and early monastic tradition. The question remains: were the early Cistercians of the twelfth century simply recovering the pristine ascetical fervor of the apostolic and early monastic communities, or were they, by responding to the needs of the twelfth-century person creating a new asceticism of manual labor? Do the writings of the twelfth-century Cistercian authors on manual labor indicate a development in monastic theology which goes beyond
those ideals expressed by the monastic Fathers? The purpose of this study is to identify the motives and ideals of the twelfth century Cistercians, whose attitudes toward manual labor embodied in a cenobitic expression the ideals of the Rule of Saint Benedict and the varied eremitical movements which preceded it; and to differentiate traditional monastic themes from Cistercian developments in monastic spirituality. Finally, the question must be asked: what was the relationship between the theological treatises of the Cistercian theoreticians and the actual experience of the monk in the monastery?
CHAPTER II

MANUAL LABOR: ANCIENT MONASTIC TRADITION AND RULES

The importance of manual labor in the monastic ascetical regime was firmly established before the emergence of the Rule of the Master or the Rule of Saint Benedict. The ancient solitary and cenobitic monks regarded the work of their hands as an integral part of their monastic practice. They were careful to place manual labor in a proper perspective. They recognized the fact that their primary goal, the pursuit of contemplation and unceasing prayer, warranted the periodic balance achieved by manual labor and the exercise of the body. The overcoming of accedia, spiritual malaise or restlessness, was a primary function of manual labor. The labor encouraged by these ancient monks was of a type that would not upset the contemplative rhythm of their life. Rather, it was to be a kind of discipline that engendered recollection and promoted humility. Saint Anthony occupied himself by making mats from palm-leaves. He encouraged others in his care to do the same. Up until the time he was in his nineties, Anthony persevered in the manual labor by planting corn and making his own bread so as not to be a burden to anyone.

Pachomius encouraged his monks who plied a trade before coming to the monastery to continue in that trade, others he encouraged to do agricultural work. In a Pachomian
monastery in Panopolis, Paladius observed that there were many craftsmen: tailors, smiths, carpenters, gardeners, weavers, shoemakers etc., all working within the confines of the monastery. Frequently, they engaged in the recitation of psalms during their work so as to achieve uninterrupted prayer.

At the same time, self-support was a matter of practical necessity. The monks' very renunciation of the world made manual labor a necessity. The anchorites of Nitria wove linen for their livelihood. They would allow a visitor to spend one week in idleness; after that he was put to work at one of the tasks in the monastery, gardening or working in the kitchen. The monks looked down upon those who begged and made their livelihood totally from the charity of others. They displayed little regard for those visionaries who refused to work, claiming that the contemplative life exempted them from manual labor:

It was said of Abba John the Dwarf, that one day he said to his elder brother, 'I should like to be free of all care, like the angels, who do not work, but ceaselessly offer worship to God.' So he took off his cloak and went away into the desert. After a week he came back to his brother. When he knocked on his door, he heard his brother say, before he opened it, 'Who are you?' He said, 'I am John, your brother.' But he replied, 'John has become an angel, and henceforth he is no longer among men.' Then the other begged him saying, 'It is I.' However, his brother did not let him in, but left him there in distress until morning. Then, opening the door, he said to him, 'You are a man and you must once again work in order to eat.' Then John made a prostration before
him, saying, 'Forgive me.'

The basis for the elder brother's—and the monastic—attitude is found in Saint Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians, "We gave you a rule when we were with you: not to let anyone have any food if he refused to do any work." This same directive is echoed in the writings of some of the early monastic fathers: Basil, Longer Rules Chapter 37; and Cassian, Institutes Chapters 1 and 5, and Conferences Chapters 12 and 24. Beyond the directive for self-support, work allowed the monk to engage in the charitable act of almsgiving. Out of his surplus, the monk shared his goods with the poor, thus growing in charity.

Building upon this tradition, both the Rule of the Master and the Rule of Saint Benedict adopted a similar rationale and approach to manual labor. The Rule of the Master dates to the first quarter of the sixth century. In his Rule, the Master compiled a comprehensive program for the ascetical life of the monk. Also from the sixth century came the Rule of Saint Benedict, a document which has had a dominant influence on the evolution of western monasticism. In the past twenty-five years the relationship between these two documents has been hotly debated. It has been questioned which document preceded and influenced the other, or whether there was some third document from which both drew inspiration. Recent scholarship weighs heavily in favor of the Rule of the Master preceding the Rule of Saint Benedict. For this
study, that debate shall not be pursued. Rather, the aim is to examine the legislation concerning manual labor in both sources.

"After the Divine Office has ceased during the day, we do not want the intervals when the psalmody of the Hours is suspended to be spent idly, lest short-time idleness produce no long-term profit, because an idle man produces death and is always craving something. For while a brother is engaged in some task he fixes his eyes on some work and thereby occupies his attention with what he is doing, and has no time to think about anything else, and is not submerged in a flood of desires."²¹ This excerpt sets the tone for the author of the Rule of the Master with regard to manual labor. The purpose of manual labor was to occupy the time the monk had when not engaged in prayer, recitation of the Psalms, or reading. His concentration on his work afforded the monk a singlemindedness which enabled him to avoid distraction. The Master, concerned that the monk might be overcome by the passions of the flesh and the world, legislated that the monks' time be spent in manual labor to avoid the distractions of the world. As an added measure, the Master called for reading aloud to large groups of monks who were working together; this no doubt to aid those incapable of avoiding distraction by means of the manual labor alone, or to counterbalance the temptation of speaking to one another while they worked. "And always when the number of brothers
engaged in this work is rather large, let one who is literate read aloud from some book every day, and this provision must be made for the workers at all times and in all seasons. We have prescribed this reading to the workers every day so that while keeping silence about what is evil and listening to and speaking about what is good we may never sin." Alternatively, the monks were allowed to recite the Psalms aloud during work to the same purpose. For Saint Benedict, work in the monastery was not an end in itself, but only one dimension in the spiritual and ascetical program of prayer, work, and study. In his Rule, Saint Benedict had the same governing principle as did the author of the Rule of the Master. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul." Although the principle is the same, Benedict spent far less time and fewer words developing and reinforcing this idea than did the Master. Benedict made a point of saying that if a monk is slothful or careless and as a result is unable to read, he should engage in manual labor. For all the monks, and especially those who were illiterate, manual labor engaged them in such a way so as to avoid idleness.

Scripturally, the Rule of the Master had for its basis the same line from Saint Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians that we cited as the basis for the early monastic Fathers, that anyone who will not work, shall not eat. As their models, monks looked to the Apostles and Prophets and studied
the early church Fathers. The Apostles, embodying the Gospel exhortation, gave up what little they had and lived lives of poverty. They became, in some cases, itinerant preachers living from the charity of the permanent Christian communities they founded. These early Christian communities, adhering to the directives of Saint Paul lived common lives, and worked to support each other. In addition to providing support, the work in which these Apostolic communities were engaged had as its fruit the production of goods to be distributed among the poor. The Master recognized this also when he wrote, "Therefore, after the Divine Office there must be physical that is manual, labor so that when there is something to give to the poor good will be added to good works." So, an added dimension to self-support was provision for pilgrims and the poor. As de Vogüé points out, "The only purpose of work is to occupy the monks [in the Rule of Saint Benedict] in earning their own living and to provide the wherewithal to meet the ordinary occupation and obligation of hospitality and almsgiving." Saint Benedict adopted the same scriptural premise. Although he did not specifically quote the Second Letter the Thessalonians, he did say, "for then they are truly monks when they live by the labor of their hands, like our fathers and the apostles." The reference again was to the fact that the Apostles, having embraced poverty, worked to support themselves while awaiting the parousia. The emphasis
on charity, hospitality, and almsgiving was also very pronounced in the Rule of Saint Benedict. "Let all guests that come be received like Christ." This was a reference to the Gospel of Matthew 25:35 when Jesus set forth the Christian response to the poor. Saint Benedict's reputation for charity and almsgiving is related in the Dialogues of Saint Gregory the Great. In the Dialogues, Gregory recounted how Saint Benedict gave to the poor the last bit of food and money he had in the monastery. Even taking into account the exaggerations of hagiographical material, the inclusion of Saint Benedict's charity is significant. For both the Master and Saint Benedict self-support and the charitable bestowal of the fruits of the monk's labor were points of main emphasis.

For a practical ordering of the day's activities for the disciples of both the Master and Saint Benedict, the reader is referred to Appendices I and II. As can be seen there, work was alternated with prayer and reading to provide a consistent framework in which the monk avoided distraction and sought God. The monk following the Rule of the Master spent about three quarters of the day in manual labor. The Master legislated quite clearly that the monk was to be engaged in crafts and gardening, both to be done within the enclosure. After setting down the legislations for manual labor, the Master ended on a note of moderation. The work was to be assigned so as not to be an undue burden on anyone, especially children, the infirm, or the aged. He

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specifically discouraged engagement in agriculture suggesting, rather, that the land be cultivated by laymen. The rationale for this directive was that it would be better for a layman to be exposed to "the clamors of the tenants, the quarrels with neighbors," than the monk. The monk should not be subjected to the affairs of the world. The monks under the Master's Rule followed two basic schedules conforming to seasonal variance. The first season extended from 24 September to Easter, and the second from Easter to 24 September.

The schedule shifted assigned tasks, such as reading and work, to utilize best the hours of sunlight. during Lent an interesting attitude toward labor emerged. A monk who willingly took on a fast might be exempted from community labor. Fasting was considered a spiritual work, and took precedence over manual labor. Lest they be idle, however, those fasting read to those working.

The Rule of Saint Benedict employed a similar regime. The basic difference was that Benedict's schedule had three divisions instead of two. They extended from Easter to the first of October, the first of October to the beginning of Lent, and the period of Lent. This separate schedule for Lent differed from the Rule of the Master. Basically, the difference was manifest in the numbers and times of the meals. Whereas the Master allowed for only one meal at any season, Benedict allowed two in non-Lenten seasons. The more moderate nature of the Rule of Saint Benedict is evident.
The other basic difference between the Rule of the Master and the Rule of Saint Benedict was the type of labor in which the monks engaged. Whereas the Master prohibited the cultivation of the land, Benedict allowed it. In Saint Benedict's Rule there were references to work in the field, "But if the circumstances of the place or their poverty require them to gather the harvest themselves, let them not be discontented." Crafts, gardening, maintenance of the monastery, serving at table, cooking were part of both the Master's and Saint Benedict's observance.

In summary, two primary motives for performance of manual labor are discovered in the Rule of the Master and the Rule of Saint Benedict: the avoidance of idleness; and fraternal charity and assistance. A subsidiary motive in the Rule of Saint Benedict was to support themselves by the work of their own hands. The added dimension of self-support was further encouraged in the Rule of Saint Benedict. All three of these themes were evident in the lives of the early monastic desert fathers, especially the theme of avoidance of idleness. The Master and Benedict applied these themes which had their beginning in the eremitic tradition of the desert and applied them to the cenobitic life they were structuring in the sixth century.
CHAPTER III

MANUAL LABOR: THE MONASTIC CLIMATE PRECEDING CITEAUX

The Ninth Century: Benedict of Aniane

Just as the Rule of Saint Benedict exerted a dominant influence on the formation of monasticism in the sixth century, so too Benedict of Aniane, Charlemagne’s hand-picked reformer, largely determined the observance of early medieval monasticism. In his book, The Eleventh-century Background of Citeaux, Bede Lackner contends that the monastic reforms of Citeaux which will form the center of the present inquiry, owed a great debt to him. Lackner asserts that Benedict of Aniane was:

a greater figure in monastic history than is generally realized and not only paved the way for early Cluny but also for Citeaux. He anticipated and traced the outlines of a number of ideas and practices which the first Cistercian generations adopted and transformed into genuinely Cistercian ways. 42

It would be very convenient to assert, as some have done, that the reformers of Citeaux acted simply in negative response to the decadent monastic practices of Cluny. It would be convenient, but simplistic and incorrect. For the fact of the matter is that Cluny was not in the throes of decline at the time of the emergence of Citeaux. 43 From the time of Benedict of Aniane in the ninth century to the emergence
of many of the new communities at the end of the eleventh century there was generally in western Europe a dynamic of reform. Cluny itself was an attempt to reform the institution of monasticism in the tenth century. This reform dynamic remained operative through the eleventh century and manifested itself in the establishment of many new forms of lay and religious communities throughout western Europe. In the wake of this popular climate of reform, the Cistercian Order emerged at the end of the eleventh century. It is important, therefore, to examine briefly the attitudes toward manual labor which flourished in that reform climate. This can best be accomplished by looking at Benedict of Aniane in the ninth century, Cluny in the tenth century, and a number of reform movements in the eleventh century, among them Molesme, the immediate antecedent of Citeaux.

Before the reforms of Benedict of Aniane the Rule of Saint Benedict had not been in general use, and there were few European monasteries which practised the regime of monastic life as envisaged by Saint Benedict. Knowles indicates that there were widespread variations of monastic observance in Europe between the death of Saint Gregory and the reign of Charlemagne. Indeed, the Rule of Saint Benedict was only one of many Rules, anthologies, and ascetic texts being utilized in monastic communities. It must be kept in mind that the Rule of Saint Benedict when it was followed would not be considered a constitutional document by the monks.
following its precepts. The Rule was meant to offer guidelines and principles to aid the monk in perfection in the "school of the Lord's service." Following its directives word by word did not necessarily guarantee the perfection of the monk. Rather than a set of legal prescriptions, the Rule was a set of guiding principles suggesting the means by which the monk could persevere in a life of prayer, work, and study, and thus form his life about his striving for union with God. It is in this light of the widespread diversity of Rules practiced in western Europe at the time that the importance of Benedict of Aniane becomes apparent.

"What was achieved by the Carolingian reforms associated with the name of Benedict of Aniane was a recognition of the Rule of Saint Benedict as the Rule." As a young monk, Benedict of Aniane preferred the oriental Rules of Pachomius and Basil over the Rule of Saint Benedict which he believed a Rule for neophytes. At the outset of his tenure as Abbot of Aniane, he only partially implemented the Rule of Saint Benedict. The monks of Aniane did not accept property or serfs, but they worked with their hands and supported themselves by manual labor. Eventually, Benedict of Aniane came to believe that it was the moral obligation of every monk to adhere strictly to the integral text of the Rule of Saint Benedict. It was with this concern that he wrote the Concordia regulorum, a concordance of twenty-six monastic rules and their comparison with the Rule of Saint Benedict.
The monastic organization advocated by Benedict of Aniane succeeded, and eventually attracted over one thousand monks to Aniane. When it became necessary to begin new foundations to accommodate the arrival of so many recruits, solitary sites away from "the world" were chosen. This, in turn was to be the rationale of the early Cistercians in choosing the sites for their monasteries. Seclusion and distance from "the world" prompted the Cistercian preference for remote habitations.

Benedict of Aniane enjoyed the support of the emperors Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, executors of the Carolingian reform. In response to the eroded condition of the Frankish Church, Pepin III and Carloman set out to correct clerical corruption, ignorance, immorality, widespread seizure of Church property, and a vast diversity in religious practice. Their successors, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, were great lovers of uniformity and by the reform strove to regularize all liturgical practices. Included in this program of regularization was the unification of monastic life according to the Rule of Saint Benedict. It was to Benedict of Aniane that this task was given. Addressing this task of unification, Emperor Louis the Pious initiated synods at Aachen in the years 816 and 817 with the intention of codifying and regulating the monastic observance in the Empire. The synod of 816 produced a document entitled Statuta murbacensia which stated that monks and abbots were again to engage in manual labor, such as work in the kitchen, the bakery,
Lackner asserts that these statutes were enacted to safeguard the principle of seclusion. This desire for solitude and seclusion will be expressed repeatedly by the early Cistercians. The tenative Statuta murbacensia were concretized the following year, 817, with the Capitulare monasticum. This was a document composed of eighty canons designed to establish a regular monastic observance throughout the Holy Roman Empire with the Rule of Saint Benedict as the foundational document. The prominence of the Rule is evident in the first forty canons, of which the first two set the tone of the document:

1. Let the abbots, as soon as they have returned to their monasteries, read the Rule [of Saint Benedict] in full. Considering it word by word, and by the help of the Lord profitably understanding it, let them together with their monks study to observe it completely.

2. Let all monks, who can do so, learn the Rule [of Saint Benedict] by heart.

Lackner groups the canons of Aachen into three categories: (1) insurance of seclusion and peace; (2) restoration of discipline and regular observances; (3) and emphasis on moral conversion.

The Rule of Saint Benedict was renown for its moderation and clarity of language, according to Saint Gregory the Great. In order to appreciate fully the prescriptions on manual labor of Benedict of Aniane, it is important to examine the moderate tone reflected in the canons. At any season when there was a greater than normal burden on the monks
either in manual labor or liturgy, they were allowed an extra portion of food before Compline.\textsuperscript{61} Benedict of Aniane also stated that on fast days the work should not be as strenuous as usual.\textsuperscript{62} The fact that Carolingian monks were doing manual labor at all was due to the revival of that requirement on the part of Benedict of Aniane. At the beginning of the ninth century there had been practically no manual labor done in monasteries because in the main feudal nobility populated the monasteries.\textsuperscript{63} Benedict of Aniane participated in the manual labor of the monastery in the fields and workshops, and he prescribed that, "the brethren work in the kitchen, in the bakery and in other workshops with their own hands, and that they also wash their laundry."\textsuperscript{64} Benedict of Aniane never encouraged that the manual labor exceed the amount or even match the type prescribed by the Rule of Saint Benedict: housework was to be done by the monks but field work was not.\textsuperscript{65}

Sixteen of the canons of the \textit{Capitulare monasticum} deal with the Divine Office. This betrays Benedict of Aniane's developing preference for more ornate liturgy. This was to have a drastic effect on the performance of manual labor. Eventually, the recitation of the Divine Office became the only work in which Benedict was interested. The more the liturgy was expanded, the less emphasis was placed on manual labor. The acquisition of property cultivated by serfs and the lessening of the monks' own manual labor made monasteries

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almost indistinguishable from the feudal desmenses they were trying to avoid. 66 Rowan Williams states that, "The most significant modifications [made by the capitula of Aachen] were the drastic reduction of agricultural labor to be undertaken by monks and the considerable increase in the quantity of obligatory public prayer and psalmody: Saint Benedict envisaged his communities as self-supporting families, engaged in subsistence farming balanced by private reading and communal psalmody. Benedict of Aniane comes near to defining the monk as a professional executant of liturgy." 67

Perhaps it is a bit heavy-handed on the part of Williams to place the entire responsibility for this emphasis on liturgy on the shoulders of Benedict of Aniane. But Benedict clearly thought that the monk's chief duty was the performance of the liturgy and the Divine Office. It should be remembered that at the time of Benedict of Aniane society was classified into the groups: workers, warriors, and prayers. As prayers, the monks' responsibility was to pray for the other classes as they performed their particular function in society. Whereas the ancient monks of the desert tradition engaged in a personal quest for God, feudal monks were engaged in a personal quest on behalf of the entire church and world. Even though Benedict of Aniane amplifies the amount of prayer and liturgy performed by the monks, his statements calling for a strict adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict are significant for this study. His voice heralded a concern adopted by the
early founders of Citeaux.

The Tenth Century: Cluny

Cluniac monasticism strove to perpetuate and perfect the reforming ideals of Benedict of Aniane.

The foundation and organization of Cluny and its dependencies in the tenth century represented a movement towards a more unified and strict monastic observance after the disastrous decline of the reform Benedictinism which followed the breaking up of the Carolingian reform, sharing its understanding of rule and custom.68

At its beginning Cluny had as guiding principles the Rule of Saint Benedict and the eighty canons of Aachen.69 In accord with Benedict of Aniane, Cluny awarded the liturgy and the Divine Office a place of prominence in the monastic observance. According to Knowles, Cluny understood the monastic life as essentially liturgical. The liturgy took precedence over scholarship, missionary work, and manual labor. Agrarian work was altogether absent from the observance of the monk at Cluny.70

One of the goals of the founders of Cluny was the extrication of monasticism from lay and episcopal control. In an attempt to free themselves from the entanglements of local feudal structures they were granted the unique position of being directly under papal control.71 As a reform movement, Cluny advocated (1) a strict adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict; (2) observance of the statuta of Aachen; (3) libertas,
freedom, from feudal entanglements; (4) a concern for the needy; and (5) a strong stance against the evils of the Eigenkirche system of the feudal lords. Odo of Cluny, one of the principal advocates of the reform called for a return to the Rule of Saint Benedict in its essence: silence, prayer, work, and frugality. Further, in all the statutes of early Cluny the "desert" ideal, an ideal of solitude, emerges. Principal elements of the reform were the desire for solitude and the ability to perform most of the monastic observances within the enclosure. This same ideal was to be deeply embedded in the reform at Citeaux.

It would be tempting, if erroneous, to assert that Citeaux emerged as a self-righteous reform shaking its corporate finger at the ugly head of decadent Cluny. This was not the case. Life and the monastic observance at Cluny contained both the seeds of reform sought by the founders of Citeaux as well as abuses they felt had to be corrected. Centralization of monastic government, adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict, the "desert" ideal: all were present at Cluny, and all were adopted by Citeaux. In regard to manual labor, however, there were situations and conditions which caused disagreement and tension, most notably the difference in opinion of what constituted manual labor.

Cluny blended the culmination of a century of Benedictine monastic tradition and experience with the evolving cultural milieu of feudalism, a blend which, according to the founders
of Citeaux, obscured and compromised the authentic observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict. Not only did what they regarded as the abuses of Cluny prompt the original exodus of Robert and his companions from Molesme, but its coexistence with the inchoate Order of Citeaux resulted in frequent ideological exchanges, as exemplified by Bernard of Clairvaux' *Apologia* to William of Saint Thierry, the celebrated monastic epistolary debate between Bernard and Peter the Venerable; and the *Dialogue Between a Cluniac and a Cistercian* by Idung of Prüfening, all of which will be examined later in this study.

As Cluny evolved it exceeded even the ideals of Benedict of Aniane by expanding the liturgy and drastically reducing manual labor. Continuing a trend initiated under Charlemagne, many monasteries sought members from the feudal aristocracy. Accompanying these monks was the attitude that servile work, household duties, and manual labor would be beneath their dignity and degrading. The acquisition of corporate wealth and serfs also contributed to a deemphasis on manual labor. In contrast to their original ideal of seclusion, many Cluniac monasteries became the centers of commerce and business. "Many monasteries of the congregation had grown up in walled towns and held extensive landed properties with vassals, artisans, merchents, soldiers, servants: all laymen united to the monastery by all kinds of ties, offices, business and dependence." Once freed from manual labor, the Cluniac
monks devoted themselves to the liturgical Office and prayer. As a consequence, manual labor became symbolic and ritualistic. Citing as justification allowances made by both Cassian and Paul the Deacon, extra choir Offices, splendid liturgies, study, and reading were substituted for manual labor. What little work there was consisted of menial household tasks and a periodic ritual of weeding and picking beans with interspersed homily and psalmody, an exercise that was more liturgy than work. Through such periodic ritualized activities, the Cluniacs believed they fulfilled Saint Benedict's exhortation to work with their hands.

Cluny began with a desire to be free from feudal entanglements and to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict in its essence. But, inevitably, it became inextricably linked with feudalism by practice, association, and membership. Lackner depicts Cluny as an institution unable because of its own traditions to respond to the religious stirrings which would have such a dominant influence in the late eleventh century:

Cluniac monasteries thus became more and more refuges for the feudal nobility where eating, drinking, and a work-free existence soon took precedence over the spiritual ideals of monasticism. Too closely tied to the feudal world, Cluny was finally unable to satisfy the great number of generous souls who emerged in great numbers at the end of the eleventh century looking for a life of seclusion, poverty, and asceticism. Nor was it able to attract, much less absorb, the great Pauperes Christi movement at the close of the eleventh century.
It seems then, that Cluny's greatest weakness was not protracted liturgies and feudal entanglement, but the inability to respond to a popular call for a simpler, more austere Christian life.

The Eleventh Century: A Century of Crisis

Jean Leclercq has described the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a period of monastic crisis. It was a period in which the monastic movement underwent growth and change fuelled by an increasing desire for a more austere Christian life. This change in attitude and new religious stirrings were to have a great effect on the place of manual labor in monastic observance. The origin and nature of these undercurrents advocating a radical appropriation of scriptural and Benedictine demands need to be examined.

Even though Benedictine monasticism periodically attempted to extricate itself from the intricacies of the feudal structure, the fact is that as an institution non-Cluniac Benedictine monasticism grew and thrived within the feudal milieu. Both institutions were land-based, and derived much of their influence and power from possession of land. One of the results of monasticism's close association with the feudal structure was the great wealth in donated possessions and extensive properties the monasteries amassed. However profitable this association was, there was a price. Often the monasteries were plagued by episcopal interference and attempts at control on the part of the feudal nobility. The crisis, which Germain
Morin called the "crisis of cenobitism", is referred to by Leclercq as a "crisis of prosperity. It was a crisis brought about by too close an association with feudal aristocrats. Leclercq says, "the Abbeys grew richer as men of high station grew to rely on them. Monastic funds were ably administered by prudent abbots, some of them saints, and this increased wealth led to the extension and embellishment of the buildings."

As we mentioned before, monasteries became centers of social and economic activity, exposed to all segments of medieval society. With the accumulation of tenants, serfs, servants, and employees of all kinds, the monks were able to abandon field labor entirely, and a portion of the household work as well. This situation contributed significantly to the already prevailing attitude which gave liturgy a decided precedence over manual labor. Lackner states, "In any case, the increase of donations . . . brought considerable wealth to monasteries, freed them from material worries and gave them the security needed for the quiet pursuit of labor-free activities." Many nobleman made large contributions to monasteries, and as a result often intruded into the monastic enclosures to hold court with little regard for the monks' cloister.

Leclercq and Lackner agree that the wholesale clericalization of monasticism figured prominently in the final abandonment of manual labor. Until the changes brought about by Gregory I in his monastery in Rome at the end of the sixth century, few monks had been priests. Living in the
city instead of on farm lands, made agricultural work impossible. Monastic life changed to one centered around public liturgical prayer and the administration of cathedrals. Benedictine monks were becoming bishops and were entrusted with much of the missionary activity aimed at the conversion of Europe. This necessitated more priests, and more years of preparation. Butler states that "by the year one thousand, it became the established rule that monks should receive ordination." By the year 1078 it had become necessary for a monk to be ordained before he could be elected as abbot. This clericalization of the institution of monastism laid many responsibilities on the monk. Lackner asserts, "Manual labor was supplanted by the celebration of the Mass with great frequency, the extension of the liturgical services and the multiplication of claustral offices, whatever manual labor remained became a religious ceremony."

For three centuries Europe had been living in an economy in which the individual's sole security was his attachment to the land. Power was derived from ownership of the soil, and those who did not own were subject to those who did. but in the mid-eleventh century, population growth, economic growth, and a shift in societal structures due to the emergence of towns brought about a move away from exclusive land ties. Accompanying this desire to break away from feudal structures was the desire also to break away from a monasticism so closely enmeshed with feudalism. More and more people
began seeking, in alternatives to wealthy monasticism, a form of life that was poor and ascetic; a life imitating that of Christ and the early Church.

Another important factor influencing the renewed interest in the ascetical life was a more intense study of the early Church Fathers and Scripture. Lekai states:

I suspect that what made the revolution [against feudal monasticism] possible, or perhaps inevitable, was the rising level of education, first among monks, then among the clergy in general. Thanks to intense studies of the Scriptures and Church Fathers it became possible to construct an image (some would say: A myth) of the Apostolic Church, resplendent in the most appealing colors. The comparison with this idealistic picture with the sad realities of the present generated an intense desire for change. Since there were plenty of abuses to be seen even by the unlettered, it was a simple matter to convert the unhappiness of the intellectuals to a mass movement.¹⁰¹

The monks and clergy of the mid-eleventh century examined and studied many of the Church Fathers, such as Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and particularly the monastic Father, Cassian, who was of great importance. More contemporary authors were also being read: Bede, Anselm of Canterbury, and Peter Damian.¹⁰² In the interest of determining eleventh-century attitudes toward manual labor, special note will be taken of the writings of Cassian and Peter Damian.

For Cassian, who in the fifth century translated desert ideals for Gallic temperaments, manual labor was an essential ingredient of the monk's life of mortification and asceticism.
Particularly, it enabled the monk to counteract the tedium of routine, or accedia. Cassian preferred that the manual labor undertaken not remove the monk from his cell. In the tradition of the desert, Eastern monasticism encouraged basketmaking, gardening, linen-making, bee-keeping, and the growing of fruits and vegetables. Cassian, however, dissuaded the monk from any manual labor that would take him away from his cell, particularly full-scale agricultural pursuits. Normal household tasks were to be performed, such as serving at table, cooking, and washing the utensils.

One of the endeavors which Cassian approved was the copying of manuscripts. Cassian considered this not intellectual, but manual, labor, and encouraged it because it kept the monk occupied and in his cell, not because it resulted in the creation of great libraries. For Cassian, then, manual labor was inseparably linked with solitude and served as a safeguard against idleness.

Peter Damian's prescriptions on manual labor are derived from his zealous, eleventh-century understanding of the role of the monk. Peter Damian, being a contemporary, was not held in as high an esteem by eleventh-century men as was Cassian. However, his call for an intensification of the ascetical life moved the monks of the eleventh century as only a contemporary could. Prayer and the solitude of the eremitic life were Peter Damian's ideals. In fact, Peter Damian admired Cluny's ideal of perpetual prayer, and congratulated them.
on the absence of field labor. Like Cassian, the manual tasks Peter Damian prescribed were ones that did not distract the monk from his cell and which did not upset the tranquility required for constant prayer. As vocal as he was about ascetical practices, Peter Damian did not advocate manual labor in itself as an ascetical exercise. What is important to note in Peter's writings and what was to have a significant effect on developing monastic thought, is his concern for solitude and intense constant prayer.

Inspired in part by writers such as these, hermits began to establish themselves throughout western Europe in the second half of the eleventh century. These hermits led lives of asceticism, solitude, and prayer much as advocated by Cassian and more recently Peter Damian. They worked with their hands to support themselves. They cultivated gardens, kept bees, wove baskets, engaged in various arts and crafts, and did field labor. According to Lackner, "They shared an intrinsic horror of money and riches, and a corresponding desire to imitate Christ in his poverty. They sought an effective poverty, seclusion, rigorous fasts, prolonged prayer and manual labor."

Concurrent with the eremitic ideal was a new regard for a life of poverty. Leclercq's statement, quoted earlier, that the crisis of the eleventh century centered on prosperity is echoed by Lackner. He states that "by the middle of the eleventh century spiritual writers, discerning people, and
even the broad masses began to detect a difference between the Christian ideal of poverty and the example given by worldly priests and monks." Leclercq thinks that all this reaction to riches and wealth provoked a reaction in favor of "authentic poverty." He concluded that eleventh-century monks believed the only way to live an authentically poor life was to return to solitude. For Leclercq, then, the two ideals are connected, inseparably linked. Solitude and poverty formed the new wave of religious longing in the eleventh century.

Yet another ideal was to emerge in this already changing climate, that is, the apostolic life, stressing the need for poverty, simplicity, and mutual charity. Lekai asserts, "As G. Morin observed long ago, in the eleventh century the word 'apostolic' carried no connotation of preaching the Gospel or discharging other duties of the cura animarum [cf. footnote 4 of this paper for a dissenting opinion of Chenu]: therefore the following of the Apostles could be well within the program of contemplatives or even hermits. On the other hand, the appeal of the 'apostolic life' extended far beyond monastic circles. It inspired Canons Regular, itinerant preachers, poverty movements of the laity and many features of the Gregorian Reform." An essential element of the apostolic life was self-support by manual labor and the charitable sharing of its fruit with the poor. As a response to this movement of poverty, solitude, and the apostolic life,
heterogenous groups of hermits emerged, sometimes with little other than similarity of lifestyle to unite them. Also, more formalized groups emerged emphasizing the ascetic and eremitic ideals, among them monastic groups at Camaldoli, Fonte Avellana, Vallombrosa, Grandmont, and the Grand Chartreuse. One significant feature some of these communities had, such as Vallombrosa and the Grand Chartreuse, was their introduction of lay-brothers to accomplish much of the manual labor and provide support. There were lay-brothers at Camaldoli and their manual labor, like that of Cassian, was to be done to avoid idleness and promote solitude. Communities such as these in their attitudes and customs all reflected ideals of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Molesme

"The new religious Orders which emerged in the second half of the eleventh century were not simply the creations of great religious leaders, but also products of several other factors. These include a favorable monastic climate, the popularity of certain ideas, and in general, a definite readiness for contemporary answers in the question of monastic renewal. The same can be said about the beginnings of Molesme and Citeaux." Robert of Molesme was born of noble parentage around the year 1028 in the Champagne. After entering the monastic life at the Abbey of Montier-la-Celle at Troyes, Robert held
several positions of authority in this Cluniac Congregation, among them: prior of Montier-la-Celle, abbot of Saint Michael of Tonnerre, and prior of Saint Ayoul at Provins in the diocese of Sens. Subsequently, by order of the pope, Robert was appointed leader of a group of hermits in the forests of Collan. Robert was looking for a monastic life that embraced a more encompassing asceticism, and an observance freer from secular ties. As time went on, more recruits joined Robert and in 1075 he and his companions arrived in the forest of Molesme and there began a monastery. "His personal life was based on abnegation in imitation of apostles in the early Church." The beginnings of the monastery were difficult. The monks were plagued by hardship and dire poverty. Far from disdaining manual labor, with their own hands they constructed a simple chapel and their cells. They often had little to wear and even less to eat. None of these conditions was part of a design or deliberately chosen, but rather the circumstances in which they found themselves.

Eventually, they accepted donations which enabled the monastery of Molesme to progress from meager beginnings to a thriving institution. Adopting Cluniac usages and customs, the monastery of Molesme began to accept churches, tithes, revenues, and villages. Many answered the monastic call and entered Molesme, among them Stephen Harding and Alberic, later to found Citeaux; and Bruno of Cologne who would later begin the Carthusian Order. The added revenues from
churches and tithes limited strict adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict. At its beginning Molesme's manual labor and austerity were a necessity; they grew out of extreme poverty. With economic growth and security came a diminution of fervor and zeal as regarding manual labor. Again, Leclercq's crisis of prosperity is evident.

Through an account by a not entirely sympathetic black monk, Ordericus Vitalis, we know that the seeds of more thorough reform were sprouting in Robert's heart. Robert said to his monks, "we have made our profession, my dear brethren, according to the Rule of our Holy Father Benedict, but it seems to me that we have not observed it in every point . . . we do not work with our hands as we read that the holy fathers did." Robert went on to say, "I propose therefore that we should observe the Rule of Saint Benedict in everything . . . Let us earn our food and clothing by the labor of our hands." This account is corroborated by Robert of Torigny. Most of the noble monks responded negatively, dismissing servile work as beneath their dignity. They appealed to the traditional customs of Cluny for their justification.

However, there were those in the monastery of Molesme who were allied with Robert in his thoughts and ideals. According to Caesarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian monk of the thirteenth century looking back and describing the good old days, the monks of Molesme wished to live "from
the work of their hands, as the Rule prescribes.\textsuperscript{138} And according to the Cistercian \textit{Exordium magnum}, another thirteenth century retrospective, "with their beloved father Benedict, they preferred to be worn out by work rather than feel the relaxation induced by the comforts of this world."\textsuperscript{139} The two groups of monks with their opposing ideologies remained irreconcilable. And according to the \textit{Exordium cistercii}, in 1098 Robert, with twenty-one companions, set out from Molesme to pursue the reformed monastic ideal.\textsuperscript{140}
CHAPTER IV

MANUAL LABOR: THE CISTERCIAN VIEW IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY:
BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE ASCETICAL LIFE

The Cistercian belief in the positive spiritual value of manual labor was not without precedent. As has been demonstrated, there were many currents running through the eleventh century which nourished the idea that manual labor was an essential element in the ascetical life. The Cistercians were among the staunchest defenders of this ideal. Jean Leclercq has stated that manual labor was one of the most prominent and important aspects of Cistercian ascetic practice and that it was in the writing and legislation concerning manual labor that the Cistercian authors spoke with special vehemence and regularity. 141 It is evident in their writings that the Cistercians interpreted the Rule of Saint Benedict to mean that manual labor was an activity proper to the monk, and that monks should strive to live by the labor of their own hands. 142 The Cistercians provided no convenient treatises on manual labor as such. Rather, historical documents and theological writings have to be examined with a view to discerning attitudes toward manual labor as it relates to the integrated practice of the monastic life. Perhaps its presence among other practices, and not in itself alone, betrays a basic attitude that the monastic ascetical practice
is an integrated whole.

The documents which have been examined range from the primitive legislative documents written by the founders of the Order, to the theological treatises of the twelfth century, to some hagiographical material as well as theological works of the early thirteenth century which have a retrospective view. As has been established, poverty, solitude, and the pursuit of the apostolic life were dominant reform motifs preceding the establishment of Citeaux in the eleventh century. The writings of the Cistercians as they relate to each of these motifs will be examined. Then the writings extending beyond those categories developing other related themes will be examined. Thus an attempt will be made to demonstrate that the Cistercians went beyond their predecessors in developing a theology of the ascetical life of which manual labor played a vital part.

Poverty

Poverty and manual labor are inseparable and form a combination, whose complexity depends largely upon whether poverty is voluntary or necessary. As with the foundation of Molesme, the initial Cistercian extreme of dire poverty necessitated manual labor if the founding monks were to survive the first year. In such a case, when poverty is the necessary reality, there is little choice. When poverty is the ideal and manual labor is pursued in support of that
ideal, the success attendant upon diligent, hard work could jeopardize the original ideal. This complexity was borne out in the unfolding of the Cistercian experience. C. Holdsworth says, "In the first place manual work appeared to them [the Cistercians] as an intrinsic part of the life of poverty which they had freely embraced, since having given up all their own possessions they had to work if they were not to be a charge on others." He goes on to say that, "The model for them was Christ who, as Saint Bernard put it, had given up everything for them, and so they had put aside all their own possessions to be free to follow him wherever he led." This sentiment was clearly expressed in the Exordium parvum, "Thus having rejected the riches of this world, the new soldiers of Christ, poor with the poor Christ, began to consult one another as to the question of the way by which, and with what work or occupation they should provide in this life for themselves..." The same chapter fifteen of the Exordium parvum also stated that the monk who lives by the labor of his hands should reject all churches, tithes, manors and serfs and anything which would in some way connect him with the ways and riches of the world.

In another legislative document, the Carta caritatis posterior, the moderating spirit of the Rule of Saint Benedict was evident. Legislative documents tend to be written in response to existing situations; therefore, it can be conjectured that some of the early Cistercian settlements encountered extreme poverty.
For item seventeen of the *Carta caritatis posterior* stated that, "If any monastery encounters unbearable poverty the abbot of that monastery shall strive to reveal this plight to the entire chapter [of assembled abbots]. Then, inflamed by the fire of charity, the assembled abbots shall take quick steps to relieve the poverty of that monastery according to their ability, from the goods which God has given them." 146 Whereas poverty was to be embraced and consequently so too the manual labor necessary for self-support, there was a limit to the intensity of the poverty to be tolerated. Moderation assured enough goods to enable the monks to live the ideal in the long run.

There are several references in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, the "second generation" popularizer of the primitive ideals of Citeaux, that couple manual labor with the ideal of voluntary poverty. A letter to the Archbishop of Sens set the tone for Bernard's attitude toward manual labor and poverty. He said, "Work, the hidden life, and poverty of the monastery—these are the characteristics of monks, their titles to nobility." 147 Bernard demanded of all monks real poverty; monks were to be poor men, paupers. 148 In this comment, Bernard clearly associated manual labor and solitude with the ideal of poverty. Again like the Cistercians who wrote the *Exordium parvum*, Bernard took as his example the poor Christ. 149 Engaging in the manual labor, which is a consequence of voluntary poverty became an ascetical practice which allowed the monk to participate in the paschal
mystery—the cross and the resurrection, which in the Cistercian's life was the glory of contemplation.150

Bernard's characteristic rhetorical vehemence was evident in a letter written to his cousin Robert four or five years after the latter's exodus from Clairvaux to Cluny. As a child, Robert had been promised to the Abbey of Cluny. When he was old enough to act of his own volition, however, he chose to go with his kinsman, Bernard, was professed at Citeaux, and later accompanied Bernard to Clairvaux. After a short time he wearied of the austerities at Clairvaux and fled to Cluny, citing as his reason the fact that he had originally been promised to Cluny by his parents. This letter marked the beginning of Bernard's renowned dialogue with the Cluniacs, the case of Robert's exodus providing him with the opportunity. In the letter Bernard's anger was clear when he referred to the Prior of Cluny as a "wolf in sheep's clothing fascinated, allured, and flattered. He preached a new Gospel. He commended feasting and condemned fasting. He called voluntary poverty wretched and poured scorn upon fasts, vigils, silence, and manual labor."151 This was to be the beginning of a long debate with the Cluniacs in which Bernard upheld the ideal of voluntary poverty and the manual labor which was a part of it. The debate eventually involved Peter the Venerable, who responded by arguing that as long as the monks were occupied in good works, which he pointed out did not just mean manual work, and avoided laziness and idleness they
were fulfilling the prescriptions of the Rule. Eventually, Peter the Venerable was to relent and implement many reforms prompted by the accusations of Saint Bernard.

In Book II of his advice to Pope Eugene III, Bernard again combined the virtues of poverty and manual labor. Even though the use of the terms was primarily rhetorical, their use is significant. Bernard equated the terms poverty and labor with the humility which is the foundation of the soul's ascent to God. He was speaking to the Pope of humility and charity, the most sought after spiritual gifts. Bernard warned the Pope that the external trappings of the papal office would obscure his desire for true humility:

> Were you born wearing this mitre? Were you born glittering with jewels or florid with silk, or crowned with feathers, or covered with precious metals? If you scatter all these things and blow them away from the face of your consideration like the morning clouds which quickly pass and rapidly disappear, you will catch sight of a naked man who is poor, wretched and miserable. A man grieving because he is man, ashamed because he is naked, weeping because he was born, complaining because he exists. A man born for labor, not for honor.

Although Bernard's implication was not that the Pope should embrace dire poverty and do manual labor, it is interesting that he used these terms to describe the human condition. In the midst of the wealth and power of the papal office, Bernard recommended that the Pope be aware of his humility before God.
William of Saint Thierry wrote in his *Vita prima Bernardi* that Stephen Harding had left "holy poverty" as a heritage to those following him and that his "austerity" had originated in this poverty and had consisted principally in it. William went on to praise the monastery at Clairvaux under the tutelage of Saint Bernard because it lived a spirit of poverty in imitation of the poor Christ. From this ideal of voluntary poverty for the sake of Christ sprang "the simplicity and unpretentiousness of the buildings and their inhabitants", and also their silent manual labor which was interrupted only by prayer. William, too, saw manual labor as an integral part of the life of voluntary poverty.

Aelred of Rievaulx wrote the *Speculum caritatis* in response to a request by Bernard of Clairvaux. The work was to address the excellence of charity, the fruits of charity, and all that charity involves. It was also to be written to demonstrate the contention that a life of austerity does not compromise or lessen charity. The following is advice to a novice on how to persevere and attain true charity:

And therefore you, who are a novice, must work out your salvation with labor and care, with mortification of the flesh, with vigils, and manual work, with poor food and rough clothes, with silence and recollection. These will make an acceptable sacrifice of your whole being—both the inward and the outward man—and tears will enkindle the flame of charity that it sends up to God. But even if you have no tears it is sufficient to embrace the poverty of a perfect Christian life, and to live by the truth of the Gospel.
Like Bernard and William, Aelred viewed the life of poverty as a necessity in achieving charity, which was the basis of the spiritual life. Manual labor was an integral part of the ascetical life which led to charity.

The Exordium magnum by Conrad of Eberbach is a piece of hagiographical literature written in the early thirteenth century about the founders and early Cistercian saints. Conrad pointed out that one of the major characteristics of Citeaux was voluntary poverty for the sake of Christ; the other two he discerned—preference of the Rule of Saint Benedict to traditional customaries, and the desire to adhere strictly to the Rule— are inseparably linked to it, for, the principal point Conrad was making in insisting on the preeminence of the Rule over the customaries was that the customaries had allowed dispensation from manual labor, which in effect eliminated true poverty. Conrad also related many accounts of the personalities populating early Citeaux and Clairvaux. Many dealt with poverty and manual labor especially as it related to monks newly transferred from Benedictine houses, or monks who had previously been noblemen. In one such account a monk who had been a Benedictine for twenty years transferred to Clairvaux. He was extremely surprised to see so many noblemen and gentlemen working strenuously through the heat of the day to gather the harvest like common, poor laborers. The link between poverty and manual labor in Cistercian life was clearly set forth.
These are but a few illustrations of the Cistercian attitude linking poverty and manual labor. Clearly, the popular ideal of the eleventh century had found a place in the monastic spirituality of the monks of Citeaux. Poverty was part of the foundation of the ascetical life, and manual labor an integral part of that poverty.

Solitude

The connection between solitude and manual labor is most explicitly evident in the Cistercian legislative documents, the Exordium parvum and the Summa cartae caritatis. Once the ideal of solitude had been chosen, it immediately raised the problem of how to keep the cloister separate from the secular world. The monks are either required to work so that they are self-sufficient, or to accept benefices and tithes, thus risking contact with outsiders. As part of their founding documents, the Cistercians rejected the acceptance of tithes and benefices, they intended therefore, to adopt manual labor as the means of supporting themselves.

Two sections of the Exordium parvum treat the combination of solitude and work which was necessary as a result:

Knit together in such a band, they eagerly set out for the solitude which was called Citeaux. This place, situated in the diocese of Chalon, was inhabited only by wild beasts, since it was at that time unusual for men to enter there because of the density of the woods and thorny thickets. Arriving in this place the men of God found it all the more suitable for the religious life which they had already formulated in their
minds and for which they had come here, the more despicable and inaccessible they realized it to be for seculars. After they had cut down and removed the dense woods and the thorny thickets, they began to construct a monastery there . . . 162

Of set purpose, the Cistercians set out to find a place far from the traffic of society. And in this place they had to clear the lands, build the monastery, and support themselves to maintain the solitude they sought. Then further, in chapter fifteen, more is said with regard to the solitary place and the role of the lay-brothers in maintaining that solitude:

They also decided to accept landed properties which lay removed from the dwellings of men, as well as vineyards and meadows and woods and also streams, in order to install mills— but only for their own use—and for fishing, and horses and various cattle useful to the requirements of men. And while they established granges for the practice of agriculture in a number of places, they decreed that the afore­ mentioned laybrothers, and not the monks, should manage those houses, because according to the Rule [of Saint Benedict] the dwelling place of the monks ought to be in the cloister. Since those holy men knew that blessed Benedict had built his monasteries not in towns or around fortified places or in villages, but in places removed from the traffic of men, they promised to imitate him. 163

In another legal document, the Summa cartae caritatis, the question was again raised as to how the monks were to feed themselves. The answer was clearly in favor of solitude and self-support, as the document said, "Food for the monks of our Order ought to come from manual labor, agriculture,
and the raising of animals. Hence, we may possess, for our own use, streams, woodlands, vineyards, meadows, lands far removed from the dwellings of seculars."  

And the same document legislated that, "In raising our animals and cultivating our lands we are not allowed to have joint dealings with laymen."  

The monks were striving to keep themselves as separate from the world as possible.

The entries in these documents are brief and concise, as befits a legal document. However terse, they underscore the founders' determination to engage in manual labor.

Aelred of Rievaulx, writing ostensibly to his sister, who was living the life of a recluse, a treatise entitled Rule of Life for a Recluse, cited the tradition of the desert Fathers in support of the link between solitude and manual labor. He said that, "The monks of old then chose to live as solitaries for several reasons: to avoid ruin, to escape injury, to enjoy greater freedom in expressing their ardent longing for Christ's embrace. Some lived alone in the desert, supporting themselves by the work of their hands."  

He went on in the treatise, affirming the importance of this self-support in order to maintain the ideal of solitude. It must be kept in mind that this treatise was written for an individual and not for a community. But the underlying reality is the same for a community which adopts solitude for an ideal. The maintenance of solitude necessitated self-support, and therefore manual labor.
The Apostolic Life

The third of the dominant motifs of eleventh-century reform was the desire to live the vita apostolica. The apostolic life, as we mentioned earlier, did not mean the same thing to the eleventh century person as it does to the modern. Rather, the apostolic life was that exemplified in the account from the Acts of the Apostles of the Christian community at Jerusalem. The life was marked by simplicity, charity, and self-support gained through the work of their hands. Paul's admonition on working and eating in his Second Letter to the Thessalonians, we recall, expressed the ideological basis for this life: "For when we were with you we gave you this command: If anyone will not work, let him not eat." There are many examples in the writings of the twelfth-century Cistercians which deal with manual labor in light of the apostolic life. They are characterized most often in descriptions of the common life of the monks earning their own living.

Jean Leclercq points out that in the sermons De diversis, Bernard of Clairvaux dealt specifically with manual labor. In Chapter forty-eight, the Rule of Saint Benedict states that in the performance of manual labor the monk imitates the Apostles. Bernard, using this as a basis, quoted passages from the writings of Saint Paul, two of which were also to be found in the Rule of Saint Benedict. 1 Thessalonians 4:10-12 says, "However, we do urge you brothers, to go on making even greater progress and to make a point of living quietly,
attending to your own business and earning your own living, just as we told you to, so you are seen to be respectable by those outside the Church, though you do not have to depend on them;" another is 2 Thessalonians 3:10 quoted before, which warns that those who do not work shall not eat. Leclercq states, "In Saint Bernard's sermon [De diversis 55:3] these quotations lead up to the final formula, opus manuum, which comes not from Saint Paul but from Saint Benedict whose teaching is confirmed by the authority of the Doctor of the Gentiles: Vides quam solicite observandum praecepit Doctor gentium opus manuum. [You see how carefully observing the Doctor of the Gentiles commanded manual labor.]")

In sermon forty-six On the Song of Songs Bernard again made reference to the passage from 2 Thessalonians 3:10. In this section of the sermon Bernard was not speaking literally of manual labor when he spoke of the "good works" that precede contemplation. However, contemplation was the ultimate goal of the monastic life, and it is significant that in describing the path to contemplation Bernard used the same scriptural basis and language that he used for manual labor:

Therefore you must take care to surround yours [bed: this refers to the bed of the Bride strewn with flowers in the Song of Songs.] With the flowers of good works, with the practice of vitues, that precede holy contemplation as the flower precedes the fruit. Otherwise, instead of seeking rest after labor you will want to slumber on in luxurious ease. Indifferent to the fertility of Leah you desire the pleasure of Rachel's embraces only. But it is a perversion of order
to demand the reward before it is earned, to
food and not to work, for the Apostle says:
'If anyone will not work, let him not eat.'

In his sermons On the Song of Songs, Bernard compared
the ascetic with the scriptural labors in the vineyard. He addressed that aspect of the apostolic life exemplified
in self-support. As Emero Stiegman points out:

We see this when the author Bernard portrays
the laborers in the vineyard as ascetics, and
says of the fruit of contemplation: 'He who does
not labor, should not eat.' The ascetic and
the apostle share in a common labor, and its
fruit. What is common here is that both strive
to prepare for the presence of the Word—the
ascetic in his own soul, the apostle in the soul
of others.

In the same vein, and using the same scriptural basis,
the laborers in the vineyard, Abbot Adam of Perseigne a
bit later praised the life of Martin of Tours, extolled the
apostolic life, and defended the premise that those who live
the apostolic life in its labors and toils are equal to the
Apostles:

On what principle are they not equal to the
Apostles who lead a life like the Apostles, work
the same miracles, will pass the same judgments,
will rule as they do, and will receive with
them the same one penny after the same toil
in the vineyard? This alone is relevant, that
in the payment of the penny the householder
has no favorites. But the last become first and
the first last. Nor is there an envy among the
recipients nor a boasting about their deserts.
Why then do you look askance at Martin's equality
with the Apostles when there is such integrity
in the one who made the payment, such charity
among those who received it, that he who was the last \textsuperscript{114} work is found the first in accepting payment.\textsuperscript{114}

Fraternal assistance and charity are essential elements of the apostolic life. Charity, which is the primary aim of the monk, is characterized by seeking the glory of God and the good of one's brethren. This is another theme which Bernard treated in relation to manual labor, that is, manual labor provided fruitful service to the brethren in the monastery. With the scriptural model as a basis, and an emphasis on the love of one's brother, delineated and developed in his four degrees of love outlined in his \textit{De diligendo Deo},\textsuperscript{115} Bernard encouraged the monks in their work for the support of the brethren. In the following quotation Francis Derivaux speaks of the manual labor as an element of ascesis in Bernard's second step in the ascent to truth:

Manual labor also, though still remaining an effective way to express and develop humility, will now be valued also as a means of fraternal assistance. Through his work a monk can help to provide for the material necessities of his brethren and other poor. Now in the foreground there is not so much his desire for the subjective benefits of asceticism but rather a sense of the true common good in Christ.\textsuperscript{116}

It can be seen here that the charity of the apostolic life in which the monk participated added a fulness to Bernard's previous ideas on manual labor, voluntary poverty, and purity of observance. Charity became perfected in the monk
as he gradually ascended to truth in contemplation and in so doing participated in the perfect charity of God. Above all, Bernard viewed Citeaux and the monastic observance practiced there as a "school of charity" in which, immersed in poverty, solitude, and the apostolic life, the monk could achieve true humility and embark, with the grace of God, on an ascent to truth in contemplation.

In a passage of De consideratione, Bernard admonished the Pontiff that his election to the papacy did not entitle him to wealth and glory, but added responsibility and demanded labor. Bernard wrote this treatise to Eugene III, former monk of Clairvaux and devoted follower of Saint Bernard, and in it applied the monastic disciplines of labor in the imagery of manual labor to the responsibilities of the monk become pontiff:

I wish that you could always glory in this highest form of glory which the Apostles and Prophets chose for themselves and passed on to you. Acknowledge your inheritance in the cross of Christ, in a multitude of labors. Happy the man who can say, 'I have labored more than all.' This is glory, but there is nothing vain in it, nothing weak, nothing boastful. If the labor is terrifying, let the reward be an enticement. 'For each one will be rewarded according to his labor.' Even if the Apostle has labored more than all, nevertheless he has not completed the entire task. There is still a place for you. 177

Bernard perceived the role of the pope as a continuation of the life of the Apostle. Also present in this passage is an element of the attitude that manual labor is an act of
mortification, a participation in the cross of Christ. This theme will be examined more closely later. Obviously, Bernard was not exhorting the pope to get out in the fields and do a little manual labor. He employed this imagery to make his point. His ascetical thought had such a firm foundation in the monastic life that he frequently used its language and imagery in his writing for the secular Christian, even though in this case Pope Eugene III had been a monk under Saint Bernard.

William of Saint Thierry praised the apostolic communities for their poverty, fraternal charity and common life. He grounded his statements on manual labor in an appeal to the traditions of Scripture and the Egyptian monastic fathers. The ideal to which William referred was the ancient monks supporting themselves by the labor of their hands. William's *Vita prima Bernardi* offers us an insight into his attitude toward manual labor as it relates to the common apostolic life, as he presents Bernard, the ideal monk. In chapter four William recounted two significant stories about Bernard as a novice, which, once the exaggerations of hagiographical style are accepted, betray his thoughts on manual labor:

Because he [Bernard] was so desirous of leading the common life to the full, when his brethren were engaged in some manual work which he could not undertake (either because he did not know how it was done, or because the way in which he had been brought up had not fitted him for such tasks), he used to do his share of work
for the house by digging, chopping wood, or carrying the materials for the others to use in their work, or doing any of the more wearisome but unskilled jobs. But if he found that he was not strong or fit enough to do even these, he used to find himself even more menial tasks to do, and in this way he made up for this incapacity for work by his great humility.  

The other account found Bernard unable to find the strength or skill to participate in the manual labor which was harvesting. Saddened by this he implored God to make him a good harvester. God answered his prayer. And from that point, harvesting was the work he did best and enjoyed most. Realizing it was only possible because of the gift from God, he always applied himself whole-heartedly in that manual labor.  

The overall thrust of the *Vita prima Bernardi* was that poverty, simplicity, and manual labor were not ends in themselves, but means by which an environment of silence, solitude, and the common apostolic life prevailed, enabling the monk to seek God in contemplation.  

Aelred of Rievaulx, in his *Pastoral Prayer*, wrote a series of petitions and prayers which he suggested should be prayed by abbots or anyone in charge of a community. In a section entitled, "Prayer for Subordinates," Aelred prayed that those in his charge may be "fervent in spirit, rejoicing in hope, enduring steadfastly through poverty and fasting, toils and vigils, silence and repose." Aelred used as a basis for this text 2 Corinthians 6:5. In these verses Paul instructed the Church at Corinth in the way of being a truly
Christian community. The common life, charity and faithfulness were among the marks of such a community.

In a passage from the *Speculum caritatis*, Aelred asked a novice in his charge to describe the life he was living. The self-support by manual labor which was so important to the apostolic communities was apparently a part of this novice's life:

> Here I [Aelred] asked him to describe . . . the life he lived as a novice. He smiled and replied: That's easy enough! Just look at me! My clothes, for instance—they are so rough. The food I eat is, by comparison with what I used to eat, unbearably coarse, and all I have to drink now is water. As for sleep, I spend as much time nodding into my books as I do in my bed! And when I go to bed I am utterly worn out, but just at the very moment when sleep is the pleasantest and I feel I could go on sleeping for hours, the bell rings for Matins. And there is hardly any need to add how we really do work for our bread in the sweat of our brow.183

Dialogue II of the *Dialogus duorum monachorum*, by Idung of Prüfeningen, the thirteenth-century Cistercian, berated a Cluniac for the abandonment of manual labor on the grounds of its apostolic origins. "But above all else, by doing as you have done—contrary to the precept of the Rule [of Saint Benedict] and to the precept of the Apostle [Paul]—you have stolen the time [away from] manual labor."184 The Cistercian continued with a quotation from Saint Augustine's *De opera monachorum*, editing carefully to manipulate Augustine's words for his argument. Augustine's authority was the apostolic
precept to work:

But if the dictates of bodily weakness compel the servants of God to take leisure at specified intervals of time for attending to these matters [the office], why do we not also reserve other intervals of time for observing apostolic precepts [to work]? One prayer by an obedient man receives quicker audience than a thousand by a scornful man. Men working with their hands can also easily sing hymns to God, and have their work lightened, as it were, by the divine cox-swain . . . What is there then to prevent God's servant from working with his hands and at the same time meditating on God's law and singing the praises of the Most High?

In another passage, Idung of Prüfening indicated the primacy of manual labor in the ascetical life. The Cluniac once again attempted to justify the absence of manual labor from his life by the assertion that he was a contemplative. The Cistercian countered with the reply that not only was manual labor not a hindrance to contemplation, it was an aid. Idung then cited the example of Abba Paul, illustrating his commitment to his manual labor. Abba Paul's work was not necessary for self-support, so the fact that he persisted in it was of great significance. Abba Paul recognized manual labor as an ascetical discipline which had merit in itself. He recognized it as a means of purifying himself of worldly corruption. The story speaks for itself, and illustrates perfectly the Cistercian belief that manual labor was an intrinsic part of the ascetical life leading to perfection:
Paul, the most experienced of the Fathers, while living in the vast desert which is called Porphyry had no cares because of the date palms and a small garden and plenty of food and means of support. He could not find other work to do for his upkeep because his dwelling place was removed from towns and inhabited places by a journey of seven days or more through the desert, and more would be demanded for the transportation of goods than the work would be worth. He gathered palm leaves every day and demanded of himself that he perform this task every day just as if it were his means of support. When his cave had been filled with the year's work, he would year after year set fire to what he had worked so hard at and so carefully, thereby proving that without manual labor a monk cannot persevere in his place nor attain the heights of perfection.

In an article entitled, "Isaac of Stella on Monastic Economics," Jean Leclercq explicates the theory of Isaac of Stella on manual labor. In his second sermon for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, Isaac made a connection between manual labor and the apostolic life. The sermon was written to establish the authority for observing faithfully the precepts of the common life. And that authority was based on the performance of manual labor for self-support in the apostolic communities. Isaac began, though, by asserting that it had been the lot of mankind to work with their hands since the fall of Adam. Leclercq claims Isaac "is speaking to men whose manual work consists mainly of farming and gardening. Like the penitent Adam after the expulsion from Paradise 'we sinners work the soil' and water it with our sweat. This is hard and laborious—"operosius"—but it serves
the double purpose of furnishing our own bread and the
bread which we give to the poor." Thus, Isaac established
the monk's manual labor as a human endeavor, marking
the monk's solidarity with all mankind. Further on, he adopted
as an ideal for the monk the maxim from the Acts of the
Apostles, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Isaac praised this as a noble Christian stance, one which
should be reflected in the monastic state.

Gilbert of Hoyland, two generations later, also alluded
to the idea of self-support and charity to the poor in his
twenty-third sermon On the Song of Songs. He asked, "What
of the daily manual labor, by which the body is both sufficiently
exercised and frugally fed? Not they alone eat from their
manual labor, but from their slender reserve they share
with the needy, that they may also experience distress, provided
others have plenty." Present in this statement as in all
the other illustrations is the importance the Cistercians placed
on charity and self-support. The ideals of the apostolic life
so important to the eleventh-century reformers had certainly
found champions in the twelfth and thirteenth-century Cistercian
authors.

Strict Adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict

In addition to the three dominant motifs of the eleventh
century—poverty, solitude, and the apostolic life—there was
yet another guiding principle operative in the Cistercian
reform: the insistence on a literal adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict. The enforcement of this principle would have obvious effects on their attitude toward manual labor, for it is clearly stated in chapter forty-eight of the Rule that "they are truly monks when they live by the labor of their hands." The Cistercians, in their zeal to adhere to the Rule, were obliged to undertake manual labor. Their attitude toward the Rule is expressed in a "Letter of the First Cistercians to All Their Successors" contained at the beginning of the Exordium parvum. It urged, "We publish the sincere truth of this matter that they may the more tenaciously love the place as well as the observance of the holy Rule therein, which we ourselves with the grace of God have only just begun; that they may pray for us who have sustained indefatigably the burden and the heat of the day; and that they may labor unto death on the strait and narrow way prescribed by the Rule..." The Exordium parvum went on to give an account of how Robert and his companions promised Hugh, Legate of the Holy See, "to place their lives under the custody of the holy Rule of Father Benedict." This desire is confirmed in the letter of Legate Hugh when he observed that it was the wish of the Cistercians "to adhere henceforth more strictly and more perfectly to the Rule of blessed Benedict." The terms artius and perfectius were used to describe their aims. In order to accomplish this strict adherence to the Rule the monks at Citeaux found
it necessary to abandon some of the customs of the European monastic tradition to which they were heir. William of Malmesbury's account corroborated the Cistercian's desire for purity of observance, "so intent are they on their rule, that they think no jot or tittle of it should be disregarded."197

Further, a passage in the Exordium parvum indicated that it was only after consulting the Rule that the Cistercians decided not to accept the customary tithes and benefices, but would instead make their living by their own hands.198

There is legislation in the Summa cartae caritatis, which, in accord with the directives in the Rule, prescribed that the monks' food was to come from the labor of their own hands.199 It is further evident in chapter twenty-three that the Cistercians aimed for a purity of monastic observance: "Our very name [of monks] and the constitution of our Order prohibit [the possession of] churches, altar revenues, burials, tithes from the labor or harvest of outsiders, manors, serfs, land-rents, oven and mill revenues, and all other incomes of the kind, as contrary to the purity of the monastic vocation."200

In the Carta caritatis posterior the idea of a stricter than usual adherence to the Rule is reiterated in the context of the responsibility of the abbot. "If any abbot is found to be less than zealous about the Rule, or too involved in secular affairs, or faulty in any matter, he shall be charitably accused at the Chapter [of assembled abbots] . . .";201 which Cistercians had instituted for safeguarding the purity
and regularity of the Cistercian monastic observance.

In his Apologia to Abbot William, Bernard quoted some of his Cistercian monks who belittled to the Cluniac monks saying, "they wear fur and they eat meat and fat. Every day they have three or four different dishes, which the Rule forbids, and they leave out the work it enjoins. Many points of the Rule they modify or extend or restrict as they like."

Saint Benedict envisioned the monk being engaged in manual labor about six hours per day. And so Bernard and the Cistercians, interpreting the Rule literally, chastised the Cluniacs for not engaging in work at all. Bernard pointed this out because it was a departure from the Rule. Peter the Venerable challenged Bernard's definition of what qualified as manual labor, but later made an about face and in his Statuta and insisted that work should be found for everyone in the monastery.

In a letter to the monks of St. Jean-d'Aulps, in the diocese of Geneva, Bernard further urged the performance of manual labor because it was legislated in the Rule. This monastery had originally begun under Molesme, but then came under the jurisdiction of Clairvaux and Saint Bernard. This letter was written on the occasion of the election of the abbot of St. Jean-d'Aulps as bishop of Sitten. In the letter Saint Bernard said, "Our place is the bottom, is humility, is voluntary poverty, obedience, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Our place is under a master, under an Abbot, under a Rule,
under discipline. Our place is to cultivate silence, to extend ourselves in fasts, vigils, prayers, manual work and above all to keep that 'more excellent way' which is the way of charity. Saint Bernard's reasoning for all the listed activities was the pursuit of a life of charity. According to Bernard, submission to the Rule and all the practices it enjoins resulted in charity, which was for Bernard the goal of the monastic life. Bernard certainly studied the Rule and prayed over it. This is apparent in the numerous quotations and explicit and implicit references to the Rule in his writings. But, apart from certain specific texts, which admonished anyone who strayed from the straight and narrow path of the Rule, Bernard did not regard the Rule as a program for the spiritual life, and in that light allowed the Rule to bend a little in particular circumstances. Leclercq says, "Two main characteristics stand out with his [Bernard's] attitude to the Rule. The first is his insistence on moderation and discretion, on kindness, indulgence, and broadmindedness. The second is Bernard's liberty with regard to the text of the Rule in the rare cases when a particular prescription is in opposition to the line of conduct which he feels obliged to adopt in order to be faithful to the promptings of the Holy Spirit."206

Frequently in the writings of the Cistercian Fathers the question of the active life versus the contemplative life was addressed by allusion to the scriptural account of Martha
and Mary. This is seen especially in relation to a theme discussed later, the alternation of manual work and contemplative prayer in the attempt to achieve a balanced lifestyle. Aelred of Rievaulx made the point that both were necessary, and further, not only did he see the necessity of both, but he asserted that Saint Benedict also viewed the union of activities as essential to the monastic life. Aelred said, "Saint Benedict certainly saw that, or to be more exact, the Holy Spirit in Saint Benedict saw it. When he directs us to apply ourselves to reading, he does not on that account omit work, but he recommends both to us, reserving certain moments for the activity of Martha, others for that of Mary." This alternation theme, particularly important to Aelred, will be developed at length later.

Idung of Prüfenning also paid tribute to the Rule of Saint Benedict, using it as his authority for chastising the Cluniac for abandoning the manual labor. Criticizing the long hours spent in liturgical prayer the Cistercian contended that time is usurped which according to the Rule should be spent in manual labor. Idung of Prüfenning had converted fully to the Cistercian tradition of strict adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict.
CHAPTER V

MANUAL LABOR: THE CISTERCIAN VIEW IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY:
THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Thus far, the dominant themes of the eleventh century and the Cistercian incorporation of those themes in their own attitudes toward manual labor have been examined. Some other less overt themes which go beyond those dominant in the eleventh century are also present in the writings of the twelfth-century Cistercians. These further themes, though they are not new to monasticism, have been treated in a more thorough and creative way by the Cistercian Fathers of the twelfth century than by the desert Fathers, or the European monastic tradition preceding Citeaux. The Cistercians encouraged manual labor (1) to avoid idleness; (2) to provide alternation of corporal and spiritual exercises, and thus provide a balanced life; and (3) to provide opportunities for mortification. Each of these themes has appeared in the writings of the desert Fathers, early monastic Fathers, and even Saint Benedict. In response to the popular desire for a more austere and ascetical religious life in the twelfth century, the Cistercian authors of that period emphasized and amplified the traditional themes, developing them into a new spirituality for the monastic ascetical practice.

64
Avoidance of Idleness

The avoidance of idleness was the classic reason the desert Fathers and Saint Benedict gave for the performance of manual labor. The form of manual labor in which the ancient desert monks engaged—weaving mats and baskets, gardening, and other crafts—kept them occupied so as not to be tempted by the passions and devils. This tradition, incorporated into the Rule of Saint Benedict, formed the basis of the Cistercian writings on manual labor as a means of avoiding idleness.

In the letter to his cousin Robert, which has already been cited, Bernard chastised his cousin for leaving the ascetical life of Clairvaux for the pampered existence at Cluny. Bernard criticized Robert encouraging him, and all Cluniac readers, to cease the idleness he had chosen at Cluny and to engage in some manual labor to bring him back to his senses:

Arouse yourself, gird your loins, put aside idleness, grasp the nettle, and do some hard work. If you act thus you will soon find that you only need to eat what will satisfy your hunger, not what will make your mouth water. Hard exercise will restore the flavor to food that idleness has taken away. Much that you would refuse to eat when you had nothing to do, you will be glad of after hard work. Idleness makes one dainty, hard work makes one hungry. It is wonderful how work can make food taste sweet which idleness finds insipid. Vegetables, beans, roots, and bread and water may be poor fare for one living at his ease, but hard work soon makes them taste delicious.
In this passage Bernard affirmed how deeply a part of the Cistercian life manual labor had become. It even provided a balance for the simple diet, making it seem like a feast. The idleness of the Cluniacs is what led them to complicate their diet and make it extravagant. The poverty and simplicity of Cistercian life were maintained by manual labor.

Aelred of Rievaulx in his Rule for a Recluse quoted chapter forty-eight of the Rule of Saint Benedict as he determined for his sister the assigned times for manual labor, reading, and prayer. He said, "Idleness is indeed the enemy of the soul, the enemy which more than all others the recluse must be on her guard against. It is the mother of all evils, it engenders passion, fosters the urge to roam, and nourishes vice; it nurtures spiritual weariness and encourages melancholy . . . Never then let the evil spirit find you idle." Aelred continued, "we will best avoid idleness by the alternation of exercises and safeguard our peace by varying our occupations." The occupations to be varied were manual labor, reading, and prayer.

Idung of Prüfen in his Dialogue raised the question of idleness and the monk by a quotation from Saint Augustine when he asked, "I would like to know what monks do who do not want to work physically when they have nothing to occupy their time?" The Cluniac monks engaged in the illumination and copying of manuscripts and Idung's Cistercian
had the Cluniac under fire because the "work" that the Cluniac did was idle work:

Just as words that do not edify are idle, so works which are not pertinent to necessary employment are rightfully called idle. Let me, meanwhile, keep silent about all the other things; what is grinding gold into dust and illuminating huge capital letters with that gold dust, if it isn't useless and idle work? Even those works of yours which are necessary are contrary to the precepts of the Rule because you pay no attention to the time assigned to them in the Rule. But it seems to me that it is a greater infraction of the Rule not to observe either the time or the manner specified in the Rule for the work of God.  

Idung continued in the Dialogue to extol the chief benefit of doing agricultural labor, that it does not permit the monk to be idle. He praised the Cistercian practice in which monk, lay-brother, and hired hands worked in common and earned their living by their own hands.  

William of Saint Thierry wrote, "In every respect our work and our leisure should never leave us idle." It is evident that the Cistercian writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were well within the desert tradition in employing manual labor for the avoidance of idleness. It is also apparent that, in reaction to a longstanding tradition of genteel monastic pursuits, they exceeded the desert Fathers in the richness of their arguments and rhetoric.

A Balanced Life

Among the desert and early monastic Fathers the alternation
of ascetical practices was encouraged primarily to combat acedia. This theme was also taken up occasionally by the Cistercian Fathers. For instance, Saint Bernard wrote, "The variety of holy observances drives away all tedium and monotony." But the passages on alternation have more significance than this return to an old theme. Implicit in the theme of alternation is the twelfth-century Cistercian anthropology. The Cistercians posited that man was both spiritual and physical, or even, in the terms of William of Saint Thierry: animal, rational, and spiritual; and that the ascent to truth is an upward ascent through these stages. The Three-fold regime of monastic practice corresponded to the three stages of man: work and the corporal exercises addressed the animal man; lectio and meditatio addressed the rational man; and prayer addressed the spiritual man. Man, in his mortal body continued to exist in both his physical nature and his spiritual. For this reason, the ascent to truth was accomplished by the repeated practice of the ascetical life of work, study and lectio, and prayer.

Saint Bernard wrote in his Apologia to Abbot William, "So too we read in one of the Psalms: 'Strike up a song, and play on the drum.' This means, 'Take up spiritual things but first make use of physical things.' The man in the best position is he who makes use of both as occasion demands, and with discernment." As shall be illustrated more
fully later, Bernard believed that the physical preceded the spiritual and that there continued a strong connection between the two: so strong that it was important to emphasize alternately the spiritual and physical practices. He placed a rather strong premium on the monk's ability to discern when to engage in each practice, and for what duration. Again, Bernard's sense of moderation is evident in the following sentence:

"A man who does all things with great delight must take care lest, by following an impulse, he destroy his health by doing too much. And then his spiritual life will suffer greatly as he finds it necessary to care for his bodily infirmity. Therefore, to keep the runner from running too much, there is need of the light of discretion, mother of all virtues and the crown of perfection. Take my words to heart: Don't do too much." 221

In either the spiritual or physical exercises Bernard counselled moderation as the best path, lest the monk ruin his health early, prohibiting a consistent monastic observance. Bernard seems to have come to this opinion only after having ruined his own health, for he was plagued by severe stomach trouble due to his overzealous youthful austerity. 222

In his sermons De diversis, Bernard again referred to the rhythm created by the alternation of work and contemplation which enables the person to open himself to God. He wrote, "Resting in the evening of contemplation he longs for the morning when he will rise to action, whilst on the
other hand, exhausted with his labors he longs for the evening, willingly turning again to the calm of contemplation." 

Of all the Cistercian authors of the twelfth century, perhaps the one who championed the idea of alternation most articulately was Aelred of Rievaulx. In the Rule of Life for a Recluse, Aelred stated that the principal motivation for the alternation of exercises was the avoidance of idleness. "We will best avoid idleness by the alternation of exercises and safeguard our peace by varying our occupations." He outlined the day of the recluse, encouraging her to alternate manual labor with prayer. This was to be done between the hours of the Divine Office. For example, he suggested, "After dinner and grace she should again alternate, as prescribed, between physical toil and spiritual exercises until Vespers." For a recluse who is not able to read he suggested she give more devotion to manual labor, with periodic intervals for prayer, always careful to return to the original task. Aelred believed this rhythm was essential to relieve tedium and idleness, and also to exercise both the physical and the spiritual.

Aelred's anthropology is evident in his writings on this alternation theme. Charles Dumont says about Aelred's anthropology: "Thus, Aelred tells us that the exercises of the outer man are instruments of the interior man; melancholy (tedium mentis) is dissipated by fatiguing labor, and the body thus pacified becomes an obedient servant of the spirit."
Aelred's anthropology is further evident in his description of what will happen at the Last Judgment. "By his second coming, the Lord will raise us up corporally, in order that, having served here below in our body and our soul, we may be able to enjoy beatitude in our body as well as our soul." With such an anthropological premise as the unity of body and soul it is no surprise that the program of life posited by Aelred would address both areas.

The alternation of activity and contemplation, frequently viewed in the context of the lives of Martha and Mary, in the words of Charles Dumont, "is one of the elements which contributes most to giving the Cistercian life its agreeable simplicity." Aelred alluded to these two lives in an account of Martha and Mary:

See, my brothers, if Mary were alone in the house, no one would provide food for the Lord; if Martha were there alone, no one would enjoy his presence and His words. Martha represents, therefore, action, the work accomplished by Christ; Mary, the repose which frees us from corporal works to make us taste the sweetness of God in reading, prayer, or contemplation.

Thus brethren, during this life of misery and labors, Martha must necessarily dwell in our house: our soul must apply itself to bodily works. As long as we have need to eat and to drink, we shall have to mortify our flesh by vigils, fasts, work. Such is Martha's part. But Mary, that is spiritual activity, must also be present. For we must not apply ourselves unceasingly to corporal exercises; we must also rest at times and taste how sweet the Lord is.
This alternation between action and contemplation was evident in many of the writings of the twelfth century—Cistercians. Aelred was deeply involved in the dialectic. He was in favor of the marriage of the two lives, the active and the contemplative. He criticized those who neglected manual labor and work, excusing themselves on the grounds that they were contemplatives:

They are utterly mistaken and understand nothing when they imagine that certain ones are destined to Mary's part, while others would only share the lot of Martha.

They are idle and unoccupied; they do nothing and hide their curiosity beneath the veil of contemplation. They say: 'What need have we of working and troubling ourselves, of wearying ourselves by swinging an ax at the trunk of a tree or breaking up rocks with a sledgehammer? Mary has chosen the better part' . . . Indeed [answered Aelred], Mary has chosen the better part . . . but if the Gospel story of the two sisters is read to us on the feast of the Assumption, it is because the Virgin Mary exercised the two lives to perfection.

Aelred believed with regard to the alternation of occupations that it was of the utmost importance to be totally attentive to whatever task was at hand, whether it were activity or contemplation. Guided by an abbot, a Rule, and the dictates of charity, the monk was to engage in both exercises:

At the time when we should be free for reading or prayer, the thought will come to us to go to such and such a work which seems indispensable. It is as if Martha were calling Mary to her assistance. But the Lord who judges well and fairly does not command Martha to sit with Mary, nor does he order Mary to rise in order to serve
with Martha... He wishes that each should do her part. Have any of the holy Fathers arrived at perfection without the practice of these two lives? Clearly we must practice the life of Martha at certain moments and that of Mary at others. Let us keep steadfastly to those times determined by the Holy Spirit. At the time for reading, let us be peaceful and calm, without becoming idle or sluggish, and not depart from the feet of Jesus. Let us rather remain near Him to listen to his words... At the times of manual labor let us be active and prompt. But we must not exchange one activity for the other save when necessity, which knows no law, crops up unexpectedly.232

If Aelred's biographer, Walter Daniel, is to be believed, not only did Aelred write about the theory of alternation and its effect on the balanced life, he lived it:

And so it was that as he wrestled in prayer, despising the earth and everything on the earth, himself most of all, he would often go up into the mountain to greet God, suspended, as it were, between heaven and earth, and saying, 'Lord, remember that I am dust, but the wind of thy love, the breath of thy Holy Spirit has borne me so far; turn me not back nor hurl me down; for it is good and pleasant to be here.' And God seeing and hearing him thus, would answer, 'My son, he flies easily who flies to God; be it unto thee as thou sekest.' So comforted was he by this assurance, so drunk with the wine of unspeakable joy, that he could scarce bring himself to come down; indeed after such prayer and such wholesome rapture he would be tired and sad, as though he had come from great toil, and lament the hurt of the descent, and sigh as he reflected on the glory of the assumption. But 'steady, steady.' He rises quickly nor sits long in the same place, but hastens to some labor of his hands.233

Echoing the sentiments of Saint Bernard, Aelred cautioned that the physical exercise to be done should be done in...
moderation. "Because man is made of both body and soul, our actions should have both in view, so far as this is possible. For the more each one is fervent and prudent in this regard, so much the more will he be perfect in love . . . We must be held in check by the restraint of reason, lest the limits of bodily strength be exceeded. For some have been ignorant of the measure of their powers, and by heedlessly following the bent of their desire have become weaker, not holier." 234

According to Leclercq, Isaac of Stella was a "strong and hearty Englishman [who] worked assiduously and energetically in the fields. He theorized, almost theologized, over this work, giving it a place in his conception of the spiritual life." 235 Isaac held that manual labor was difficult and wearying, but should never be done to the point of exhaustion; the soul must be attentive to God, and therefore the work of the spirit must be alternated with the work of the body. 236 In this way labor is a way to meet Jesus. 237 So much a part of his life was manual labor that as Leclercq points out, "He liked to remark in his sermons that he was speaking during a pause in his labor." 238

Idung of Prüfenig illustrated the perfect marriage of contemplation and manual labor in his Dialogue. Countering the Cluniac's contention that since they were "contemplatives" engaged in perpetual liturgical praise, they had little time left and were thus excused from manual labor, the Cistercian
appealed to the *Conferences* of John Cassian. He cited the example of Abbot John the Hermit who, even during an ecstasy lasting three days, continued unconsciously at his manual labor the entire time. It seems Abbot John transcended alternation and achieved simultaneity.

The alternation of vigils, fasts, prayer, *lectio*, and manual labor is the key to the balanced life, and produces an environment which promotes contemplation. In sermon forty-three *On the Song of Songs* Gilbert of Hoyland, writing in the early thirteenth century, made this statement, "Fasts alternate with repasts, labors with repose, vigils with sleep. Alternation brings refreshment, not faintness . . . Do you desire the delights of contemplation, to enjoy at ease the embraces of the bridegroom, to clasp him alone in the secret of your heart? Do not run to open [the door] with empty hands, with dry hands! Action precedes contemplation." Idung of Prüfening and Gilbert of Hoyland were not "first or second" generation writers, but were witnesses that the Cistercian emphasis on the importance of manual labor lived on into the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. For these Cistercian authors, the whole of the monastic observance was a preparation for contemplation, and ultimately heaven. The balance of the life aided by the alternation of the exercises offered a suitable environment in which the monk, with the grace of God, could meet Him in contemplation.

In a study of early Cistercian liturgy, Chrysogonus
Waddell states that "the strength of the Cistercian life lay, at least in part, in balance." The balance was created by the alternation of the physical and spiritual exercises: manual labor, vigils, and fasts with lectio, prayer, and contemplation. To illustrate the importance of manual labor in this monastic balance, Waddell cites what he refers to as a "crude" example of Cistercian hagiography from the Exordium magnum, a thirteenth century document describing Cistercian life in the twelfth century:

The Novice master of Grandsele had been a champion athlete of the spiritual life. As such persons often did, he made a spectacular return appearance shortly after his death. His bodily appearance resembled nothing less than clear crystal blazing with the purest light—except, alas, for a dark blotch on the apparition's foot. Why the blotch? Well, the holy novice master, in spite of his merits, had had a single fault: he was a bit less fervent than he should have been when he went with the brethren to the daily common work. The narrator piously adds the moral: "It is certain that every practice of the Order is holy and pleasing to God, and that no one should be neglected without serious danger to the soul."

It is clear then, that manual labor was regarded as an essential element in the monastic life. Above and beyond its immediate benefits of self-support and the banishment of idleness, it had merit in and of itself.

The Physical Bases of Spiritual Growth

As has been stated, the basic Cistercian anthropological
assumption was that man ascended to truth in the spiritual life by stages: animal, rational, and spiritual. For growth to take place in the spiritual life, a firm base had to be established in the physical realm on which the spiritual life could be built. The twelfth-century Cistercians, therefore, emphasized the performance of the bodily exercises to accomplish the establishment of this basis. Once the body had been ordered through disciplined activities, man was ready to ascend the levels of the spiritual life. Among these bodily disciplines were vigils, fasts, and manual labor. Throughout the monk's life, the continued application of these bodily disciplines facilitated growth in the ascent to truth, union with God in contemplation. The continued discipline of the physical was required to insure growth in the spiritual life, no matter what stage of perfection had been reached. As one of these disciplines, manual labor needs to be examined in light of its contribution to the physical basis for spiritual growth.

Bernard of Clairvaux offered as the goal of the Cistercian life the perfect restoration of the image of God in the soul. This was the hope of the Christian life. Bernard was a well-educated and articulate man. Regarding the requirements of this restoration, he wrote extensively. What is important to keep in mind is that he was first and foremost a monk, a fact that colored all he wrote.

The monastic life was one avenue by which the restoration
of the image was accomplished in the Christian through the grace of God. The monastic life was a means by which the Christian could be transformed from unlikeness to likeness in the perfect union with God. For Bernard, the monastic life, especially as it was observed at Clairvaux, was purely contemplative, that is, everything was ordered to creating an atmosphere in which the monk could experience contemplation.

Within a balanced structure of prayer, lectio, and manual labor the monk began the ascent to truth in contemplation. The foundation on which the ascent was based was humility. Bernard advocated the interior renewal of man. The two steps by which the monk achieved interior renewal were purity of heart and voluntary poverty. This was echoed in a statement by one of Bernard's disciples, Peter of Roye, who believed that the renewal of the interior man was achieved through the humility which springs from a life of poverty and contemplative solitude. Both were to be found in the humble work of the monks and in the simplicity of their way of life. This program was graduated, beginning with the baser things and ascending level by level to perfect charity. In his Apologia to Abbot William Bernard stated, "spiritual things are certainly higher, but there is little hope of attaining them or of receiving them without making use of external exercises, as it is written, 'It is not the spiritual that comes first but the physical; and then comes the spiritual.'" Again, in a letter to Prior Guy of the Grande Chartreuse...
he stated, "Because we are flesh and blood born of the desire of the flesh, our love must start in the flesh . . . we must first bear the image that is earthly and afterwards that which is heavenly." 247 This progressive ascension theme was evident in Bernard's Steps of Humility and Pride, which contained his three degrees of truth, 248 and his On Loving God in which he proposed four degrees of love. 249

Whereas many of Bernard's opinions concerning manual labor were implicitly in his writings, William of Saint Thierry, as a convert to the Cistercian ideal from the Benedictine, made explicitly his evaluation of manual labor in his letter to the monks at Mont Dieu, The Golden Epistle. This work outlined the three-fold division of the ascent to likeness. It was divided into sections outlining programs for animal man, rational man, and spiritual man. Like Bernard, William also believed the perfection of the person occurred in stages. He believed that before the fall man was an ordered microcosm 250 in which the flesh is subject to the soul, the soul to the spirit, and the spirit itself is naturally directed towards God. The balance among these three had been disturbed by sin. Asceticism is the means by which the balance may be restored. 251 The ascent had to begin at the bottom of the ladder with animal man; the beginner progressed from physical works upward. Manual labor figured prominently in securing this basis.
Through devotion to good practices their flesh that is sown in corruption begins even now to rise again to glory; so that heart and flesh together may rejoice in the living God, and where the soul thirsts after you the flesh also may thirst in O how many ways! For the blessed meek possess the earth of their own body; which earth, made fruitful by the faithful practice of spiritual exercises, even though it has been left to go fallow, bears fruit of itself in fastings, in watchings, in labors, being ready for every good work without contradiction of sloth.

Addressing beginners in the monastic life, William first identified manual labor as an occupation to avoid idleness. It was intended to relax the mind in order to prepare it for spiritual things. Although William recognized the fact that the fruit of labor is pleasure and relaxation of the body, these were not the primary aims. The spiritual orientation took priority. William stated, "Physical exercise is necessary as a help to spiritual pursuits." Manual labor, especially hard field work, led to contrition and humility of heart as well. The monk was encouraged willingly to embrace all work, concentrating not so much on what he is doing, as why. This was to keep his goal, perfection, constantly before his eyes. Manual labor enabled the monk to focus all his energies on this primary goal.

However the serious and prudent soul is ready to undertake all work and is not distracted by it but rather finds it a means of greater recollection. It always keeps in sight not so much what it is doing as the purpose of its activity and so aims at the summit of all perfection. The more truly such an effort is made, the more fervently and the more faithfully is manual

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work done and all the energies of the body are brought into play. The discipline imposed by good will forces the senses to concentrate: they are left without any opportunity of shaking off the weight of the work to take their pleasure, and, brought into humble subjection and service to the Spirit, they are taught to adapt themselves to it both in sharing the work and in looking forward to its reward. 257

Once the monk began this program of ascent, he had faithfully to persevere so his spiritual muscles would not atrophy. 258

William's aim was to have the monk achieve the ability to concentrate on spiritual matters while engaged in physical activity.

Spiritual exercises should never be laid aside in favor of bodily ones for any length of time nor totally, but the mind should learn to return to them easily and give itself to bodily exercises while still being attached to the things of the spirit. For as has already been said it is not man who is for the sake of woman but woman for the sake of man and it is not spiritual things that are for the sake of carnal but carnal that are for the sake of spiritual. By bodily exercises in the present context we mean those which involve manual work. 259

Thus, for William, the physical as the basis for the spiritual was firmly developed. A rhythm was established in which the physical and the spiritual were linked in a singleness of purpose. Manual labor and the other corporal ascetical practices—fasts and vigils—were thus essential parts of the spiritual life at the most elementary level.

Manual Labor as Mortification/Penance
Mortification of the body was a theme running throughout the entire monastic tradition. Through mortification and acts of penance, the monk was able to overcome his attachments to the things and activities of this world. In the desert tradition this worldliness sometimes took the form of passions, sometimes diabolic temptations. Regardless of the form, worldliness was to be eradicated to open a place for God. This same theme is identifiable in the writings of the twelfth-century Cistercians.

In Bernard's *Apologia to Abbot William* he extolled manual labor as a means of mortifying worldly attachments. He said, "You do well when you wear yourself out with all manner of hard work. You do well when, by the austerity of the Rule you put to death what is earthly in you." It is certain that this mortification of the body or penance was viewed as important and necessary. But it is also important to view this statement in the context in which it was written. Bernard believed that sometimes, for the sake of charity, moderation had to come into play. This is also true in this context. Whereas Bernard praised mortification accomplished by the performance of manual labor, it was not itself of ultimate value. Bernard warned certain members of his Order not to criticize too loudly others who were less zealous in the ascetical life. Bernard quoted Saint Paul saying, "Do not pass judgment prematurely, before the coming of the Lord. He will light up things hidden in darkness, and
disclose the designs of the heart." He said to those who criticized monks who do not engage in manual labor, "For just as the soul is more important than the body, so spiritual practices are more fruitful than material ones. But as for you, if you have become so complacent about your bodily observances that you look down on those who do not follow suit, then it is you who are the real transgressor." Bernard went on to say that in the very act of criticizing, the monk who engaged in manual labor was lacking the greater gifts of humility and charity. Manual labor was a necessary penance which helped the monk to acquire the gifts of humility and charity; it should not be an occasion to lose them. Bernard was not saying that manual labor was unimportant; on the contrary, he affirmed its primacy among the corporal ascetical practices. He simply urged it be kept in perspective and engaged in to further, not to hinder, spiritual gifts. He asked, "Who, may I ask, keeps the Rule better? Surely it is he who is himself better. And who is better, the humble man or the weary man? Surely it is he who has learned from the Lord to be gentle and humble of heart." Often the Cistercian life of penance and mortification was viewed as a participation in the sufferings of Christ. Aelred of Rievaulx expressed this sentiment, citing a passage from the Rule of Saint Benedict as his authority, in the *Speculum caritatis*:
To share in the sufferings of Christ is to be submitted to regular observances, to mortify the flesh by abstinence, vigils, and work, to submit one's will to the judgment of another, to prefer nothing to obedience, and that I may sum up a great deal in a few words, to follow our profession, which is made according to the Rule of Saint Benedict, that is to say, to share in the sufferings of Christ as our legislator declares when he says: 'And so persevering until death in the monastery, we may share by patience in the sufferings of Christ, that we may deserve to be partakers of his kingdom.'

The work referred to in this passage Aelred went on to describe as that engaged in by those "who have chosen to earn your own living, not under the curse of the peasant (rusticorum), but by your own and the common labor of your brethren."

Again, in the account of Martha and Mary already examined, Aelred affirmed that the Cistercian life was to be a life of mortification and penance. Manual labor was one of the penitential acts by which this was accomplished. "Thus brethren, during this life of misery and labors, Martha must necessarily dwell in our house: our soul must apply itself to bodily works. As long as we have need to eat and to drink, we shall have to mortify our flesh by vigils, fasts, and work." 

Guerric of Igny included manual labor in the ascetical regime of the Cistercian life in many of his liturgical sermons. Ascetical exercises were forms of penance which allowed the monk to escape everlasting corruption. Speaking to the monks
of the monastery in the first sermon for the Epiphany, Guerric pointed out that most individuals were not accustomed to the penitential life of the ascetic. "If we are to believe those who have just come in from the world, the regular fasts and vigils, the daily manual labor, the rough clothes and practically everything are bitter to them because they are unaccustomed to them." Nevertheless, Guerric insisted that the practice of mortification through manual labor along with the other corporal exercises had to be accepted to avoid damnation. "Although in comparison with piety, training of the body avails but little for the perfect, such as Timothy, how useful it is for the rough and imperfect such as we. You yourselves, brethren, bear witness to yourselves. You know how the bitterness of a scant diet and hard work redeems our life from corruption. For you yourselves know how your hearts, how your bodies would be creeping with worms if it were not for the myrrh distilled day by day from the manual labor."269

In the first sermon for the feast of Saint Benedict, Guerric pointed out that wisdom was gained through the monk's application of penitential practices. This was primarily achieved by overcoming the restlessness of the body, accedia. By occupying the body with daily penitential practices, the monk would be more disposed to receive true wisdom. "It is more important, I think, not readily to allow restlessness or any kind of slight provocation to keep you away from
any of the exercises of wisdom: the divine office, private prayer, lectio divina, the appointed daily labor or the practice of silence." Not only did the application of the monk in manual labor produce wisdom, but, as Guerric wrote in another sermon, the third sermon for the feast of the Assumption, the reward for diligence in work was rest in Jesus. Guerric said that the good man is resting while he works, and the godless man has to work even while he is resting. The rest about which Guerric wrote was the union with God in contemplation.

Guerric, like Aelred, situated the penitential practices of the monk in the context of participation in the sufferings of Christ. The monk had to be engaged not only in contemplation, but in action. He had to toil and labor and suffer just as Christ suffered, and his reward would be union with God:

Let them hear and rejoice who walk in the ways of justice. Let them hear, I say, for Jesus deigns to meet and manifest himself not only to those who devote themselves to contemplation but also to those who justly and devoutly walk the ways of action. Many of you if I am not mistaken, recognize what you have experienced; often Jesus whom you sought at the memorials of the altars, as at the tomb, and did not find, unexpectedly came to meet you in the way while you were working. Then you drew near and held on to his feet, you whose feet slothfulness had not held back for desire of him. Do not then be too sparing of your feet, brother in the ways of obedience and in the coming and going that work demands, since Jesus did not spare his feet on your account even from the pain of the nails, and he still allows the work of you feet to be rewarded or revealed by the embrace and kiss of his own feet. What consolation it will
also be if he joins you as a companion on the way and by the surpassing pleasure which his conversation gives takes away from you all feeling of toil, while he opens your mind to understand the Scriptures which perhaps you sat and read at home without understanding.272

The basis of Isaac of Stella's writing on manual labor as mortification was the life of Adam after he had been expelled from Paradise. God said to Adam that since leaving Paradise his lot, and the lot of all mankind, was to work by the sweat of his brow.273 Isaac identified the work of the Cistercians with that of the penitent Adam.274 As a result of the fall of Adam, mankind was destined to a life of hardship and penance as a reparation. Isaac embraced this penitential life as it was experienced in the monastic observance, viewing manual labor as a participation in the penitential work of mankind. Thus, Isaac affirmed the Cistercian monk's solidarity with Adam and all mankind.275

Along with the themes: the ascetical life, avoidance of idleness, and the alternation of exercises to provide a balanced life; mortification and penance added yet another dimension to the Cistercians' well-developed writings on manual labor.
CHAPTER VI

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE MONK IN THE MONASTERY:
COUNTER-INDICATIONS

At the beginning of the Cistercian Order, manual labor was performed by all the monks in the monastery. However, even as the "second generation" Cistercian theologians continued to theorize about manual labor and encourage its performance, there were developments which militated against it. These developments were: (1) the rise of the Cistercian Lay-brotherhood; (2) the rise of intellectual and literary work among the Cistercians; and (3) the use and abuse of monastic sources. These counter-indications must be examined to provide a more thorough understanding of manual labor in Cistercian ideal and practice.

The Rise of the Cistercian Lay-brotherhood

Well within the dominant trend of the eleventh century, the Cistercians adopted the use of the lay-brotherhood probably sometime under Abbot Stephen Harding in the second decade of the twelfth century. In the Exordium parvum, the Cistercians stated, "Thereupon they decided to admit, with the permission of their bishop, bearded lay-brothers and to treat them in life and death as their equals, excepting only the
status as monks.\textsuperscript{277} These lay-brothers were admitted to do a good portion of the manual labor so that the monastery could function and the monks remain faithful to the liturgical and other required monastic observances. From the monastic horarium during the twelfth century in appendices III and IV, compiled by Chrysogonus Waddell and based on the writings of Julien Paris in the \textit{Nomasticon cisterciense}, it is clear that even at the beginning there was a distinction between monks and lay-brothers at Citeaux. Lay-brothers maintained the granges and enabled the monks to retire from traffic with seculars. As the Cistercians became more and more established, the burden of the manual labor fell increasingly to the lay-brothers. There are numerous stories in the \textit{Exordium magnum} which praise the lay-brothers for their dedication to the manual labor. One of the more beautiful stories recounted how a lay-brother, a ploughman at Clairvaux, dreamed that Christ appeared in the field which he was ploughing and goaded the oxen in the field, thus sharing and easing the burden of the lay-brother.\textsuperscript{278} That the burden of manual labor was placed on the lay-brothers because of the choir responsibilities of the monks was very evident in some of the \textit{statuta} issued by the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order. For example statute sixty-eight from the year 1157 indicated, "On feastdays which had been moved to another day, the lay-brothers work;"\textsuperscript{279} the monks are not mentioned. It can be assumed that they would have had choir
responsibilities. Statute two from the year 1175 stated, "On the feast of Saint Bernard, two masses are sung and the brothers labor." Again, a statute from 1184 orders that on the feast of Saint Vincent two masses be sung and the lay-brothers work. The monks were becoming more and more involved in choir activity, whereas the lay-brothers remained working in the field. The term conversi is used frequently in the legal documents such as the Statuta, but rarely in the theological treatises. The theological works encouraged work for the monks, yet the legal documents, which are usually closer to lived experience, indicated it was the lay-brothers who were doing most of the manual labor. Since by definition conversi were illiterate, it can be assumed that the Cistercian theoreticians were not being read by the conversi.

Why did this shift in the performance of manual labor by both monachi and conversi to primarily conversi take place? The answer to that question becomes clear after examining the reasons for the adoption of the lay-brotherhood. Jacques DuBois argued that there were basically four reasons that lay-brothers were adopted by the monastic orders: (1) the monk's distaste for manual labor; (2) the monastery's growth in wealth and prosperity; (3) expanded ornamentation of the liturgical life since the time of Benedict of Aniane; and (4) the increasing clericalization of the monastic life in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Some of
these factors have already been mentioned, but a few bear repeating. The prosperity of the Cistercian monks had a great effect on the performance of manual labor. Jean Leclercq cites two examples of monks from the thirteenth-century Cistercian tradition looking at their life with a critical eye and comparing it to the beginnings at Citeaux. Gilbert of Hoyland recalled with a bit of nostalgia the times when, "our fathers went in search of real solitude; they cared about holiness, not possessions. What times! What conduct!" 283 And in the Exordium magnum there was an account of a consecrated virgin who passed on a prophetic criticism about Citeaux: "There are three things in your Order which offend God's majesty: increase of landed property, superfluous buildings, and the sensuality of the monk's voices." 284 Clearly there were some adverse reactions to the prosperity of the Cistercians. This prosperity shifted the manual labor to the brothers' shoulders, because the Cistercians were no longer faced with the existential poverty of the founders. Territorial expansion, accumulation of property, increased involvement in the administration of the property of the Order, and ecclesiastical politics exacted their toll on the distribution of manual labor. With the industrious work of the lay-brothers, monks found themselves with more time. 285

As for the admission of liturgical accretions not found in the Rule of Saint Benedict, Waddell states, "even in the case of the Cistercian Fathers, there was never a question
of 'the Rule and nothing but the Rule.' The starting point of their reform had been a concrete, living, complex tradition tributary to multiple sources. What was rejected was not this tradition as a whole, but only those elements judged incompatible with fidelity to the Rule and with the exigencies of reason." Another factor Waddell cites was Bernard's desire for the authentic in the performance of the liturgy. In his Prologue to the Cistercian Antiphonary Bernard wrote that the chanting of the office according to the most authentic version was one of the major concerns of the founders of Citeaux. According to Waddell, by appealing to authenticity as a criterion "a whole series of new options in the choice of liturgical books" was possible. Appealing to the argument of authenticity as opposed to strict literal adherence to the Rule set a precedent that would allow for other liturgical accretions, especially as they were perceived to have been intended by the founders of Citeaux. The increasing clericalization of the monks also demanded more attention to the altar than to the field. This clericalization also contributed to a class distinction which further separated the monks and conversi and led to the decline of manual labor by monks. According to DuBois, the creation of the lay-brothers was not merely an attempt to solve the existing problems of the monks. He contends it came in response to a popular movement seeking a "lay monasticism" which would not be encumbered by the duties and responsibilities of the clerical monks.
"In the older forms of monasticism, some monks had become clerics while others remained in the lay state. In the characteristic monasticism of the twelfth century, the two groups were completely separated. The liturgical obligations of the clerics were stressed, while the lay-brothers were completely dispensed from them." 290 One of the reasons that the difference between the lay-brothers and monks was expressed in the different liturgical requirements was that, unlike Saint Benedict, the Cistercians did not accept child oblates. Recruits came in adulthood. If he was literate, a postulant could become a monk, but if he could not read he was destined to be a lay-brother, for there were no built-in schools to teach the recruit to read and thus to learn the offices. It seems that with the breakdown of feudal structures, there were more and more illiterate peasants seeking the form of "lay monasticism" in the Order of Citeaux. Not only the peasants, but members of the nobility as well sought to enter the Cistercian Order as lay-brothers. This is corroborated by statute eight from the year 1188 which stated, "Noble layment coming [to the monastery] do not become conversi but monks." 291 This would indicate that prior to the enactment of this law, noblemen were becoming conversi. 292 This was significant, in that it would not normally be the place for nobles. Recall the difficulty Saint Bernard encountered in manual labor because of his aristocratic background.

The Cistercian lay-brothers of the twelfth century divided
their lives between hard work and simple prayer. They held positions of importance, as administrators, grange-masters, heads of workshops. They did not participate actively in the liturgical office, and were not involved in intellectual pursuits. The difference between them and the monks lay in the fact that monks were clerics and the conversi were laymen. This situation made it possible for a simple person in the twelfth century to choose the monastic life, without the difficulty of chanting in a language they did not know, and probably could not read. 293

The Rise of Intellectual and Literary Work

As for the clerical monks, the choir office obligation and the growing intellectual climate were significant in the shift from manual labor. As Lekai points out, "Monks became less and less concerned with the quality of the soil and harvest, turning instead with much devotion to books, studies, preaching, and missions." 294 Even as the writers of the "Golden Age of Citeaux" were producing treatises and sermons praising manual labor, they were, in the very act of writing, substituting intellectual work for field work. Several factors contributed to this development of intellectual versus field labor. Among them were (1) the rise of the secular schools; (2) the intellectual backgrounds of the writers of the Cistercian Order; (3) the translation into Latin and the availability of ancient philosophical works; and (4) the emergence of
scholasticism. In the eleventh century the monasteries were the primary centers of Christian thought and the chief promoters of culture and education. According to Leclercq, "the Abbeys remained the repositories of the great Christian ideas." The monastic thinkers developed their ideas and theology out of the monastic practice of *lectio divina* which emphasized the Scripture and the Fathers; and from the liturgy. However, in the twelfth century a new intellectual class was coming into being. Whereas the monks in the monastery were still engaging in intellectual pursuits, these pursuits were not confined to the monastery. These new thinkers called masters—*magistri*—formed a new social category outside the structure of secular and ecclesiastical feudalism. In most cases, these masters had no ties whatsoever to monasteries. Chenu states that these masters, "lived in cities where their allies, the bourgeois, were emancipating themselves by forming communes." Responding to the needs of the new student, the masters formed schools in the cities with clerical teachers under episcopal control. No longer were the intellectual and social environment of the monasteries adequately fulfilling the aspirations of the new students.

Within this milieu of growing intellectualism, the Cistercians had members who were not only well-educated, but in some cases were products of these schools before becoming monks. Bernard's noble background assured him of a good education, and from his writings it is clear that he had
a vast knowledge of Scripture and the Fathers, as well as many ancient secular authors. William, Abbot of Saint Thierry, was accounted a learned man. Aelred of Rievaulx was an educated man, and had participated in the court life of David of Scotland before entering the monastery. Gueric of Igny had not only been educated in the schools, but was himself the Master of the Cathedral School at Tournai. Isaac of Stella, too, before his conversion had been educated in the new schools. Within a climate as intellectually stimulating and with educational backgrounds such as they had, it is no surprise that the "Golden Age" Cistercians should adopt, at least in part, intellectual labor while praising manual labor.

One factor which made the twelfth century so intellectually stimulating was the emergence of pre-scholasticism. Even though the influence of the "monastic school" had not diminished in the twelfth century, scholasticism was beginning to gain a foothold. The rediscovery and translation into Latin of many ancient sources, especially Aristotle after 1150, were instrumental in the development of scholasticism. The goal of scholasticism as applied to theology was more systematic research and greater precision of language. Like the Aristotelian ideal it adopted, scholastic theology took on a speculative and deductive character. On the other hand, the monastic approach to theology was one that nourished the spiritual life by lectio, the Scriptures and the Fathers.
Saint Benedict had called the monastic life "the school of the Lord's service." It was this definition of school that the Cistercians adopted. Chenu states:

The Cistercians were to take up the word [school] again and insist on the active implementation of this old Benedictine tradition. In lively competition with the new schools and their secular masters, the Cistercians pressed for an exclusive definition of "school" which rejected any variant conception as intolerable. The "school" of the primitive Church (schola primitivae ecclesiae) ideal of the Cistercian reform was plainly not a school but a certain mode of evangelical life.

In the midst of such a debate, the Cistercian writers of the twelfth century took up their pens, defended the monastic position, and often used the very weapons of scholasticism to do it.

The Use and Abuse of Monastic Sources

The use of monastic tradition and sources, to which the Cistercians frequently appealed, could have had an effect on the diminution of the performance of manual labor by the monks. The Rule of Saint Benedict was ostensibly the foundation of the New Monastery, Citeaux. The moderating tone of the Rule itself could have had a mitigating effect on the performance of manual labor. As has been demonstrated, the conditions of the founders of Citeaux were primitive, all had to work. Also, the reaction to Cluniac monasticism provoked perhaps a zealous response in the defense, at least,
of manual labor on the part of the Cistercians. However, as a founding principle, they adopted an attitude of strict adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict. It became apparent that they were not going to be able to fulfill all the prescriptions of the monastic observance and still devote all the time Benedict required for manual labor. Hence the diminution of manual labor with the advent of the lay-brothers in the second decade of the twelfth century. 311

It seems that the Cistercian writers of the twelfth century were writing about manual labor in response to the desire of many persons of that period for a Christian life of simplicity, poverty, and seclusion. It seems doubtful that their primary intention was to recover the pristine purity of pre-Carolingian monasticism or of the monasticism of the early desert Fathers. Lekai states:

In my opinion it remains highly questionable that "their purpose was a return to the sources, a rediscovery of the meaning of monastic life . . . to go back to the period before the Carolingian reformers . . . and recreate the original Benedictine structure in all its simplicity, purity and strength," and that therefore they "did not hesitate to go back beyond the Rule to rediscover the life-situation out of which the Rule grew." [This is Claude Peifer's thesis as presented in "Monastic Renewal in Historical Perspective," in the American Benedictine Review, XIX (1968), pp. 11-16]. As I can see it, the actual process was far less sophisticated. The purpose of the reformers was the creation of a life of austerity in perfect seclusion. The importance of textual references was secondary. When they quoted some convenient passages, they did so primarily in self-justification. They could not possibly go beyond the Carolingian reformers in any
scholarly sense, much, less "rediscover the life-situation" of pre-Benedictine times because they were ignorant of them and, for lack of adequate libraries and archives, they were unable to approach them. Medieval authors used the few documents within their reach far more often and far more efficiently as legal weapons rather than as tools for the painstaking research of the mysterious past. The supposition that men of the eleventh century intended to execute, or could, and in fact did, execute the above quoted and exceedingly ambitious scholarly tasks smacks of anachronism. 312

The examination of the sources seems to bear this out. Even though patristic and early monastic sources are consulted and cited, the originality of the treatment of the themes indicates that the authors were writing as a response to the religious desire for evangelical poverty and seclusion. Even elements in the Rule of Saint Benedict, which was to have been observed strictly, were dismissed by the early Cistercians. The institution of the lay-brotherhood was foreign to the Rule of Saint Benedict, and the exclusion of child oblates from the monastery was in violation of a significant feature of the Rule. Lekai attributes this exclusion to the fact that what the Cistercians really sought was poverty and seclusion, and if the admission of lay-brothers and the exclusion of children promoted solitude, then these expedients took precedence over the Rule. 313 As an expression of solitude and poverty the reformers of Citeaux considered manual labor an essential element of the Cistercian monastic observance, and they wanted to insure that it characterized their regime.
One last factor with regard to monastic tradition and sources was the way the Cistercians considered their own founding documents. A unique characteristic of the Cistercians was their consciousness of their monastic experience as an "Order". Realizing that manual labor was an intrinsic part of the life of the founders of the Order, the monks maintained a desire for unity of custom throughout the Order, and this would move them to insist on the practice everywhere of all the ascetical disciplines of the monastic observance of early Citeaux.314
CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

The Cistercian Order emerged in a milieu of change at the end of the eleventh century. Feudal structures were beginning to give way, yielding to a less exclusively land-tied society. Many reform groups arose in response to a popular religious quest for simplicity, poverty, and the apostolic life. In many respects Citeaux' founding principles were identical with those of other contemporary communities, such as Grande Chartreuse, Grandmont, Vallombrosa, and Camaldoli. The ideals in which these monastic observances had their roots were present in the tradition of the desert Fathers and in the western European monastic tradition. The one distinguishing factor marking the Cistercian out from the other communities was their repeatedly articulated insistence on the performance of manual labor. This is not to say that manual labor was foreign to the ancient tradition, or even the communities contemporaneous with Citeaux. But manual labor was regarded at Citeaux as an essential element of the monastic regime. As has been demonstrated, time and time again the Cistercian writers returned to this theme. Manual labor was tightly woven into the fabric of Cistercian spirituality, especially as it expressed their belief in a life of simplicity and poverty. But as was also evident in
the counter-indications, the fact remained that the actual performance of manual labor on the part of the Cistercian monks was rather short-lived. Manual labor was relegated to the sphere of the lay-brother, and intellectual pursuits, preaching, and missions began quite early to replace physical labor for the monks. As short-lived as the experience was, the writings of the Cistercians continued to reflect this ideal. These writings ranged from treatises to polemics, letters to prayers, sermons to hagiography. All were aimed at the preservation of manual labor as an ascetical discipline and an essential element of the monastic life. There can be little doubt that through the writings of the theoreticians and the example of the monks in the fields, the Cistercians of the twelfth century succeeded in establishing the importance of manual labor as a fundamental element of the ascetical life.
APPENDIX A

Legislation of manual labor in relationship to the monastic horarium according to the Rule of the Master:

I. From the Winter Equinox (September 24) to Easter

A. From Prime to Terce
   1. Reading
   2. Deacons receive work assignments from Abbot

B. Terce to Sext
   1. Work (c. 3 hours)
   2. Prayer preceding and following work

C. Sext

D. Sext to None
   1. Work (c. 3 hours)
   2. Prayer preceding and following work

E. None

F. None to Vespers
   1. Work (for remaining time between two offices)
   2. Prayer preceding and following work

II. From Easter to the winter equinox (September 24)

A. From Prime to Terce
   1. Work
   2. Prayer preceding a following work

B. Terce to Sext
   1. Work
2. Prayer preceding and following work

C. After Sext
   Moderate Nap

D. Conclusion of Nap to None
   Work

E. None to Vespers
   Reading
APPENDIX B

Legislation of manual labor in relationship to the monastic horarium according to the Rule of Saint Benedict:

I. From Easter to September 14
   A. From the first hour to the fourth
      Assigned tasks in the monastery
   B. From the fourth hour to the sixth
      Reading
   C. None is prayed early (c. 2:30 p.m.)
   D. From None to Vespers
      Work
   E. Legislation allows for variance as conditions such as harvests necessitate

II. From September 14 to Lent
   A. Terce prayed at c. 8:00 a.m.
      Reading has preceded Terce
   B. From Terce to None
      Work
   C. Meal follows None
   D. None to Vespers
      Reading or studying of psalms

III. During Lent
   A. Until the end of the third hour (c. 9:00 a.m.)
      1. Reading
2. Each monk is assigned a book at the beginning of Lent

B. From the end of the third hour until the end of the tenth hour (c. 5:00 p.m.)

Assigned work

C. Meal is taken in the evening
### APPENDIX C

**Horarium for work days - Twelfth-century Citeaux - Summer Season**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Summer Solstice</th>
<th>2 Mths. Later</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summer Solstice</td>
<td>2 Mths. Later</td>
<td>20-25 August</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rise</td>
<td>1:45 AM</td>
<td>2:40 AM</td>
<td>1 hr. 30 mins. before dawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigils</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2:50</td>
<td>a bit after rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Vigils</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vigils takes an hour in summer parvissimo intervallo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>a few mins.</td>
<td>a few mins.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauds</td>
<td>3:10</td>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>incipiente luce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>include Lds. of Dead till sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>at sunrise (1st hour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>after Prime. lasts c. 15 minutes after Chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>5:40</td>
<td>first bell for Terce half hour interval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Work</td>
<td>7:15</td>
<td>7:45</td>
<td>before end of third hour after Terce, fourth hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terce</td>
<td>7:45</td>
<td>8:15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Mass</td>
<td>8:50</td>
<td>9:15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio</td>
<td>8:50</td>
<td>9:15</td>
<td>usque ad horam quasi sextam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sext</td>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>10:50</td>
<td>at the sixth hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>10:50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>after Sext</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Dinner, Meridienne</td>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>11:40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Meridienne</td>
<td>1:45 PM</td>
<td>1:30 PM</td>
<td>a bit before mid eighth hour mediant octava hora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1:45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Summer Solstice 2 Mths. Later Notes
**End of June 20-25 August**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time 1</th>
<th>Time 2</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Biberes'</td>
<td>2:15</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>2:30 PM</td>
<td>2:15 PM</td>
<td>after None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Work</td>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>towards end of tenth hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>half hour interval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>during eleventh hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Vespers, Supper</td>
<td>6:45</td>
<td>5:45</td>
<td>include Office of Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Supper, Interval</td>
<td>7:15</td>
<td>6:15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading before Compline</td>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>6:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compline</td>
<td>7:50</td>
<td>6:50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retire</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>first hour of night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX D**

Horarium for work days - Twelfth-century Citeaux - Winter Season

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Winter Solstice</th>
<th>2 Mths. Later</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rise</td>
<td>1:20 AM</td>
<td>1:25 AM</td>
<td>eighth hour of night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigils</td>
<td>1:30</td>
<td>1:35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Vigils</td>
<td>2:50</td>
<td>2:50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauds</td>
<td>7:15</td>
<td>6:20</td>
<td>accenso lumine ante armarium et in capitul incipiente luce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>till sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime - Mass</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>at sunrise (first hour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Mass</td>
<td>9:10</td>
<td>8:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>a few mins.</td>
<td>a few mins.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terce</td>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>8:20</td>
<td>end of second hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>9:35</td>
<td>8:35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Chapter - Work</td>
<td>9:55</td>
<td>8:55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Work</td>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>11:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sext</td>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>at sixth hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to Work</td>
<td>11:35</td>
<td>11:40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Work</td>
<td>12:50 PM</td>
<td>1:20 PM</td>
<td>first bell for None (30 mins. before) half hour interval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1:20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>at ninth hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>1:35</td>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>after None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Dinner</td>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>2:55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>till Vespers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter Solstice</td>
<td>2:50 PM</td>
<td>4:10 PM</td>
<td>during 11th hour, incl. Office of the Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of Dec.</td>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>very brief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-25 Feb.</td>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>4:55</td>
<td>'by daylight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>5:05</td>
<td>5:20</td>
<td>beginning of night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Cistercian Fathers Series, (Spencer, Washington, Kalamazoo, 1966-).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Cistercian Studies Series, (Spencer, Washington, Kalamazoo, 1966-).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


SC Sources Chrétiennes, (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1942 ff.).


Endnotes


3. Ibid., p. 28.


10 Athanasius, Vita Sancta Antoni, Patrologia Graeca, Volume 26, column 916.


15 Ibid., chapter 7, paragraph 4, pp. 40-41.


17 2 Thessalonians 3:10.


21 "Dum cessant in die diuina officia, interualla ipsa cessantium a psalmis horarum non ostia uolumus pertransiri, extimantes ne otium modici temporis minus lucrum saeculis generaret, quia homo otiosus mortem operatur et in desideriis est semper. Nam cum frater aliquid operatur, dum oculum in laboris opere figit, inde sensum occupat, de quod facit, et cogitare illi aliqua non uacat et desideriorum non mergitur fluctibus."

22 "Et in quo opere semper maior fratrum laborantium numerus fuerit, quod semper in uoto tempore debet laborantibus exhiberi, cuiusuis codicis lectio cottidie ab uno litterato legatur. Ideo enim ordinamaus cottidie laborantibus legi, ut cum a malis tacemus, de bonis audimus et loquimur, numquam peccemos."

23 "Taciturnitas autem haec a fratribus laborantibus custodiatur: a fabulis sine lege uel saecularibus rebus uel uerbis otiosis, quae ad rem non pertinent. Nam psalmos meditari uel scribaturas recensere uel Deo aliquid loqui, dumtaxat in absentia abbatis, humiliter tamen et lente, quauis hora fratres licentiam habeant."

24 "Otiositas inimica est." La Règle de Saint-Benoist V. II, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, trans. Jean Neufville, Sources Chrétiennes
25 "Si quis uero ita neglegens et desidiosus fuerit ut non uellit 
aut non possit meditare aut legere, iniungatur ei opus quod 
faciat, ut non uacet." Ibid., SC p. 604; McCann p. 111.

26 2 Thessalonians 3:10.

27 "Ergo debet esse et post officia Dei et opera corporalis, 
hoc est manuum, ut dum fuerit unde indigenti detur, super 
bona acta carricentur et benefacta." RM in SC 106, p. 224; 
CS 6, p. 209.

28 Adalbert de Vogüé, "The Rule of Saint Benedict and the 

29 " . . . quia tunc uere monachi sunt si labore manuum 
suarum uiuunt, sicut et Patres nostri et apostoli." RB in SC 
182, p. 600; McCann, p. 111.

30 "Omnes superuenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur 
. . . ". RB in SC 182, p. 610; McCann, p. 119.

31 Gregory the Great, Dialogues, V. II, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 
trans. Paul Antin, Sources Chrétiennes V. 260, (Paris: Les 
Editions du Cerf, 1979), Chapter 28, p. 216. Translated in 
Fathers of the Church: Saint Gregory the Great, Dialogues, 
of the Church, Inc., 1959), Dialogue II, chapters 27 and 
28, pp. 95-97.

32 Adalbert de Vogüé, RM, Introduction, trans. Charles Philippi, 
p. 20.

33 RM, SC 106, pp. 236-238; CS 6, p. 213.

34 Ibid., SC 106, p. 238; CS 6, p. 213.


37  Ibid., SC 106, pp. 224-230; CS 6, pp. 209-211.

38  Ibid., CS 6, intro. p. 55.

39  RB, SC 182, pp. 598-604; McCann, p. 113. Sick or infirm brethren are assigned tasks which will not leave them idle, but will not overtax their strength.

40  "Si autem necessitas loci aut paupertas exegerit ut ad fruges recollegendas per se occupentur, non contristentur." Ibid., SC 182, p. 600; McCann, p. 111.

41  "Si autem necessitas loci aut paupertas exegerit ut ad fruges recollegendas per se occupentur, non contristentur." Ibid., SC 182, p. 600; McCann, p. 111.


44  Lackner, CS 8, p. 10.


"Dominici scola servitii." RB, SC 181, p. 422; McCann, p. 13.


Lackner, CS 8, p. 4. Citing in support Benedict of Aniane, Concordia regulorum, PL 103, column 359.


Benedict of Aniane, Concordia regulorum, PL 103, columns 351-1420.


Ibid., p. 140.

Lackner, CS 8, pp. 6-7.


Lackner, CS 8, p. 8, note 23.

Capitulare monasticum, PL 97, column 381. Trans. in Lackner, CS 8, p. 11.

Lackner, CS 8, p. 12.
60 Saint Gregory the Great, Dialogues, II: p. 36; SC 260, p. 242.

61 Capitulare monasticum, C. 12, PL 97, column 382.

62 Ibid., Cc. 12, 18, 46, 71; PL 97, columns 382, 383, 389, 392. Cited in Lackner, CS 8, p. 16.

63 Lackner, CS 8, p. 18.

64 Capitulare monasticum, CC. 4, 17, 39; PL 97, columns 381, 383, 388. Cited in Lackner CS 8, pp. 18-19.

65 Lackner, CS 8, p. 18. Citing in support Knowles, Monastic Order in England, p. 27.


70 Knowles, Monastic Order in England, pp. 29-30.


72 Lackner, CS 8, p. 42.
73 Peter the Venerable, Epistle VI, paragraph 17, PL 189, column 425. Cited in Lackner, CS 8, p. 46.

74 Georg Schreiber, Gemeinschafter des Mittelalters, (Münster: Regensberg), 1948, p. 129.


79 Ibid., p. 86.

80 Ibid., p. 87.

82  Lackner, CS 8, p. 64.

83  Ibid., p. 64.

84  Ibid., p. 90.


86  Lackner, CS 8, p. 111.


90  Ibid., p. 222.

91  Lackner, CS 8, p. 107.


93  Lackner, CS 8, p. 100.

94  Ibid., p. 100.


97 Lackner, CS 8, p. 107.


100 Lackner, CS 8, p. 148.


102 Lackner, CS 8, p. 139.


104 John Cassian, Institutes, Book II, Chapter 14, SC 109, pp. 82-84.


Ibid., Book IV, Chapter 12; and Book V, Chapter 39, SC 109, pp. 134-136, and 252-254.


Peter Damian, Opusculum 12: De contemptu saeculi, PL 145, column 278B. For Peter Damian's discussion of labor in the ascetical regime of the monk refer to his treatise De perfectione monachi, C. 3, 8, 10, and 19; PL 194, columns 294-295, 303-304, 305-306, and 317-318.


Lackner, CS 8, p. 286.

Ibid., p. 148. citing in evidence (L') Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli I e XII, Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 30 agosto - 6 settembre 1962, (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali, 4 Milano: Societa Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1965), pp. 37-39, 65, 188, 190-197, and 232-235. He goes on to say that the nature of the hermit's work was inspired in part by Acts 18:3.

Ibid., p. 149.

Ibid., p. 144.


Lackner, CS 8, p. 167.
120  Ibid., pp. 188-196.

121  Ibid., p. 211.


123  Lackner, CS 8, p. 217.

124  Ibid., p. 218. The *vita* of Robert is found in PL 157, column 1268 ff.

125  Ibid., pp. 218-220.

126  Ibid., p. 220.

127  Ibid., p. 221.


130  Ibid., p. 224.

131  Ibid., p. 224.

133

Ibid., p. 244.

134


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Robert of Torigny, De immutatione ordinis monachorum, PL 202, column 1309.

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Summa cartae caritatis, Bouton and Van Damme, Les Plus
Anciens Texte de Citeaux, no. XV, p. 123. Translated by Bede Lackner in Lekai, The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality, p. 449. In this section it is stated that monks are to raise their food by manual labor.


144 "Ecce hujus saeculi divitiis spretis, coeperunt novi milites Christi cum paupere Christo pauperes, inter se tractare quo ingenio quve artificio seu quo exercitio, in hac vita se hospitesque divites et pauperes supervenientes, quos ut Christum suscipere praecipit regula, sustenarent." EP, Van Damme, p. 77; trans. Lackner in Lekai, p. 459.

145 "Et quia nec in regula, nec in vita sancti Benedicti eumdem doctorem legebant possedisse ecclesias vel altaria, seu oblationes aut sepulturae vel decimas aliorum hominum, seu furnos vel molendina, aut villas vel rusticos, nec etiam fernenas monasterium ejus intrasse, nec mortuos ibidem excepta sorore sua sepellisse, ideo haec omnia abdicaverunt, dicentes: Ubi beatus pater Benedictus docet ut monachus a saecularibus actibus se faciat alienum, ibi liquido testatur haec non debet versari in actibus vel cordibus monachorum, qui nominis sui ethimologiam heac fugiendo sectari debent." EP, Van Damme, p. 77; trans. Lackner in Lekai, p. 459.

146 "Quod si aliqua ecclesia pauperiem intolerabliem incurrerit, abbas illius coenobi coram omni capitulo hanc causam intimare studeat. Tunc singuli abbates maximo caritatis igne succensi, illius ecclesiae penuriam rebus a Deo sibi collatis, prout habuerint, sustenare festinent." Carta caritatis posterior, Van Damme, pp. 136-137; trans. Lackner in Lekai, p. 464.

"... quid haec ad pauperes, ad monachos, ad spirituales viros?" Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia, XII: 28, SBOp V. 3, p. 106.

Ibid., p. 83.

Bernard of Clairvaux, Epist. 462 Ad Quosdam noviter conversos, SBOp V. 8, pp. 442-444.


Peter the Venerable, Statuta congregationis cluniacensis, Cap. XXXIX, PL 189, columns 1036-1037. These illustrate changes made at Cluny by Peter the Venerable in his lifetime which gave more of a priority to manual labor than there had been in the past.


"Eo tempore novellus et pusillus grex Cisterciensis sub abbate degens, viro venerabili Stephano, cum jam graviter
ei taedio esse inciperet paucitas sua, et omnis spes posteritatis
decideret, in quam sanctae illius paupertatis haereditas trans-
funderetur, venerantibus omnibus in eis vita sanctitatem,
se refugientibus austeritatem." William of Saint Thierry,

"... dum relinquerent post se quod illis sufficeret et
ad subsidium necessitatis, et ad aliquam conscientiam voluntariae
pro Christo pauperitatis ... Loci vero sanctorum inter
opaca silvarum, et vicinorum hinc inde montium angustias,
in quo servi Dei latebant, speluncum illam sanctum:
retro nuncu illam quodammodo representabat, in qua aliquando
a pastoribus inventus est: ut cujus invenientur sanitatem,
sed refugientibus austeritatem. Omnes quique etiam in multitudine sanctorum ibi erant.
Vallem namque illum plenam hominibus, ordinis ratione charitas ordinata
singulis sanctorum faciebat; quia sicut unus homo inordinatus,
etiam cum solus est, ipse sibi turbare est; sic ibi unitate spiritus,
et regularis regia silentii, in multitudine hominum ordinata,
solitudinem cordis sui singulis ordo ipse defenbat.
Domibus vero et habitaculis simplicibus victus inhabitantium
persimilis erat." William of Saint Thierry, Ibid., Caput VIII,
columns 247-248.

Bernard of Clairvaux, Epist. 523, SB Op V. 8, pp. 486-488.

"Quocirca tibi omnique suae salutis sollicitum
est, quaestus haec carnis mortificatio, haec uigilium ac
laborum sollicitudo, haec uestibulum, haec ciborumasperitas,
haec silentii gratias, haec, inquam, omnium membrorum interioris
et exterioris hominis quasi acceptissimum holocaustum sagimine,
ut ita dixerim, lacrymarum, ac deuotissimorum affectuum suavitate
plungescat, ut in ara cordis igne caritatis admissus suae
redoleat, et sic, secundum Prophetam: Holocaustum tuum pingue
fiat. Caeterum si utrumque non possis, satius est sine lacrymis
in apostolica paupertate et evangelica uiuere puritate, quam
cum quotidianis lacrymis quotidie diuinis obuiare mandatis." Aelred of Rievaulx, De speculo caritatis, II: 63, Corpus Christianorum:
Continuatio Mediaevalis, I, Aelredi Rievallensis opera
omnia: 1 Opera Ascetica, ed. Anselm Hoste OSB and C. H.
Talbot, (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii,

EM, I, chapter 10; Griesser, pp. 61-62.

161  EM, III, chapter 13; Griesser, pp. 176-177.


163  "... suspenderos quoque terras ab habitatione hominum remotas, et vineas et prata et silvas, aquasque ad facienda molendina, ad proprios tamen usus et ad piscationem, et equos pecorâque diversa necessitati hominum utilia. Et cum alicubi curtes ad agriculturas exercendas instituisset, decreverunt ut praedicti conversi domos illas regerent, non monachi, quia habitatio monachorum secundum regulam debet esse in claustro eorum. Quia etiam beatum Benedictum non in civitatibus, nec in castellis aut in villis, sed in locis a frequentia populi semotis coenobia construxisse sancti viri illi sciebant idem se aemulari promittebant." EP, Van Damme, pp. 77-78; trans. Lackner in Lekai, pp. 459-460.

164  "Monachis nostri ordinis debet provenire victus de labore manuum, de cultu terrarum, de nutrimento pecorum. Unde licet nobis possidere ad propios usus aquas, silvas, vineas, prata, terras a saecularium hominum habitazione semotas ... ". Summa cartae caritatis, Van Damme, p. 123; trans. Lackner in Lekai, p. 449, no. 15.


166  "Itaque antiqui uel ut uitarent pericum, uel ne paterentur

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168 2 Thessalonians 3:10.


172 See the account of the laborers in the vineyard, Matthew 20:1-16.

173 Emero Stiegman, On the Song of Songs III, trans. Kilian Walsh OCSO and Irene Edmonds, Cistercian Fathers Series 31, (Kalamazoo,


Ibid., PL 185, columns 240C - 241B.


"Paulus probatissimus patrum, sicut Cassianus refert, cum in heremo vastiore consistens, quae Prosyrrion nuncupatur, palmarum fructibus et horto modico securus haberet sufficientem alimoniae sub victusque substantiam nec posset aliquid alius unde sustenaretur operis exercere, eo quod ab oppidis vel habitatilierra septem mansionibus vel eo amplius deserti illius separetur habitatio plusque expeteretur pro mercede vecturae quam valere posset precium operis desudati, collectis palmarum foliis cottidianum pensum velut exinde sustenandus a semetipso iugiter exigeat. Cumque opere tocius anni antrum eius fuisset impetum, id quod sollicita cura laboraverat annis singulis igne subposito cremebat, in tantum probans sine operi manuum nec in loco posse durare monachum nec ad perfectionibus culmen aliquando conscendere." Ibid., II:50, SM XIII, 1, p. 432; trans. O'Sullivan, in CF 33, pp. 92-93.


EM, I, Chapter 10; Griesser, pp. 61-62.

"... quia tunc vere monachi sunt si labore manuum suarum vivunt, sicut et Patres nostri et apostoli." RB, SC 182, p. 600; McCann, p. 111.

"... ut hujus rei propalata sincera veritate, tenaci et locum et observantiam sanctae regulae in eo a nobis per Dei gratiam utcumque inchoatam ament, pro nobisque, qui pondus diei et aestus indefesse sustinuimus, orent; in arta et angusta via quam regula demonstrat, usque ad exhalationem spiritus desudent." EP, Van Damme, p. 57; trans. Lackner in Lekai, p. 451.


Summa cartae caritatis, Van Damme, p. 123, XV; trans.
Lackner in Lekai, p. 449.

"Ecclesias, altaria, sepulturas, decimas alieni laboris vel nutrumenti, villas, villanos, terrarum census, furnorum vel molendinorum redditus et caetera his similia monasticae puritati adversantia nostri et nominis et ordinis excludit institutio." Ibid., Van Damme, p. 124, XXIII; trans. Lackner in Lekai, p. 450.


". . . quomodo Regulam tenent, qui pelliciis induuntur, sani carnibus seu carnium pinguedine vescuntur, tria vel quatuor pulmentaria una die, quod Regula prohibet, admittunt, opus manuum, quod iubet, non faciunt, multa denique pro libitum suo vel mutant, vel augent, vel minuunt?" Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia, SBoP V. 3, p. 91; trans. Casey in CF I, p. 47.

"Statutum est ut antiquum et sanctus opus manuum, vel in claustris ipsis, aut ubi honeste remoto conspectu saecularium fieri poterit, ex parte saltem aliqua restauretur, ita ut omni tempore praeter festivos dies, quibus operari non licet, quolibet semper fratres utili opere exerceantur." Peter the Venerable, Statuta congregationis cluniacensis, XXXIX, PL 189, columns 1036-1037.

BSJ, p. 219.

"Ordo noster abietio est, humilitas est, voluntaria paupertas est, oboeidentia, pax, gaudium in Spiritu Sancto. Ordo noster est esse sub magistro, sub abbate, sub regula, sub disciplina. Ordo noster est studere silentio, exerceri ieiunis, vigiliis, orationibus, operes manuum, et, super omnia, excellenterium viam tenere, quae est caritat." Bernard of Clairvaux, Epist. CXLII, Ad monachos alpenses, SBoP V. 7, p. 340; trans. BSJ, p. 220.

The scriptural account of the Lord visiting Martha and Mary is found in Luke 10:38-42.


"Sed quia mens nostra quae in hoc uita subdita est uanitati, nunquam in eodem statu permanet, otiositas exercitiorum uarietate fuganda est, et quies nostra quadam operum uicissitutine

213
Ibid., CCh CM V. I, p. 644.

214

215
"Sicut verba quae non aedificant sunt ociosa, ita opera illa quae nonpertinent ad necessarios usus recte dicuntur ociosa. Ut interim de ceteris taceam: aurum molere et cum illo molito magnas capitales pingere litteras, quid est nisi inutile et ociosum opus? Etiam ipsa necessaria opera vestra, quia tempus regulare non observatis in eis, preceptis Regulae sunt contraria. Sed in opere dei nec modum regularem nec tempus regulare observare, maior michi videtur esse transgressio Regulae." Ibid., SM XII, 1, p. 432; trans. O'Sullivan, Leahy, and Perrigo in CF 33, p. 93. After 1134 the Cistercians were especially critical of illuminated initials in manuscripts.

216
"Rusticationi, quam desu creavit et instituit, operam damus in omnes in commune laboramus, nos et fratres nostri, unusquisque secundum suam possibilitatem, et omnes communiter de labore nostro vivimus." Ibid., SM XIII, 1, p. 433.

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219
"Taedium et acediam proculpellit sanctarum varietas observationum." Bernard of Clairvaux, Epist. 78, Ad Sugerium, SBOp V. 7, p. 204.

220
"Unde rursus in Psalmo: SUMITE PSALMUM, ET DATE TYMPANUM, quod est dicere: Sumite spiritualia, sed prius date corporalia. Optimus autem ille, qui discrete et congrue et haec operatur,


223 "Quiescens quippe in vespera contemplationis, mane desiderabat quo surgeret ad actionem, rursumque negotiis fatigatus exspectabat vesperam, libenter repetens otia contemplationis." Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermo III, *De diversis*, SB Op V. 6, p. 89.


"... per secundum adventum suscitabit nos in corpore; ut sicut modo per utrumque, id est per animam et corpus servimus Deo, ita tunc et in utroque perfectam beatitudinem habeamus cum Deo." Aelred of Rievaulx, Sermo 1, In adventu Domini, PL 195, column 211C; trans. Dumont in "Saint Aelred: The Balanced Life of the Monk," p. 34.


"Videte, fratres. Si sola Maria esset in domo illa, non esset qui delectaretur in sermonibus et praesentia Domini. Ergo, fratres, Martha significat actionem illam, qua homo laborat pro Christo; Maria autem requiem illam, qua homo vacat ab operibus corporalibus, et delectatur in dulcedine Dei, sive per lectionem, sive per orationem, sive per contemplationem.


234 "Quia uero homo et ex corpore constat et ex anima, actus utique noster, quantum facultas suppeditat, utrique debet prospicere. In his quanto quisque feruentior et prudentior, tanto utique et in caritate perfectior . . . ad voluntarios uero actus progrediens ne metas corporeae possibilitatis excedat, rationis est moderamine coercendus. Quam mensuram uitae quidam ignorantes, ac totum affectus sui impetum importune sequentes, debiliores fiunt, quam sanctiores." Aelred of Rievaulx,


236 Isaac of Stella, Sermo X, Second Sermon for the First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany, PL 194, column 1716.

237 Ibid.


239 "Itaque pio domini nostri munere memini me in huiusmodi raptum frequenter excessum, ut obliviscerem me sarcina corporeae fragilitatis indutum mentemque meam ita omnes exteriore sensus subito respuisse et a cunctis materialibus rebus omnimodum exulasse, ut neque oculi neque aures meae propio fungerentur officio, et ita divinis meditationibus ac spiritualibus theoris animus replebatur, ut sepe ad vesperum cibum me non percepsisse nescirem ac sequenti die de hesterna absolutione ieunii penitus dubitarum. Ob quam etiam causam septem dierum cibus, hoc est septem paximatum paria, in prochirio, id est admanuensi sporta sequestriam die Sabbati reponuntur, ut refectio pretermissa non lateat. Qua consuetudine illius quoque obliviosis error excluditur, ut expletum ebdomadis iusum ac sollemnitiatem diei ipsius revolutam finitus panum indicet numeros festivitasque diei sacra et congregationis sollemnitas solitarium latere non possit. Quod si etiam hunc ordinem ille quem prediximus mentis excessus forte turbaverit, nichilominus cottidiani operis modus, dierum numerum signans, arcer errorem." Idung of Prüfenning, Dialogus duorum monachorum, 11:50, SM XIII, 1, pp. 431-432; trans. O'Sullivan in CF 33, pp. 91-92.


242 Ibid., p. 108.


244 Ibid., p. 195.

245 Peter of Roye, Epist. CDXCI, Petri de Roya novitii Clarae-Vallensis ad C. praepositum noviomensem, PL 182, columns 710-711; cited by Jean Leclercq in "The Intentions of the Founders of the Cistercian Order," CS 3, p. 120.

246 "Neque hoc dico, quia haec exteriora negligenda sint, aut qui se in illis non exercuerit, mox ideo spiritualis efficiatur, cum potius spiritualia, quamquam meliora, nisi per ista, aut vix, aut nullatenus vel acquirantur, vel obtineantur, sicut scriptum est: NON PRIUS QUOD SPIRITUALE, SED QUOD ANIMALE, DEINDE QUOD SPIRITUALE." [1 Corinthians 15:46] Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia, SBOp V. 3, p. 94; trans. Casey in CF 1, p. 51.

247 "Verumtamen quia carnales sumus, et de carnis concupiscentia nascimur, necesse est cupiditas vel amor noster a carnis incipiat. . . . et prius necesse est portemus imaginem terrestris, deinde caelestis." Bernard of Clairvaux, Epist. XI, Ad cartusienses, SBOp V. 7, p. 58; trans. BSJ, p. 46.


"Serius tamen animus et prudens, ad omnem se comparat laborem, nec in eo dissolvitur, sed per eum magis in seipsum colligitur; qui semper prae oculis habens non tam quod agit, quam quo agendo intendit, omnis consummationis attendit finem; quo in quantum verius nittitur, in tantum etiam ferventius et fidelius manibus operatur, totius sibi corporis sui in hoc subjiciens voluntatem. Coguntur enim in unum sensus a disciplina bonae voluntatis, nec lascivire eis vacat a pondere laboris, et subacti et humiliati in obsequium spiritus,

258


259

"A spiritualibus vero exercitiis in corporalia numquam longe vel in totum recedatur; sed facile ad ea posse redire animus assuescat, et cum illis se mutuat, istis semper inhaereat. Sicut enim jam supra dictum est, non vir propter mulierem, sed mulier propter virum; nec spiritualia propter carnalia, sed carnalia propter spiritualia. Corporalia vero nunc exercitia dicimus, quae manuali operae corporali excentur." Ibid., XXXII:125, SC 223, p. 242; trans. Berkley in CF 12, pp. 52-53.

260


261

Ibid., SBOp V. 3, p. 90; trans. Casey in CF 1, p. 45.

262

"NOLITE ANTE TEMPUS IUDICARE, QUAODUSQUE VENIAT DOMINUS, QUI ET ILLUMINABIT ABSCONDITA TENEBRARUM ET MANIFESTABIT CONSILIA CORDIUM." Ibid., SBOp V. 3, p. 90; trans. Casey in CF 1, p. 45. In this passage Saint Bernard is Citing 1 Corinthians 4:5.

263

"Quanto enim spiritus corpore melior est, tanto spiritualis quam corporalis exercitatio fructuosior. Tu ergo cum de horum observatione elatus, alis eadem non observantibus derogas, nonne te magis transgressorem Regulae indicas . . . ". Ibid., SBOp V. 3, p. 93; trans. Casey in CF 1, p. 50.

264


265

" Communicare passionibus Christi est regularibus disciplinis subdi, carnem per abstinentiam, uigilias, et labores mortificare, alieno iudicio suam subdere voluntatem, nihil obedientiae

266 "... non cum rusticorum maledictione, sed proprio tuo ac communi fratrum tuorum labore uictum quaerere delegisti. ...". Ibid., CCh CM, I, p. 83; trans. Squire in Aelred of Rievaulx, p. 36.

267 Cf. reference cited in footnote 230 of this study.


269 "Ceterum quamquam perfectis, qualis Timotheus erat, exercitationis corporalis ad modicum utilis sit comparatione pietatis; quantum tamen rudibus et imperfectis, quales nos sumus, utilis sit, vos ipsi fratres vobis testes estis, quomodo scilicet redditur de corruptione vitam nostram amaritudo parsimoniae et laboris. Ipsi etenim scitis quomodo vermeuerent corda, quomodo vermeuerent corpora, si non cotidie de manibus laborantium distillaret myrrha." Ibid., SC 166, I, p. 246; trans. Monks of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey in CF 8, pp. 71-72.

270 "Sane ad hanc sapientiam morandi in sapientia illud praecipue pertinere arbitror, ut inquietudo vel quaelibet levis molestia non facile quodcumque opus sapientiae vobis excutiat, verbi gratia sollemnem psalmodiam, orationem, lectionem divinam, pensum operis diurni aut silentii disciplinam." Guerric of Igny, First Sermon for Saint Benedict, SC 166, I, p. 48;
translated by the Monks of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey in
Liturgical Sermon, Vol. 2, Cistercian Fathers Series 32,
5-6.

271
"Homo huiusmodi etiam cum laborat quiescit, sicut e diverso
impius etiam cum quiescit laborat." Guerric of Igny, Third
Sermon for the Assumption, SC 166, I, p. 444; trans. Monks

272
"Audiant et gaudeant qui in viis iustitiae ambulant; audiant,
inquam; quia non solum inhaerentes studio contemplationis,
se etiam ambulantes iuste ac pie vias actionis Iesus dignatur
et occurrat et manifestatione sui. Agnoscit ni fallor experientia
quorumdam vestrum, quia saepe Iesus, quem quaesierunt
velut ad monumentum ad memorias altarium nec invenerunt,
insperatus occurrit eis in via laborum. Tunc nimirum accesserunt
et tenuerunt peded eius, quorum scilicet pedes non teneerat
pigritia prae desiderio eius. Noli ergo tu, frater, nimis
parere pedibus tuis a viis oboedientiae et discursibus operum;
quandoquidem Iesus pedibus suis non pepercit propter te
etiam a dolore clavorum, et adhuc eorumdem amplexu et osculo
pedum non gravatur laborem remunerare aut revelare pedum
tuorum. Nam et illud quantae consolationis erit, si se tibi
viae comitem adiunxerit miraquae delectatione suae sermocinationis
etiam sensum tibi laboris ademerit, aperiens tibi sensum
ut intelligas Scripturas quas fortasse domi sedens legebas
et non intelligebas." Guerric of Igny, Third Sermon for the
Resurrection, SC 166, I, p. 254; trans. Monks of Mount Saint
Bernard Abbey in CF 32, p. 95.

273
Genesis 3:19.

274
Isaac of Stella, Sermo L, In nativitate Petri et Pauli,
PL 194, columns 1858-1860.

275
For a more extensive treatment of Isaac's ideas on manual
labor and its relation to the life of mortification, see the
article by Jean Leclercq entitled, "Isaac of Stella of Monastic
Economics," cited above.

276

277
278  EM, IV, chapter 18, Griesser, pp. 243-244.


280  "De Sancto Bernardo proprium officium et due misse et fratres laborent." Ibid., 1175, no. 2, Statuta, p. 98.

281  "In festivitate s[an]c[t]i Vincentii due misse canantur et conversi laborent." Ibid., 1184, no 19, Statuta, p. 98.


287  Bernard of Clairvaux, Prologus in antiphonarium quod cisterciensis canunt ecclesiae, SB0p V, 3, pp. 515-516.


291  "Nobiles laici venientes non fiant conversi sed monachi." 1188, no. 8, Statuta, p. 108.

292  There is an example cited in EM, III, chapter 29, pp. 217-218.


296  Ibid., p. 224, note 4.


299  Ibid., p. 273.

300  Ibid., p. 273.


302  Ibid., p. 206.
303  Ibid., p. 208.
304  Ibid., p. 209.
305  Ibid., p. 225.
306  Ibid., p. 224.
309  EM, 1, chapter 2, Griesser, p. 50.
314  Ibid., pp. 243-244. Lekai presents a case for the primacy of the Rule of Saint Benedict as the monastic Rule for western monasteries. He discusses the effect of canon law on the insistence that the Rule of Saint Benedict be followed.
315  This *horarium* has been drawn up in accordance with the provisions of the Rule of the Master, SC 106, pp. 222-238; trans. in CS 6, pp. 208-213.
316  de Vogüé, Intro. to RM, CS 6, p. 23. See also *The Rule*
of Saint Benedict, ed. Timothy Fry, p. 409.

317 Division of the day based on RB, SC 182, pp. 598-604; McCann, pp. 111-112.

318 I am indebted for this scheme to Chrysogonus Waddell who based it on material in the Nomasticon cisterciense, seu antiquores ordinis cisterciensis constitutiones, by Julien Paris, (Solesme, 1892).

319 Ibid.
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