

Exordium

UNIT FOUR

READING

THE *EXORDIUM PARVUM*

Reading the Exordium Parvum

This unit asks you to read closely the Exordium Parvum, asking yourself what aspects of Cistercian life the founders wished to emphasise as they defined their identity. How does the Exordium Parvum challenge us today?

Objectives

- a) To become very familiar with the content of the *Exordium Parvum* and to be able to navigate through it easily.
- b) To appreciate the purpose and structure of the text and to assess the impact of its persuasive or polemical aspects.
- c) To note the monastic values operative in the Cistercian reform and the means by which they were expressed in practice.

READING THE *EXORDIUM PARVUM*

Scholars usually distinguish two ways of reading a document such as the *Exordium Parvum*. They are complementary ways of studying a text; they are not mutually exclusive.

- ! A **diachronic** approach looks at the various stages in the evolution of the text, concentrating on sources and different influences as they shaped this development.
- ! A **synchronic** approach accepts the text in its final or canonical form and tries to uncover the internal coherence of the finished product.

For the purposes of personal study, it is usually better to concentrate on extracting the meaning of the text as a whole, without attempting to chart the pedigree of every element in the final document.

1. Some Reminders about the *Exordium Parvum*

There are three narratives that describe the founding of Cîteaux:

1. The *Exordium Parvum* — is part of the juridical collection that evolved from 1119 to about 1170.
2. The *Exordium Cistercii* — is part of a summary of the primitive documents written either about 1124 or about 1137.
3. The *Exordium Magnum* — is a collection of edifying anecdotes compiled by Conrad of Eberbach in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the *Exordium Parvum* began life as a dossier of archival documents plus introduction and commentary. We ascribe the primary authorship of the *Exordium Parvum* to Abbot Stephen, recognising that his work was later supplemented by others and changed to suit new circumstances. What is important for us is that — beyond its function in supporting the applications for papal approval — the final form of the *Exordium Parvum* has been received by the Order as a true account of the origins and ideals of the Cistercian reform. Our forebears saw our life mirrored in this text, and so may we!

The View of Fr Chrysogonus Waddell

In brief, I think that a careful [form-critical] analysis of *Ex P* by scholars not given to flights of fancy would tend to suggest that *Ex P* began as an *apologia* for *Novum Monasterium*; that this compilation began as a file of documents with literary prologue and commentary, and that it dated from a time prior to the population explosion which began with the birth of La Ferté in 1112; that this original material was then subject to later additions, so as to take into account the Order's growth and rapid expansion and organization based on *CC*; and that the inde and chapter-headings with their "modern" terminology (*Cistercium* for *Novum monasterium*) would simply be editorial additions of a relatively late date. Thus *Ex P* as we find it in the Laibach manuscript could well be an up-dated version of a much earlier compilation, and, in this hypothesis, the updating and editorial revisions would have been in function of providing a more ample, more detailed introduction to the Cistercian customary of around 1147.

"The 'Exordium Cistercii' and the 'Summa Carta Caritatis': A Discussion Continued", in *Cistercian Ideals and Reality* (1978), p.45.

2. The Structure of the *Exordium Parvum*

There are four main blocks within the *Exordium Parvum*:

Prologue

- a) Chs 1-4 The Move from Molesme to Cîteaux
- b) Chs 5-9 The Return of Robert and the Succession of Alberic
- c) Chs 10-14 The Roman Privilege
- d) Chs 15-18 Consolidation and Growth

Chapters 1-14 are distinguished by the fact that eight official documents are included. In the English translation distributed with *Exordium*, these documents are printed in *italics*. These insertions slow down the pace of the narrative considerably and make it a little ponderous. Their purpose is not narrative but persuasive: to create in the reader an impression of solid legality. Chapters 15-18 include two lists

of “institutes” which also interrupt the story, this time to describe the distinctive manner of life at the New Monastery. In more detail the Chapters can be classified thus:

a) The Move from Molesme to Cîteaux

1. The Origin of the Monastery of Cîteaux
2. ☒ **The Letter of the Legate Hugh:** **TEXT**
3. Of the Departure of the Monks of Cîteaux from Molesme, and of their Coming to Cîteaux, and of the Monastery which they Began
4. How that Place Rose to Become an Abbey

b) The Return of Robert and the Succession of Alberic

5. That the Monks of Molesme Disquieted the Ear of the Lord Pope for the Return of Abbot Robert
6. ☒ **The Letter of the Lord Pope for the Abbot’s Return:** **TEXT**
7. ☒ **The Decree of the Legate on the Whole Affair of the Monks of Molesme and the Cistercians:** **TEXT**
! 7.12-15: Narrative supplement
8. ☒ **The Commendatory Letter of Abbot Robert:** **TEXT**
9. Of the Election of Alberic as First Abbot of the Church of Cîteaux

c) The Roman Privilege

10. Of the Roman Privilege.
11. ☒ **The Letter of Cardinals John and Benedict:** **TEXT**
12. ☒ **The Letter of Hugh of Lyon:** **TEXT**
13. ☒ **The Letter of the bishop of Chalon:** **TEXT**
14. ☒ **The Roman Privilege:** **TEXT**

d) Consolidation and Growth

15. The *Institutes* of the Monks of Cîteaux who Came from Molesme.
16. Of their Sorrow.
17. Of the Death of the First Abbot and the Promotion of the Second, and of their *Institutes* and Joy.
18. Of the Abbeys.

It is easy to see that the narrative is simply a vehicle for the transmission of the official texts. The *Exordium Cistercii*, by removing them makes a better story.

3. The Official Texts of the *Exordium Parvum*

One of the suggestions of Jean Fefèvre that shocked ordinary monks and nuns was that there was a fraudulent element in the presentation of the various documents included in the *Exordium Parvum*. Either the texts themselves were fabrications (thus the letters in EP 11 - 13) or they were relocated in a different context to facilitate a more favourable interpretation (EP 2). Other scholars entirely reject or, at least, modify his conclusions. A final judgement is possible only on the basis of extensive study of the manuscripts and detailed analysis and comparison with similar texts. For the purposes of *Exordium*, we will accept the reliability of these official documents, though we shall bear in mind the objections made when we come to study the relevant chapters of the *Exordium Parvum*.

Documents that conveyed a decision were written according to a particular structure, although sometimes elements were omitted. Many papal “*acta*” still follow a similar pattern.

1. **Protocol**

- a) From whom + to whom (This is the usual order when a superior writes, it is inverted when an inferior writes)
- b) Greeting

2. **Body of the Text**

- a) Notificatio (“Be it known to ...”)
- b) Short history of the case

N.B.

- c) Decree or decision
- d)

3. **Ending**

- a) Signature
Title
- c)
- d) Place

4. Some Themes to Notice in the *Exordium Parvum*

Primitive Ideals

The primitive documents from Cîteaux, quite apart from any problems they may present to historians, clearly present us with the following ideals:

- ! **Authenticity** in monastic observance, in the spiritual life and in liturgical life.
- ! **Simplicity** and poverty in everything, so as to follow and be poor with, the poor Christ.
- ! **Solitude** so as to be able to live for God while building up a communion of brothers.
- ! **Austerity** of life and of work, so as to promote the growth of the New Man.
- ! **Conformity** to the Rule of Saint Benedict that is absolute, that is, without additions contrary to the Rule's spirit and letter.

Dom Bernardo Olivera
Circular Letter of 26 January 1998

Since we are interested mainly in the values of the first Cistercians, it is important to *look* for these as we read. For example:

- ! What was the Founders' attitude to St Benedict's Rule? Take note of the words and phrases used to describe it; make a list of the various expressions and try to arrive at a synthesis.
- ! There is a strong emphasis on peace, quiet, absence of disturbance. Look at the references closely. What purpose does "peace and quiet" serve?
- ! Search out words that describe personal attitudes or feelings: "love", "alacrity", "dejection" and adverbs such as "ardently".
- ! What role is attributed to God in the foundation and consolidation of the New Monastery?
- ! What indications can you find of the Founders' Christology?

If we are to profit from our reading, we need to read actively — to ask questions and seek their answers. Make lists, draw diagrams and try to summarise in your own words: these are the practices that keep us alert and help us to discover for ourselves the meaning of the text. If you can read a little Latin and have access to a Latin text, it is useful to read it in parallel with the translation — and it is easier to detect the presence of specialised vocabulary.

Units 6-10 will study some particular themes more closely, but even at this point it is worthwhile beginning to reflect on “Cistercian values”. It may be interesting to compare the *Exordium Parvum* with the *Exordium Cistercii*.

5. A Close Reading of the *Exordium Parvum*

The reading can be broken into six sections for easier management.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| a) The prologue | d) Chs 5-9 |
| b) Chs 1-2 | e) Chs 10-14 |
| c) Chs 3-4 | f) Chs 15-18 |

a) The Prologue

This is a solemn opening which emphasises the link or continuity between the “first founders” and us, their “successors”. It purports to inform these successors how their monastery and lifestyle came about. This is a text which is going to tell us something about *ourselves* and *our* vocation. It records how our Cistercian life began — on the understanding that often foundational principles are more visible before the superstructure is built over them.

The *Exordium Parvum* will communicate “the sincere truth” not only concerning the historical circumstances, but will have a special interest in demonstrating that all was done in accordance with canon law and with the approval of the authorities.

The result at which the document aims is that we “more tenaciously **love** both the place and the observance of the Holy Rule” — notwithstanding the great labour involved. Kept in mind is the *denarius* due to the good worker and the promise of never-ending repose in the future life.

- ! In vs 3 the monastery is termed *ecclesia* in vs 4 *coenobium*.
- ! Note the expression in vs 4: “there initiated somehow or other by ourselves through the grace of God”.
- ! Which words and phrases indicate that Cistercian life is labourious? To what reality in your experience do they refer?
- ! Notice the importance given to the Rule of St Benedict.

b) Chs 1-2: Pre-Foundation

Robert is named here, together with “certain brethren” (later named by Hugh) as taking the initiative in approaching Archbishop Hugh. The context of this meeting has been discussed in Unit 2A. Although Hugh was a tempestuous character, he was known to have welcomed every initiative at reform. The long journey was considered worthwhile.

Hugh of Die

Hugh, also called Hugh of Romans, was born about 1040. In 1074 he became bishop of Die in the ecclesiastical province of Vienne. (Die is a town on a bend of the river Drôme, about 120 km south west of Lyon.) From 1077 under Gregory VII, he was Legate of the Holy Roman Church. In 1082-1083 Hugh succeeded Gebuin in the provincial see of Lyon and as primate. He was a steadfast promoter of the Gregorian Reform, frequently in conflict with both Philip I and the hierarchy. St Anselm was his friend and stayed with him when exiled from England: January -15 March 1098, June 1099 - August 1100 and December 1103- April 1105. Hugh's criticisms of Pope Victor III for being lukewarm about the renewal of the Church led to his being excommunicated at the Council of Benevento (29 August 1087).

[Victor III as Desiderius of Monte Cassino had been famous for his patronage of the arts. He had incurred the wrath of Gregory VII for his support of Henry IV during the investiture struggle. He finally accepted the papacy in March 1087, 22 months after his predecessor's death. He died 16 September 1087 aged 60 and was beatified 800 years later.]

Reconciled, Hugh became papal legate again under Urban II in 1094, but was suspended by him in 1095 for failing to attend the Council of Piacenza. In 1095-96 he was reconciled and accompanied Urban on his tour of France. In 1100 he went on crusade to the Holy Land. He died 7 October 1106.

At this stage it is only the New Monastery that is confirmed: extension of its privileges to other “Cistercian” monasteries will follow as further approbations are granted.

Chapter 2 has as an awkward appendix the formula for the later changing of stability to the New Monastery. Notice that it is not a new profession: the profession made at Molesme — commitment to a *conversatio* in conformity with the Rule — is confirmed, but stability is transferred to a new place and with it obedience to a new line of superiors.

! There is always a difficulty about the dating of foundations, even apart from the different regional customs of counting elapsed years (some included both beginning and terminating years of a period). Apart from this the date given in narratives, chronicles and chartularies could signal the donation of land, the arrival of the monks, the setting of the first stone, the consecration of the church, or the canonical erection into an independent abbey. It is worthwhile remembering this flexibility

! Again, notice the references to the Rule.

! Hugh refers to “certain *sons*” of Robert — the *Exordium Parvum* usually speaks of “brothers”.

! What is your opinion of the situation at Molesme (see also EP 3.6 and EC 1.3-6).

! Notice the future tense in vs 4: “which the divine bounty *will designate*” — indicating that the site had not yet been chosen

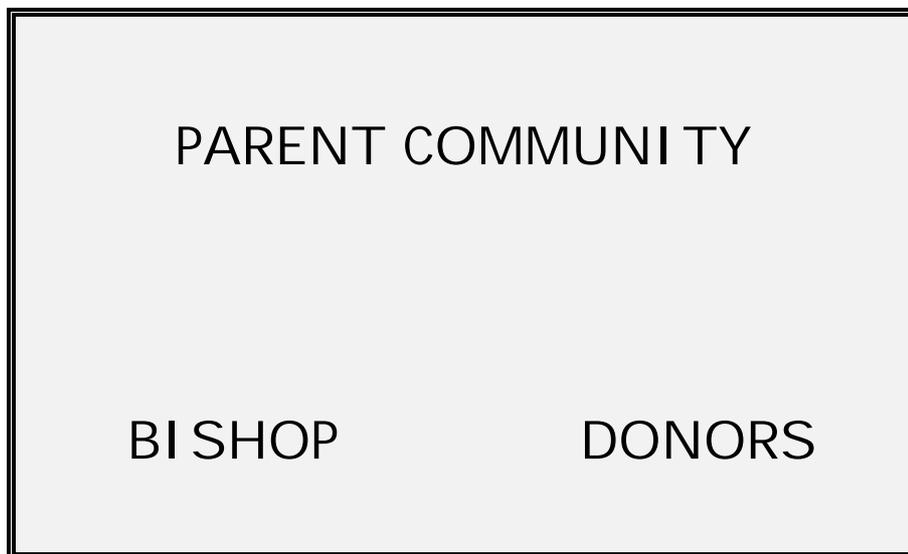
c) Chs 3-4: The Founding of the New Monastery.

Immediately the permission is granted the Founders augment their group with others of like mind, and eagerly (*alacriter*) headed for the desert and began to erect the monastic building (*monasterium*). As an after thought it is added that this was done with the approval of the Bishop and the consent of the owner of the land.

Then there is a flashback to the time before the foundation. There was a *divine discontent* among the Founders with Molesme’s standard of observance. William of Malmsbury speaks of them as “stubborn with a holy obstinacy”. As a reaction, it seems that their determination “to carry out their profession by

observing the Holy Rule” was the dominant motivation in all that they set out to achieve.

It is thought that Hugh of Die was related to the Duke of Burgundy (maybe his cousin), if this is true it would make easier any solicitation he might make on behalf of the new foundation. It is clear from extant charters that twelfth-century monasteries depended greatly on the good will and generosity of the nobility, not only at the time of foundation but also for continuing support as the monastery expanded. There is also a role for the local bishop in the founding of monasteries: it is from him that the abbot receives the pastoral staff — as a sign of jurisdiction, and it is to him that the staff returns when the office is vacant (EP 7.8).



The Founders of a Monastery

- ! In 3.2, “from that fraternity of monks selected for their company devotees of the Rule” = *de illo religioso fratrum collegio socios votum in regula elegerunt*. From the beginning it is very much a corporate venture, not a matter of one leading and the rest following. As you read, note other examples of this.

- ! Cîteaux (!) is named a desert *heremum* and *solitudo*: this can refer to land that is isolated, uncultivated, or unpopulated. In addition EP 5.3 and 6.5 use the word to signify a lifestyle. Is it also a value?

! The wildness of the terrain has been poeticised and exaggerated to ground a statement of principle: “The more despicable and unapproachable the place was to seculars, the more suited it was for the monastic observance they had already conceived in mind and for which they had come there.” Compare this with EC 1.9 “Judging that the harshness of the place was not at variance with the strict purpose they had already in mind, the soldiers of Christ held the place as truly prepared for them by God: a place as agreeable as their purpose was dear.” What values do these texts embody?

! What does the phrase “knowingly incurred the reproach of perjury” (often dropped in manuscripts after 1175) mean?

d) Chs 5-9: The Transition from Robert to Alberic

The departure of Robert has been discussed in Unit 2. The presentation in EP 5 is mild enough: no blame is attached to Robert though there is a grimace in the direction of the campaign of “importuning” carried on by the monks of Molesme. Interesting, the idea behind the clause “the monks who loved the desert should stay there in peace”, given as the purpose (*ut*) of the intervention is based on a similar phrase in the papal letter (EP 6.6) that applies only in the event that Robert’s return was impossible.

The letter of Urban with its greeting “health and apostolic blessing” is a temporary measure, not “in perpetuity” like the Roman Privilege (EP 14.2). Urban speaks of a “mighty outcry” and entrusts to the Legate Hugh the stilling of the storm. The result was the meeting at Port d’Anselme — at which the continuing Cistercians seem not to have been represented. Hugh and Bishop Walter in whose diocese the New Monastery was located wrote to Robert of Langres who had oversight of Molesme to apprise him of the decision.

On Alberic’s succession, see Unit 2B.

! How do you interpret the phrase “those who **love** the desert”?

! What is your assessment of the purpose, method and the practical details of Hugh’s decision?

! What is the meaning of the phrase applied to Robert “with his usual inconstancy” (*solita levitate*)?

! Explain the difference in form of EP 7.2 and EP 8.2

e) Chs 10-14: The Roman Privilege

The Roman Privilege was granted on 19 October 1100. It was designed to provide some certainty in the midst of the vagaries of political and ecclesiastical change. It is noted explicitly in EP 10.3 that “this was before Pope Paschal, imprisoned by the Emperor, had committed his sin” — a sentiment likely to have appealed to Callixtus II when the collection went to him for approval in 1119. (See Additional Material: “The Popes of the *Exordium Parvum*”.) The note in EP 11.4 that Hugh was “at that time” the papal Legate is a wry comment on his change in status under the new pope. Hugh describes himself simply as “servant of the church of Lyon” (EP 12.2).

The dossier contains besides the introduction and the text of the Privilege three letters of recommendation: from the two Cardinal-Legates, from Hugh their Metropolitan and from Walter their bishop. It is hard to imagine a stronger team of advocates! The three letters are discussed by Fr Chrysogonus in “Prelude to a Feast of Freedom”, pp. 259-264.

The text of the Roman Privilege is given in EP 14. It is an official and permanent document addressed to Alberic with perpetual validity, drawn up by the future Pope Gelasius II, at that time Chancellor to Pascal II. A later, inaccurate view of the content of the decree is summarised in a fourteenth-century manuscript (Dijon 598) “How Pope Paschal II confirmed the monastery (*locus*) and Order of Cîteaux, and about the quarrel between the monks of Cîteaux and those of Molesme”.

For a detailed and rather technical exegesis of the Roman Privilege, see Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 269- 301. His conclusion may be cited here.

Alberic and his brethren were unconcerned about property rights or about free elections or about total exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. They wished only to be assured of that blessing of liberty needful for them to pursue their ideal of monastic observance in peace,

and to transmit that ideal and that observance to future generations of monks and nuns who look to them as fathers. (p. 302)

Structure of *Desiderium Quod*

I Protocol

II Text

- a) Introductory formula giving in general terms the reason for granting the request.
- b) The concession clause — in this case incorporating the historical and narrative material.
- c) The *dispositio* or the details of the papal decision.
- d) An exhortation
- e) Blessings and curses to buttress the decree.

III Eschatocol

Chrysogonus Waddell, "Prelude to a Feast of Freedom", pp. 265-266.

In the thirteenth or fourteenth century a conditional clause was interpolated in the text of vs 5 making the privilege dependent on the monks' continuing fervour: "so long as you and your successors persevere in the discipline that you observe today and in the observance of frugality". (For a convincing argument against the authenticity of this addition, see Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp 277-293).

There is already a clear call to fidelity in vs 9 of the document.

So that you may be considered even more worthy of this grace, endeavour always to have the fear and love of God in your hearts, so that the more free you are from the tumults and delights of this world, so much the more you may yearn to please God with all the powers of mind and soul.

- ! Compare the image of Cistercian life that each of the documents presents. Is it identical or are there differences? Are there expressions that help us better to understand the intentions of the Founders?

- ! How would you describe the “freedom” sought by the monks of the New Monastery?
- ! What significance do you give to the Roman Privilege in the history of Cistercian development?

f) Chs 15-18: Consolidation and Growth

In EP 15 we have the first practical expressions of how the monastic observance of the New Monastery would be distinguished from the *conversatio* of other monasteries following the benedictine Rule. Four main principles are set forth.

- i. Vss 2-4: Cistercian life is **austere**. This frugality must be expressed in what touches the monks most personally — clothing and food.
- ii. Vss 5-6: Cistercian monks mind their own business. They are not involved in a network of income-producing activities — ecclesiastical or secular — outside the monastery. Cistercian life is **separated from worldly involvement**.
- iii. Vss 7-8: Cistercian life is **self-supporting** — even though the help of donors was needed to bring it to that point. In particular the Cistercian monk renounces any claim on money given to the Church.
- iv. Vss 9-14: To ensure that the monks were effectively separated from worldly involvement *and* that communities were self-supporting, the Cistercians adopted the institution of **laybrothers**. These men were religious under vows and they were members of the community. They served as the interface between the community and “the world”: being in charge of the granges, conducting business and working at the various trades and industries necessary for the maintenance and economic stability of the monastery. Their responsibilities were of a practical order, sustained by a common life, regular devotional practices and obedience.

These four principles are closely connected. Without the laybrothers the monks would either have to rely on others for their daily bread or they would have to involve themselves in all the mundane business of earning a living and so lose contact with the very purpose for which they became monks — to live for God alone. Furthermore, the more involvement the harder it is for the monk to “estrangle himself from secular conduct”. He begins to be influenced by other standards and so less liable to maintain a taste for the simple, austere life the Founders envisaged.

The Logic of Laybrothers

1. Our food comes from manual labour.
2. Therefore we need land and granges and industries of sufficient variety to support a large community.
3. To ensure that the “monks” remain separated from the world, there must be other members of the community responsible for its self-support.
4. These are the “bearded laybrothers” or *conversi*.

EP 16 interposes a break in the smooth unfolding of the charism. The way of life is clearly envisaged, but there are none who wished to embrace it. Two points are being made: firstly, Cistercian life is so rigorous that it is possible only “by heavenly inspiration” and “the mercy of God”; secondly this is always made clear to the founders — no foundation has ever prospered by human achievements alone: grief and disappointment (EP 17.10) seem to be the necessary concomitants of growth.

EP 17 describes the transition to Stephen. (See Unit 2C.) In addition to the four principles of Cistercian lifestyle found in EP 15 and listed above, two further principles are enunciated.

- v. The monastery opts **out of the feudal network** and takes steps to safeguard its integrity from secular intrusions — even in the case of noble benefactors.
- vi. The principles of austerity and frugality are also to be applied to the area of **liturgy**.

This tightening of observance under Stephen was accompanied by increased land holding and — at last — by an influx of vocations. Many came running “to bow their proud necks under the sweet yoke of Christ and to love ardently

the hard and harsh precepts of the Rule.” Vocations led to foundations (EP 18) and foundations led to the creation of the Order of Cîteaux. Thus a lead-in is provided to the *Charter of Charity*.

! As you read EP 15, review what you know about the concrete living conditions of monks in the twelfth century. How radical do you consider the austerity they practised?

! Ordericus Vitalis criticised the Cistercians for not taking into consideration (Primary Source 1). Do you think his observations are valid?

! List the expressions that describe the attitude of the first Cistercians to the Rule of Benedict.

! Is there a theology of vocation underlying the text of the *Exordium Parvum*?

! What role is attributed to God in the expansion of the Order.

! At this point in your reading, which three values do you judge to be the most important for our Founders?

1.

2.

3.

Exordium

Unit 4: Primary Source 1
Ordericus Vitalis

Then, because of their praiseworthy example, the number of those who renounced the world greatly increased; this gave rise to different institutes according to the differences in regions and human customs. But as Pope Gregory says, the varying custom of Holy Church does not impede the unity of the faith. Most men in warm climates do not wear trousers and like women, enjoy loose, ankle-length tunics: the band of monks spread there do not spurn this custom, but embrace it themselves. But all peoples in the western climate wear trousers, and could not go without them because of the cold and for decency. Therefore the same custom exists in our order [i.e. among the Black Monks], and we are unwilling to give it up, for it is both useful and appropriate.

Similarly the learned teachers who have lived before us in the holy habit teach us sound reasons for all other divergences. In Italy and Palestine and other regions where olive trees grow freely, those who use their fruit to flavour various dishes do not need lard, which has been reasonably permitted for us who have no olive oil.

Historia ecclesiastica III, 8, 25; PL 188, col. 638-639.

Unit 4: Group Work

- 1 Since all have read the text of the *Exordium Parvum* closely, share with one another some significant insight that has come to you.
- 2 Discuss how the attempt to make contact with the first Cistercians through reflection and study helps us to understand better the challenges that confront modern Cistercians.
- 3 After reading the *Exordium Parvum*, what values cherished by our Founders are important for us today? How can we give contemporary expression to them?
- 4 How and to what extent are the priorities of the *Exordium Parvum* reflected in our Constitutions?
- 5 By what practical means can we keep reminding ourselves and our communities of the vision of the Founders?

Unit 4: Additional Material

The Popes of the *Exordium Parvum*

1. Blessed Urban II (1088-1099)

Born about 1035 at Châtillon-sur-Marne, Odo studied under St Bruno and became a canon and then archdeacon at Reims. About 1068 he became a monk of Cluny and thence entered the service of Gregory VII. He was made bishop of Ostia about 1080 and served as legate in Germany 1084-85. He was elected successor to Victor II and resumed the work of the Gregorian Reform, though more diplomatically. From 1095 his promotion of reform was more secure especially through synods and the appointment of reformist legates. Other areas of concern were the strengthening of the Roman curia, ecumenical efforts regarding the Byzantine Church and the launching of the First Crusade.

2. Paschal II (1099-1118)

A monk and abbot before becoming a cardinal, Pascal was “timid and weak and also inflexible”. The continuing struggle with the Emperor over investiture led Henry V to arrest Paschal and the cardinals in 1111. After two months’ imprisonment Paschal conceded the Emperor’ right to invest bishops and proceeded with the coronation. Although the privilege was later revoked, Paschal’s capitulation was strongly criticised by the reformists. Relationships with the Greek Church deteriorated during his pontificate. His last years were troubled and rioting forced him effectively to abandon Rome from 1116.

3. Gelasius II (1118-1119)

A former monk of Monte Cassino, he had been papal chancellor for three decades. His brief reign was marked by imprisonment, flight and much confrontation. He died at Cluny.

4. Callixtus II (1119-1124)

Born about 1050 and closely related to the Duke of Burgundy, Guy/Guido had been Archbishop of Vienne (1088) and a champion of reform — attacking Paschal’s enforced capitulation to Henry V and himself calling a synod at Vienne that excommunicated the Emperor. He was elected by the cardinals who accompanied Gelasius II to France, the election being ratified at Rome retrospectively a month later and was received there enthusiastically the following year. Under his leadership the struggle with the Emperor over investiture was ended by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. The following year he convoked the First Lateran Council which solemnly ratified the agreement

Meanwhile there were several antipopes: Theodoric (1100-1101), Albert or Adalbert (1101), Silvester IV (1105-1111), Gregory VIII (1118-1121).

Based on J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes* (Oxford: University Press, 1986), pp. 160-165.

This Unit invites you to review the material in Units 1-2, on the historical background and on the Founders.

BOUTON Jean de la Croix, *Fiches cisterciennes: Histoire*, 15-17.

LEKAI Louis J., "Nicholas Cotheret and the conditional nature of the *privilegium romanum*," In *Cîteaux* 31 (1980), pp. 1-7.

WADDELL Chrysogonus, "Prelude to a feast of Freedom: Notes on the Roman Privilege *Desiderium quod* of October 19, 1100," *Cîteaux* 33 (1982), pp. 247-303.

WADDELL Chrysogonus, "*Viduata suo Pastore*: A Brief Note," *Liturgy* 22.1 (1988), pp. 7-15.

SOME STUDIES ON LAYBROTHERS

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