

SAINT BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

APOLOGY TO WILLIAM

Apologia ad Guillelmum

SABBATISMUS

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153)
Apologia ad Guillelmum · Apology to William

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S. BERNARDI ABBATIS APOLOGIA AD GUILLELMUM SANCTI-THEODERICI ABBATEM.

Nihil est quod majorem Bernardo invidiam conflaverit, quam liber iste, editus in monachos Cluniacenses. Ea enim erat per id tempus ipsorum existimatio, ut orbis quasi censuram aggredi videretur, qui illos arguere tentaret; ea propagatio et multitudo, ut is agmen adversariorum in se concitaret. Et sunt etiam nunc nonnulli, qui Bernardi hac in parte zelum quasi nimium accusent: non satis attendentes, Doctorem sanctum a Deo ita comparatum et institutum fuisse, ut Ecclesiae maculas abstergeret, et monastici ordinis integritatem splendoremque restitueret, bellum indicendo vitiis, quae ejus puritatem suo tempore deformabant. Nunc ergo scire interest, quo titulo, quoque anno Bernardus hoc opus ediderit: an quae in Cluniacensibus carpit, re ipsa vitia sint, an tolerabiles ritus: et siquidem vitia sunt, vera an supposita.

Quod ad titulum pertinet, Epistolam vocat Bernardus in sequenti libro, n. 15: «Jam vero Epistola, ut epistola remaneat, finienda erat,» etc. At vero in fine libri Opusculum vocat, ubi de Ogerio, qui a Bernardo discedere nolebat «absque recenti Opusculo.» Gaufridus in libro tertio de Bernardi Vita, capite octavo, Apogeticum appellat: «Si fervens contra suorum, vel aliorum vitia zelus, legatur is, quem Apologeticum vocat.» Certe apologiae nomine ulitur Vir sanctus in epistola decima octava ubi scripta sua Petro cardinali recensens, «Necnon et Apologiam,» inquit, «ad quemdam amicum nostrum, ubi aliqua disserui de Cluniacensibus et nostris id est Cisterciensibus observantiis.» Vulgatum proinde Apologiae titulum retinebimus ab ipso etiam auctore consecratum.

Ex eadem epistola decima octava, quae sub annum 1127 scripta est, conditae Apologiae tempus intelligitur. Et sane librum hunc unum ex primis Bernardi opusculis, et quidem tertium fuisse constat ex enumeratione Petro cardinali facta, in qua duo tantum ante Apologiam memorat, nempe librum de Humilitate, et Homilias in laudibus Virginis matris in Missus est, quibus apologiam continenter subjicit cum paucis epistolis. Itaque Apologia composita est sub annum 1125, id est sub initia regiminis Petri Venerabilis, qui Hugoni secundo succedit anno 1122, anno dimidio post Pontium, sub quo magnopere laxata fuerat Cluniacensis Ordinis disciplina regularis. Non mirum itaque, si Bernardus aliqua reprehensione digna notavit, eaque in scripta redegit rogatu Guillelmi Sancti-Theoderici abbatis, qui ex Ordine Cluniacensi censebatur.

APOLOGY OF ST. BERNARD, ABBOT, TO WILLIAM, ABBOT OF SAINT-THIERRY.

There is nothing that brought greater envy upon Bernard than this book, published against the monks of Cluny. For at that time, their reputation was such that whoever attempted to criticize them seemed to attack the judgment of the whole world; their reach and number were so great that such a person would stir up a host of adversaries against himself. And even now there are some who accuse Bernard's zeal in this matter of being excessive, not sufficiently considering that the holy Doctor was so prepared and established by God to wipe away the stains of the Church and to restore the integrity and splendor of the monastic order, by declaring war on the vices that were deforming its purity in his time. Therefore, it is now important to know by what title and in what year Bernard published this work; whether the things he criticizes in the Cluniacs are in fact vices or tolerable rites; and if they are vices, whether they are real or supposed.

Regarding the title, Bernard calls it a Letter in the following book, no. 15: "But now the Letter, that it might remain a letter, had to be concluded," etc. But at the end of the book, he calls it an *Opusculum*, where he speaks of Ogerius, who did not want to depart from Bernard "without a recent *Opusculum*." Geoffrey, in the third book of the *Life of Bernard*, chapter eight, calls it an *Apologeticum*: "If you desire fervent zeal against the vices of his own or of others, read that which he calls the *Apologeticum*." Certainly, the holy man uses the name *Apology* in his eighteenth letter, where, reviewing his writings for Cardinal Peter, he says, "And also the *Apology* to a certain friend of ours, where I discussed some things about the observances of the Cluniacs and our own, that is, the Cistercians." Therefore, we shall retain the common title of *Apology*, consecrated as it was by the author himself.

From the same eighteenth letter, which was written around the year 1127, the time of the *Apology's* composition is understood. And indeed, it is established that this book was one of Bernard's first *opuscula*, and in fact the third, from the enumeration made for Cardinal Peter, in which he mentions only two before the *Apology*, namely the book *On Humility*, and the *Homilies in praise of the Virgin Mother on the *Missus est**, to which he immediately adds the *Apology* along with a few letters. Therefore, the *Apology* was composed around the year 1125, that is, at the beginning of the governance of Peter the Venerable, who succeeded Hugh II in the year 1122, half a year after Pontius, under whom the regular discipline of the Cluniac Order had been greatly relaxed. It is not surprising, therefore, if Bernard noted some things worthy of censure and put them in writing at the request of William, abbot of Saint-Thierry, who was considered to be of the Cluniac Order.

Nam cum Nigrorum monachorum coenobia fere omnia ritus Cluniacenses sectarentur: exorta semel Cisterciensium congregatione, quae alios mores habebat, ea Cluniacensis Ordinis (tametsi ei aggregata non erant) dicebantur, ut vel ex sequente Apologia patet, in qua Guillelmum alloquens. «Ordinem vestrum» dicit nn. 1 et 30, et in eodem n. 30 monasterium Sancti Nicolai dioecesis Laudunensis eidem Ordini attribuit. Hanc ergo Apologiam Bernardus scribit rogatus a Guillelmo Cluniacensi homine; scribit, inquam, eo tempore, quo solutior erat Cluniacensium religio: sed ita libellum componit, ut primum, et quidem durius, arguat suos, id est Cistercienses, qui severioris vitae specie Cluniacensium institutis detrahebant, sicque sanctiores religionis leges violabant. Ut ergo alteros alteris conciliaret sanctissimus Doctor, quid in utrisque reprehendendum sibi videbatur in hoc libro sincere exponit; ratus, «se non adversus Ordinem, sed pro Ordine disputare, si non Ordinem in hominibus, sed hominum vitia reprehenderet,» ex n. 15.

Neque dubitandum est ea vera esse quae in Cluniacensibus notavit Bernardus, quem de his accurate edoctum fuisse, atque adeo ab omni falsi criminis suspitione immunem esse nemo non concedere debet. Verum dictorum ejus veritatem probant Statuta Petri Venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis, qui coacto apud Cluniacum capitulo generali, pleraque ejusmodi vitia emendare conatus est, ut manifeste probant ejus Statuta, quae suis locis in notulas referemus. De hoc capitulo agit ad annum 1132 Ordericus Vitalis, qui et ipse praesens interfuit: ita enim habet in libro decimo tertio, pag. 896: «Petrus Cluniacensis abbas veredarios et epistolas per omnes Cellas suas tune direxit, et omnes Cellarum Priores de Anglia et Italia, regnisque aliis accersiit, jubens ut dominico Quadragesimae tertio Cluniaci adessent, ut praecepta monasticae conversationis austeriora, quam hactenus tenuerant, audirent. Illi nimirum archimandritae suis jussis obsecundaverunt, ac ad statutum terminum ducenti Priores Cluniacum convenerunt. In illa die mille ducenti et duodecim fratres ibi adfuerunt . . . Ille vero» Petrus «auxit jejunia, abstulit colloquia, et infirmi corporis quaedam subsidia, quae illis moderata patrum hactenus permiserat reverendorum clementia. Fratres autem assueti magistro semper obedire, contra religiosum morem nolentes ei resistere, aspera quidem imperia susceperunt: rationabiliter tamen ostenderunt, quod venerabilis Hugo, et illius antecessores Maiolus et Odilo, arctam vitae viam tenuerunt Austerus autem praeceptor Cistercienses, aliosque novorum sectatores aemulatus, rudibus ausis institit, et ab incoeptis desistere ad praesens erubuit. Postmodum tamen emollitus, subditorum arbitrio consensit,» etc. Confer ejusdem Petri Venerabilis libri primi epistolam vigesimam octavam, et aliam quae inter Bernardinas relata est, ordine ducentesima vigesima nona.

For since almost all monasteries of the Black Monks followed the Cluniac rites, once the Cistercian congregation arose, which had different customs, they were said to be of the Cluniac Order (although they were not aggregated to it), as is clear even from the following Apology, in which, addressing William, he says "your Order" in nos. 1 and 30, and in the same no. 30 he attributes the monastery of Saint Nicholas in the diocese of Laon to the same Order. Bernard, therefore, writes this Apology at the request of William, a Cluniac man; he writes, I say, at a time when the religious life of the Cluniacs was more lax, but he composes the little book in such a way that he first, and indeed more harshly, rebukes his own, that is, the Cistercians, who, under the appearance of a stricter life, were disparaging the institutes of the Cluniacs, and thus violating the holier laws of religion. Therefore, so that the most holy Doctor might reconcile the one group to the other, he sincerely explains in this book what seemed to him reprehensible in both, thinking that "he was arguing not against the Order, but for the Order, if he were to reprehend not the Order in men, but the vices of men," from no. 15.

Nor should it be doubted that the things Bernard noted in the Cluniacs are true, for everyone must concede that he was accurately informed about these matters and thus is immune from any suspicion of false accusation. Indeed, the truth of his statements is proven by the Statutes of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who, having convened a general chapter at Cluny, attempted to amend many such vices, as his Statutes, which we will refer to in notes in their proper places, manifestly prove. Orderic Vitalis, who was himself present, discusses this chapter under the year 1132; for thus he has it in his thirteenth book, page 896: "Peter, abbot of Cluny, then sent messengers and letters through all his cells, and summoned all the Priors of the cells from England and Italy, and other kingdoms, ordering them to be present at Cluny on the third Sunday of Lent, so that they might hear precepts of monastic life more austere than they had hitherto held." Those archimandrites, of course, obeyed his commands, and at the appointed time two hundred Priors convened at Cluny. On that day, one thousand two hundred and twelve brothers were present there... But he," Peter, "increased the fasts, removed conversations, and certain supports for the weak body, which the clemency of the reverend fathers had hitherto permitted them in moderation." The brothers, however, accustomed to always obey their master, unwilling to resist him against religious custom, accepted the harsh commands; yet they reasonably pointed out that the venerable Hugh, and his predecessors Majolus and Odilo, had held to a strict path of life... But the austere preceptor... emulating the Cistercians and other followers of novelties, persisted in his rough undertakings, and was ashamed to desist for the present from what he had begun. Afterwards, however, having softened, he consented to the judgment of his subjects," etc. Compare the twenty-eighth letter of the first book of the same Peter the Venerable, and another which is included among Bernard's, number two hundred and twenty-nine.

Ex his apparet, ea, quae in Cluniacensibus carpit Bernardus, vera esse: sed inter vitia non ab omnibus fuisse habita, imo quasi necessarium temperamentum infirmitatis humanae. Et quidem de quibusdam id videri possit, puta de ornatu ecclesiarum, aliarumque ejusmodi rerum, quae plausibiles rationes prae se ferunt: at pleraque inter monachos tantisper moderatos tolerabilia non esse vel ipsa lectio persuadet. Sed quid, inquis, de templorum magnificentia et cultu? annon Cistercienses, imo et Bernardus ipse amplissima et ornatissima condiderunt? Haec cum audio, in mentem venit primi illius Oratorii, a Bernardo apud Claram-Vallem exstructi. Bone Deus! quam exilis, quam vilis in speciem, sed quam sua vili ipsa specie venerandi! Aliud quidem inchoavit amplissimum, quod continendis monachis septingentis, aliisque personis sufficeret: sed omnis ornatus, praeter ipsam fabricae majestatem, expers. Et Cistercienses primitus «sculpturas vel picturas» in ecclesiis suis seu officinis monasterii penitus interdixerunt: «quia dum talibus intenditur, utilitas bonae meditationis, vel disciplina religiosae gravitatis saepe negligitur. Cruces tamen pictas,» sed quae «lignae» essent, habebant. denique «superfluitates et curiositates notabiles in sculpturis, aedificiis, pavimentis, et aliis similibus, quae deformant antiquam Ordinis honestatem, et paupertati non congruunt,» rejecerunt etiam in capitulo anni 1213, ex Instit. Cisterc. parte prima, cap. 20.

Sed ut haec missa faciamus, magna certe ex sequenti libello consecuta est utilitas: cum non solum Cluniacenses, sed etiam alia, quae ab eorum societate disparata erant monasteria, ejus lectione ad meliorem frugem sese receperint, in primis Dionysianum Sugerio auctore; et tandem Cisterciensium exemplo convocari coeperint capitula generalia Nigrorum monachorum praeter Cluniacense, in quibus de emendandis monachorum vitiis actum est. Id enim Innocentio II pontifice fieri coeptum, et ab ipso approbatum fuisse constat ex litteris capituli generalis abbatum provinciae Remensis ad Adrianum III contra abbatem Latiniacensem, superius relatis, col. 813.

Sed haec satis ad illustrandam Apologiam sequentem, quam in duas partes distinguere possumus: in quarum prima corripuntur Cistercienses, quod Cluniacensium institutis detraherent; in secunda Cluniacensium superfluitates arguuntur. Ideo duas epistolas vocat codex Majoris-Monasterii, in quo ita inscriptio legitur: «Incipit Apologeticum domni Bernardi abbatis contra Cisterciensium detractiones, ad Guillelmum abbatem, dividitque tractatum in duas epistolas.»

From these things it appears that what Bernard criticizes in the Cluniacs is true, but that it was not considered by all to be among the vices, but rather as a necessary tempering for human infirmity. And indeed, this might seem to be the case for certain things, such as the ornamentation of churches and other such matters, which present plausible reasons; but the reading itself persuades that most things were not tolerable among monks who were until then moderate. But what, you ask, of the magnificence and adornment of temples? Did not the Cistercians, and indeed Bernard himself, found very large and ornate ones? When I hear these things, that first Oratory built by Bernard at Clairvaux comes to mind. Good God! How meager, how base in appearance, but how venerable in its very base appearance! He did indeed begin another very large one, which would be sufficient to contain seven hundred monks and other persons, but it was devoid of all ornament, apart from the majesty of the structure itself. And the Cistercians at first completely forbade "sculptures or pictures" in their churches or monastery workshops: "because while attention is given to such things, the benefit of good meditation or the discipline of religious gravity is often neglected." They did, however, have "painted crosses," but which were "of wood." Finally, they also rejected "notable superfluities and curiosities in sculptures, buildings, pavements, and other similar things, which deform the ancient decency of the Order and are not consistent with poverty," in the chapter of the year 1213, from the Institutes of the Cistercians, part one, chap. 20.

But to leave these matters aside, great utility certainly followed from the following little book: since not only the Cluniacs, but also other monasteries that were separate from their society, returned to a better state by reading it, especially Saint-Denis under the authorship of Suger; and finally, following the example of the Cistercians, general chapters of the Black Monks, besides the Cluniac one, began to be convened, in which the amendment of the monks' vices was discussed. For it is established that this began to be done during the pontificate of Innocent II, and was approved by him, from the letters of the general chapter of the abbots of the province of Reims to Adrian III against the abbot of Lagny, reported above, col. 813.

But this is enough to illustrate the following Apology, which we can distinguish into two parts: in the first, the Cistercians are rebuked for disparaging the institutes of the Cluniacs; in the second, the superfluities of the Cluniacs are censured. For this reason, the codex of Marmoutier calls it two letters, in which the inscription reads thus: "Here begins the Apologeticum of the lord abbot Bernard against the detractions of the Cistercians, to abbot William, and it divides the treatise into two letters."

Praemittitur epistola octogesima quarta instar praefatiunculae, quo nomine eam Bernardus designat in epistola octogesima quinta et in epistola octogesima octava. Hoc opusculum Rotomagi primum una cum tractatu de Praecepto et Dispensatione, atque libris de Consideratione, absque designatione anni vulgatum est sub hoc titulo: «Incipit libellus Bernardi abbatis de Concordantia statuum religiosorum, qui pro tempore suo erant.» Sub eodem titulo idem liber aliquando laudatur a Willelmo monacho in libro *Florum ex sancto Bernardo*.

Quod me hujusmodi operam dare jubes, per quod tollendum sit scandalum de regno Dei, libenter accipio: sed quomodo id velis fieri, necdum satis elucet mihi. Nam illam tuam dulcissimam epistolam dulciter legens, ac dulcius relegens (saepius quippe repetita placebat) intellexi quidem te velle, ut illis qui de nobis tanquam detractoribus Cluniacensis Ordinis, conqueruntur, satisfaciam: quatenus videlicet sciatur non esse verum, quod male hucusque de nobis putarunt, vel putari voluerunt. At si post hanc satisfactionem rursus victus eorum ac vestitus superfluitatem, et caetera quae subjungis, quemadmodum injungis, carpere voluero; et mihi videbor contradicere, et quomodo sine scandalo facere queam, non video. Nisi forte, et Ordinem quidem laudabilem, et Ordinis reprehensores reprehensibiles dicam [al. doceam], et nihilominus tamen ipsius superflua reprenendam. Si hoc modo vis, aut forte aliter magis expedire vides, manda apertius; et ut valeam quod vis, eo modo quo vis, ora instantius. Scito tamen non modico me hujusmodi scriptitationibus feriri detrimento: quia multum hinc mihi devotionis subtrahitur, dum studium orationis intermittitur, praesertim cum nec usus suppetat dictandi, nec otium.

Venerabili patri GUILLELMO, frater BERNARDUS, fratrum qui in Clara-Valle sunt, inutilis servus, salutem in Domino.

Usque modo si qua me scriptitare jussistis, aut invitus, aut nullatenus acquievi: non quia negligerem quod jubebar, sed ne praesumerem quod nesciebam. Nunc vero nova urgente causa, pristina fugatur verecundia, et vel perite vel imperite dolori meo satisfacere cogor, fiduciam dante ipsa necessitate. Quomodo namque silenter audire possum vestram hujuscemodi de nobis querimoniam, qua scilicet miserrimi hominum, in pannis et semicinctiis, de cavernis, ut ait ille (Hebr. XI, 38), dicimur judicare mundum; quodque inter caetera intolerabilius est, etiam gloriosissimo Ordini vestro derogare, sanctis qui in eo laudabiliter vivunt, impudenter detrahere, et de umbra nostrae ignobilitatis, mundi luminaribus insultare?

The eighty-fourth letter is prefixed as a short preface, by which name Bernard designates it in his eighty-fifth and eighty-eighth letters. This little work was first published in Rouen, together with the treatise *On Precept and Dispensation* and the books *On Consideration*, without designation of the year, under this title: "Here begins the little book of abbot Bernard on the Concordance of the religious states that existed in his time." Under the same title, the same book is sometimes praised by William the monk in his book of *Flowers from Saint Bernard*.

That you command me to undertake a work of this kind, by which scandal may be removed from the kingdom of God, I willingly accept; but how you wish it to be done is not yet sufficiently clear to me. For reading your most sweet letter sweetly, and rereading it more sweetly (for it pleased the more it was repeated), I understood indeed that you wish me to give satisfaction to those who complain of us as detractors of the Cluniac Order, so that it may be known that what they have wrongly thought of us hitherto, or wished to be thought, is not true. But if, after this satisfaction, I should wish again to criticize the superfluity of their food and clothing, and the other things you add, just as you enjoin, I will seem to contradict myself, and I do not see how I can do it without scandal. Unless, perhaps, I should say [alt. teach] that the Order is indeed praiseworthy, and the critics of the Order reprehensible, and yet that its superfluities are nevertheless to be reprehended. If you wish it this way, or perhaps see that another way is more expedient, command me more openly; and that I may be able to do what you wish, in the way you wish, pray more insistently. Know, however, that I am struck with no small detriment by such scribblings, because much devotion is thereby taken from me, while the study of prayer is interrupted, especially since I have neither the practice nor the leisure for dictating.

To the venerable father WILLIAM, brother BERNARD, useless servant of the brothers who are in Clairvaux, greetings in the Lord.

Until now, if you have commanded me to write anything, I have complied either unwillingly or not at all: not because I would neglect what was commanded, but lest I should presume to do what I did not know. But now, with a new cause pressing, my former diffidence is put to flight, and whether skillfully or unskillfully, I am compelled to give vent to my grief, with necessity itself giving me confidence. For how can I silently hear this complaint of yours about us, by which we, the most miserable of men, in rags and loincloths, from our caves, as he says (Heb. 11:38), are said to judge the world; and what is more intolerable than all else, that we even disparage your most glorious Order, impudently detract from the saints who live praiseworthily in it, and from the shadow of our own ignobility, insult the lights of the world?

Itane sub vestimentis ovium, non quidem lupi rapaces, sed pulices mordaces, imo tineae demolientes; bonorum vitam, quia palam non audemus, in occulto corrodimus; nec saltem clamorem invectionis, sed susurrium detractionis emittimus? Si hoc ita est, utquid sine causa mortificamur tota die, aestimati sumus sicut oves occisionis? (Psal. XLIII, 22.) Si ita, inquam, pharisaica jactantia caeteros homines, et (quod superbius est) nobis meliores despiciamus, quid nobis prodest tanta in nostro victu paritas et asperitas, in vestitu notabilis illa vilitas ac diversitas, in opere manuum quotidiana desudatio, in jejuniis et vigiliis jugis exercitatio, totius denique vitae nostrae singularis quaedam atque austerio conversatio? nisi forte omnia opera nostra facimus, ut videamur [al. videantur] ab hominibus. Sed dicit Christus: Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam (Matth. VI, 5). Nonne si in hac vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus? (I Cor. XV, 19.) An vero non in hac vita tantum in Christo speramus, si de Christi servitio temporalem tantum gloriam quaerimus?

Miser ergo homuncio qui tanto labore et industria studeo non esse, vel potius videri sicut caeteri hominum; minus tamen accepturus, imo gravius cruciandus, quam quilibet hominum. Siccine ergo non inveniebatur nobis via, ut ita dicam, utcunque tolerabilior ad infernum? Si ita necesse erat, ut illo descenderemus; cur saltem illam, qua multi incedunt, viam scilicet latam, quae ducit ad mortem, non elegimus, quatenus vel de gaudio, et non de luctu, ad luctum transiremus? O quam felicius est illis, quorum non est respectus morti eorum, et firmamentum in plaga eorum, qui in labore hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellantur! qui etsi peccatores, ac pro gaudiis temporalibus, perpetuis cruciatibus addicti, saltem abundantes in saeculo obtinuerunt divitias (Psal. LXXII, 4, 5, 12). Vae portantibus crucem, non sicut Salvator suam, sed sicut ille Cyrenaeus, alienam (Matth. XXVII, 32). Vae Citharoedis citharizantibus, non ut illi de Apocalypsi, in citharis suis (Apoc. XIV, 2), sed vere, ut hypocritae in alicnis. Vae semel, et vae iterum pauperibus superbis. Vae, inquam, semel, et vae iterum, portantibus crucem Christi, et non sequentibus Christum: qui nimirum cujus passionibus participant, humilitatem sectari negligunt.

Is it so that under sheep's clothing, we are not indeed ravenous wolves, but biting fleas, or rather, consuming moths; that because we do not dare to do so openly, we gnaw away at the life of the good in secret; and emit not even the cry of invective, but the whisper of detraction? If this is so, why are we killed all the day long for no reason, esteemed as sheep for the slaughter? (Ps. 43:22). If, I say, with pharisaical boasting we despise other men, and (what is more arrogant) those better than ourselves, what does it profit us, this great parsimony and harshness in our food, this notable cheapness and distinctiveness in our clothing, this daily toil in manual labor, this constant exercise in fasts and vigils, in short, this singular and more austere manner of our whole life? Unless perhaps we do all our works that we may be seen by men. But Christ says: Amen I say to you, they have received their reward (Matt. 6:5). If in this life only we have hope in Christ, are we not of all men most miserable? (1 Cor. 15:19). Or do we not hope in Christ in this life only, if from the service of Christ we seek only temporal glory?

Wretched little man that I am, who with so much labor and industry strive not to be, or rather, not to seem, like the rest of men; yet I am to receive less, indeed to be more grievously tormented, than any other man. Was there then no way to be found for us, so to speak, that was in any way more tolerable to hell? If it was necessary that we should descend there, why did we not at least choose that broad way, which many walk, that leads to death, so that we might pass from joy, and not from sorrow, to sorrow? O how much happier are they for whom there is no regard for their death, and who have a firm footing in their affliction, who are not in the labor of men, and are not scourged with men! who, although sinners and condemned to perpetual torments for temporal joys, at least obtained abundant riches in the world (Ps. 72:4, 5, 12). Woe to those who carry the cross, not as the Savior carried His own, but as that Cyrenian carried another's (Matt. 27:32). Woe to the harpists harping, not like those in the Apocalypse, on their own harps (Rev. 14:2), but truly, like hypocrites, on others'. Woe once, and woe again to the proud poor. Woe, I say, once, and woe again, to those who carry the cross of Christ, and do not follow Christ: who, though they participate in His passions, neglect to pursue humility.

Duplici quippe contritione conteruntur qui hujusmodi sunt, quando et hic pro temporali gloria temporaliter se affligunt, et in futuro pro interna superbia ad aeterna supplicia pertrahuntur. Laborant cum Christo, sed cum Christo non regnant: sequuntur Christum in paupertate sua, sed in gloria non consequuntur: de torrente in via bibunt, sed non exaltabunt caput in patria: lugent nunc, sed tunc non conso- labuntur. Et merito: quid enim facit superbia sub pannis humilitatis Jesu? nunquid non habet quo se palliet humana malitia, nisi unde involuta est infantia Salvatoris? Et quomodo intra praesepium Domini simulatrix arrogantia se coarctat, ac pro vagi- tibus innocentiae, malum inibi detractionis immurmurat? Annon illi superbissimi de Psalmo, quorum prodiit ex adipe iniquitas eorum, multo tutius operti sunt iniquitate et impietate sua (Psal. LXXII, 6, 5), quam nos latemus sub sanctitate aliena? Quis enim magis impius, an profitens impietatem, an mentiens sanctitatem? Nonne is qui etiam mendacium addens, geminat impietatem? Et quid dicam? Vereor ne forte et ego suspectus habear, non quidem vobis, pater, non vobis, cui utique notum me novi, quantum in hac caligine homo homini innotescero potest; et specialiter de hac re scio vos non ignorare quid sentiam. Sed propter illos, qui me nec ita ut vos cognoverunt, nec sicut vobis hinc loqui soleo, loquentem audierunt, scribo vobis (quod et frequen- ter audistis), ut quoniam ego per singulos ire, et singulis satisfacere nequeo, ex me habeatis, unde quod de me certissime scitis; eis pro me verissime persuadeatis. Neque enim timeo omnium oculis scribere, quidquid de hac re vobis in aure locutus sum.

Quis unquam me adversus Ordinem illum vel coram audivit disputantem, vel clam susurrantem? Quem unquam de Ordine illo nisi cum gaudio vidi, nisi cum honore suscepi, nisi cum reverentia allocutus, nisi cum humilitate adhortatus sum? Dixi, et dico: Modus quidem vitae est sanctus, honestus, castitate decorus, discretione praeci- pius, a patribus institutus, a Spiritu sancto praeordinatus, animabus salvandis non mediocriter idoneus. Egone vel damno, vel despicio, quem sic praedico? Memini me aliquando in aliquibus ejusdem Ordinis monasteriis hospitio susceptum fuisse: reddat Dominus servis suis humanitatem, quam infirmanti mihi ultra etiam quam necesse fuit, exhibuerunt; et honorem, quo me plus quoque quam dignus fui, dignati sunt. Ipsorum me commmendavi orationibus, interfui collationibus: saepe et de Scripturis, et salute animarum habui sermonem cum multis, et publice in capitulis, et privatim in cameris. Quem unquam vel clam, vel palam aut ab illo Ordine dissuadere, aut ad nostrum ut veniret persuadere tentavi?

For those who are of this kind are crushed with a double contrition, since both here they afflict themselves temporally for temporal glory, and in the future they are dragged to eternal punishments for their internal pride. They labor with Christ, but they do not reign with Christ; they follow Christ in His poverty, but they do not attain to Him in glory; they drink of the torrent in the way, but they will not lift up their head in the homeland; they mourn now, but then they will not be comforted. And deservedly so: for what is pride doing under the rags of Jesus' humility? Has human malice nothing with which to cloak itself, except that in which the infancy of the Savior was wrapped? And how does feigning arrogance confine itself within the Lord's manger, and there, instead of the cries of innocence, murmur the evil of detraction? Are not those most proud men of the Psalm, whose iniquity came forth from their fatness, much more safely covered by their iniquity and impiety (Ps. 72:6, 5), than we are hidden under another's sanctity? For who is more impious, the one who professes impiety, or the one who feigns sanctity? Is it not he who, by also adding a lie, doubles his impiety? And what shall I say? I fear lest perhaps I too may be held suspect, not indeed by you, father, not by you, to whom I know I am known, as much as a man can be known to a man in this darkness; and especially concerning this matter, I know you are not ignorant of what I think. But for the sake of those who have neither known me as you have, nor heard me speak as I am accustomed to speak to you on this matter, I write to you (what you have also frequently heard), so that since I cannot go to each one and satisfy each one, you may have from me that by which you may most truly persuade them on my behalf of what you most certainly know about me. For I do not fear to write for the eyes of all whatever I have spoken in your ear on this matter.

Who ever heard me disputing against that Order, either openly, or whispering secretly? Whom from that Order have I ever seen but with joy, received but with honor, addressed but with reverence, exhorted but with humility? I have said, and I say it now: Their way of life is indeed holy, honorable, adorned with chastity, distinguished by discretion, instituted by the Fathers, preordained by the Holy Spirit, and not moderately suited for the salvation of souls. Do I then condemn or despise that which I so praise? I remember having been received as a guest at some time in some monasteries of that same Order: may the Lord repay His servants for the kindness which they showed to me when I was ill, even beyond what was necessary; and for the honor with which they favored me, also more than I was worthy. I commended myself to their prayers, I was present at their conferences; often I have spoken with many, both about the Scriptures and the salvation of souls, both publicly in the chapter meetings and privately in their rooms. Whom have I ever attempted, either secretly or openly, to dissuade from that Order, or to persuade to come to ours?

An non potius multos cupientes venire repressi, venientes et pulsantes repuli? Annon fratrem Nicolaum ad Sanctum-Nicolaum, et vobis duos de vestris, vobis teste, remisi? Sed et duobus quibusdam ejusdem Ordinis abbatibus, quorum ne nomina prodam, ipsi eos optime nostis, et nihilominus quam amica mihi familiaritate jungantur, scitis: numquid non tamen ad alium Ordinem (quod et vos non latuit) migrare desiderantibus, jamjamque deliberantibus, nostrum eis dissuasorium consilium obviavit, ac ne suas desererent cathedras effecit? Cur igitur Ordinem damnare putor, vel dicor, cui amices meos deservire suadeo, cui suos ad nos venientes monachos reddo, de quo et mihi orationes tam sollicito requiro, tam devote suscipio.

An forte quia juxta alium Ordinem conversari videor, propterea suspectus hinc habeor? Sed eadem ratione et vos nostro derogatis, quicumque aliter vivitis. Ergo et continentes, et conjuges invicem se damnare putentur, quod suis quique legibus in Ecclesia conversentur. Monachi quoque ac regulares clerici sibi invicem derogare dicantur, quia propriis ab invicem observantiis separantur. Sed et Noe, et Daniele, et Job in uno se regno pati non posse suspicemur, ad quod utique non eos uno tramite justitiae cognovimus pervenisse. Mariam denique et Martham necesse sit aut utramque, aut alteram Salvatori displicere, cui nimirum tam dissimili studio devotionis contendunt ambae placere. Et hac ratione in tota Ecclesia (quae utique tam pluribus, tamque dissimilibus variatur ordinibus, utpote regina quae in Psalmo legitur circumamicta varietatibus [Psal. XLIV, 10]), nulla pax, nulla prorsus concordia esse putabitur. Quae etenim segura quies, quis tutus in ea status invenietur, si unus quilibet homo unum quemlibet Ordinem eligens, alios aliter viventes aut ipse aspernetur, aut se ab ipsis sperni suspicetur, praesertim cum tenere impossibile sit vel unum hominem omnes Ordines, vel unum Ordinem omnes homines? Non sum tam hebes, ut non agnoscam tunicam Joseph, non illius qui liberavit Aegyptum, sed qui salvavit mundum, et hoc non a fame corporis, sed a morte simul animae et corporis. Notissima quippe est, quia polymita, id est pulcherrima varietate distincta; sed et sanguine apparet intincta, non quidem haedi, qui peccatum significat, sed agui, qui designat innocentiam, hoc est suo ipsius, non alieno. Ipse est profecto Agnus mansuetissimus, qui coram non quidem tondente, sed occidente se obmutuit; qui peccatum non fecit, sed abstulit peccata mundi. Miserunt autem qui dicerent ad Jacob. Hanc invenimus; vide utrum tunica filii tui sit, an non (Gen. XXXVII, 32). Vide et tu, Domine, utrum haec sit tunica dilecti Filii tui.

Have I not rather held back many who wished to come, and turned away those who came and knocked? Did I not send back brother Nicholas to Saint-Nicholas, and to you two of your own, with you as my witness? But also to two certain abbots of the same Order, whose names I shall not betray—you yourselves know them very well, and you know nonetheless with what friendly intimacy they are joined to me: did not our dissuasive counsel nevertheless meet them when they were desiring and already deliberating to move to another Order (a fact not hidden from you), and cause them not to desert their sees? Why then am I thought, or said, to condemn an Order which I persuade my friends to serve, to which I return its monks who come to us, and from which I so solicitously request and so devoutly receive prayers for myself.

Or is it perhaps because I am seen to live according to another Order that I am therefore held suspect on this account? But by the same reasoning, you too disparage our Order, whoever you are that live differently. Therefore, let the continent and the married be thought to condemn each other, because each lives in the Church according to their own laws. Let monks and regular clerics also be said to disparage one another, because they are separated from each other by their own observances. And let us suspect that Noah, Daniel, and Job cannot endure one another in the one kingdom, to which we know for certain they did not arrive by one single path of justice. Finally, it would be necessary that either both Mary and Martha, or one of them, displease the Savior, whom both indeed strive to please with such a dissimilar pursuit of devotion. And by this reasoning, in the whole Church (which is certainly varied by so many and such dissimilar orders, like the queen who is read of in the Psalm, "arrayed in a variety of colors" [Psalm 44:10]), no peace, no concord at all will be thought to exist. For what secure rest, what safe state will be found in it, if any one man, choosing any one Order, either scorns others who live differently, or suspects that he is scorned by them, especially since it is impossible for one man to keep to all Orders, or for one Order to contain all men? I am not so dull as not to recognize the tunic of Joseph—not of him who delivered Egypt, but of Him who saved the world, and this not from a famine of the body, but from the death of both soul and body. For it is very well known, because it is of many colors (*polymita*), that is, distinguished by a most beautiful variety; but it also appears dipped in blood, not indeed of a goat, which signifies sin, but of a lamb, which designates innocence, that is, His own blood, not another's. He is indeed that most gentle Lamb, who was silent not before His shearer, but before His slayer; who did no sin, but took away the sins of the world. And they sent men to say to Jacob: "This we have found; see whether it is your son's tunic or not" (Gen. 37:32). See also, O Lord, whether this is the tunic of Your beloved Son.

Recognosce, omnipotens Pater, eam quam fecisti Christo filio tuo polymitam, dando quidem quosdam apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios pastores et doctores, et caetera quae in ejus ornatu mirifico decenter apposuisti, ad consummationem utique sanctorum, occurrentium in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi (Ephes. IV, 11 13). Dignare etiam, Deus, pretiosissimi purpuram sanguinis quo aspersa est, recognoscere, et in purpura praeclarum insigne ac gloriosissimum indicium obedientiae. Quare ergo, inquit, rubrum est vestimentum tuum? Torcular, ait, calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum (Isa. LXIII, 2, 3).

Itaque quandoquidem factus est obediens Patri usque ad torcular crucis, quod utique solus calcavit: solum quippe brachium suum auxiliatum est ei, juxta illud in alio loco, Singulariter sum ego, donec transeam (Psal. CXL, 10). Jam ergo exalta eum, Deus, et da ei nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur coelestium, terrestrium et infernorum (Philipp. II, 9, 10). Ascendat in altum, captivam ducat captivitatem, donet dona hominibus (Ephes. IV, 8). Quae dona? Relinquat videlicet sponsae suae Ecclesiae pignus haereditatis, ipsam tunicam suam: tunicam scilicet polymitam, eandemque inconsutilem, et desuper contextam per totum; sed polymitam ob multorum Ordinum, qui in ea sunt, multimodam distinctionem: inconsutilem vero propter indissolubilis charitatis individuum unitatem. Quis me, inquit, separabit a charitate Christi? (Rom. VIII, 35.) Audi quomodo polymitam: Divisiones, ait, gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus; et divisiones operationum sunt, idem vero Dominus. Deinde diversis enumeratis charismatibus, tanquam variis tunicae coloribus, quibus constet eam esse polymitam, ut ostendat etiam esse inconsutilem, et desuper contextam per totum, adjungit: Haec autem operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult (I Cor. XII, 4, 5). Charitas quippe diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Non ergo dividatur, sed totam et integram haereditario jure sortiatur Ecclesia, quia et de illa scriptum est: Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate (Psal. XLIV, 10). Itaque diversi diversa accipientes dona, alius quidem sic, alius vero sic; sive Cluniacenses, sive Cistercienses, sive clerici regulares, sive etiam laici fideles, omnis denique Ordo, omnis lingua, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, omnis conditio, in omni loco, per omne tempus, a primo homine usque ad novissimum. Nam et propter hoc talaris dicta est, quod ad finem usque pertingat, dicente propheta, Non est qui se abscondat a calore ejus (Psal. XVIII, 7): nimirum congruens ei cui et facta est, qui, perhibente videlicet alia Scriptura, et ipse attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter (Sap. VIII, 1).

Recognize, almighty Father, the many-colored tunic which You made for Christ Your Son, by giving some as apostles, some as prophets, others as evangelists, others as pastors and teachers, and the other things which You have fittingly placed in His wondrous adornment, for the perfecting of the saints, who are coming together into a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ (Eph. 4:11-13). Deign also, O God, to recognize the purple of the most precious blood with which it is sprinkled, and in that purple the pre-eminent and most glorious sign and token of obedience. "Why then," he says, "is your apparel red?" "I have trodden the winepress alone," he says, "and of the peoples there was no man with me" (Isa. 63:2-3).

Therefore, since He was made obedient to the Father even to the winepress of the cross, which He indeed trod alone—for His own arm alone brought salvation to Him, according to that in another place, "I am alone, until I pass over" (Ps. 140:10). Now therefore, O God, exalt Him, and give Him the name that is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth (Phil. 2:9-10). Let Him ascend on high, let Him lead captivity captive, let Him give gifts to men (Eph. 4:8). What gifts? Namely, let Him leave to His spouse the Church a pledge of her inheritance, His own tunic: that is, a tunic of many colors, and the same one seamless, and woven from the top throughout; but of many colors because of the manifold distinction of the many Orders that are in it; seamless, however, on account of the indivisible unity of indissoluble charity. "Who," he says, "shall separate me from the love of Christ?" (Rom. 8:35). Hear how it is of many colors: "There are diversities of graces," he says, "but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of operations, but the same Lord." Then, having enumerated the diverse charisms, like the various colors of the tunic, by which it is established that it is of many colors, in order to show that it is also seamless and woven from the top throughout, he adds: "But all these things one and the same Spirit works, dividing to every one according to his will" (1 Cor. 12:11). "For charity is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5). Let it not therefore be divided, but let the Church obtain it whole and entire by right of inheritance, because of her also it is written: "The queen stood on thy right hand, in gilded clothing; surrounded with variety" (Ps. 44:10). And so, different ones receiving different gifts, one in this way, another in that; whether Cluniacs, or Cistercians, or regular clerics, or even faithful laity, in short, every Order, every tongue, every sex, every age, every condition, in every place, through all time, from the first man to the last. For on this account it is also called a tunic reaching to the ankles (*talaris*), because it reaches to the very end, as the prophet says, "There is no one who can hide himself from its heat" (Ps. 18:7): doubtless fitting for Him for whom it was made, who, as another Scripture bears witness, "reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly" (Wis. 8:1).

CAPUT IV.

Se caeteros omnes Ordines charitate, unum professione tenere.

7. Omnes ergo concurramus pariter in unam tunicam, et ex omnibus constet una. Ex omnibus, inquam, una. Nam etsi ex pluribus et diversis, una est tamen columba mea, formosa mea, perfecta mea (Cantic. VI, 8). Alioquin nec ego solus, nec tu sine me, nec ille sine utroque: sed simul omnes sumus illa una, si tamen solliciti sumus servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Non, inquam, tantum Ordo noster, aut solus vester, ad illam pertinet unam, sed noster simul et vester: nisi forte (quod absit!) invicem invidentes, invicem provocantes, invicem mordeamus, et ab invicem consumamur (Galat. V, 15); et sic non possit nos Apostolus uni illi viro, cui despondit, virginem castam exhibere Christo (II Cor. XI, 2). Verumtamen illa una dicit in Canticis, Ordinavit in me charitatem (Cantic. II, 4): ut etsi una in charitate, divisa tamen sit ordinatione. Quid ergo? Cisterciensis sum: damno igitur Cluniacenses? Absit! sed diligo, sed praedico, sed magnifico. Cur ergo, inquis, Ordinem illum non tenes, si sic laudas? Audi. Propter hoc quod Apostolus ait: Unusquisque in ea vocatione, in qua vocatus est, permaneat (I Cor. VII, 20). Quod si quaeris, cur et a principio non elegerim, si talem sciebam? respondeo: Propter id quod rursus ait Apostolus: Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt (I Cor. X, 22). Non quod scilicet Ordo sanctus et justus non sit: sed quia ego carnalis eram, venumdatus sub peccato (Rom. VII, 14); et talem animae meae languorem sentiebam, cui fortior esset potio necessaria. Et diversis morbis diversa conveniunt medicamenta, et fortioribus fortiora. Fac duos homines febribus anxari, quartanis unum, alterum tertianis. Commendet autem qui quartanis laborat, tertiano aquam, pyra, et frigida quaeque sumenda: cum tamen ab his ipse abstineat, vinumque et caetera calida, utpote sibi congruentia, sumat. Quis, rogo, hinc eum recte reprehendat? Si diceret ille, Cur tu aquam non bibis, quam ita laudas? annon recte responderet: Et tibi eam fideliter tribuo, et mihi salubriter subtraho?

8. Denique requiratur [al. requiris] a me etiam, cur cum omnes Ordines laudem, omnes non teneo! Laudo enim omnes et diligo, ubicunque pie et juste vivitur in Ecclesia. Unum opere teneo, caeteros charitate. Faciet autem charitas (fidenter loquor) ut ne illorum quidem fructu frauder, quorum instituta non sequor. Plus aliquid dicam. Tu tibi caute age. Potest namque fieri quia frustra tu laboraveris: ut autem ego frustra diligam bonum quod operaris, fieri omnino non potest. O quanta fiducia charitatis! Alius operatur non amans, et alius amat nihil operans.

CHAPTER IV.

That he holds all other Orders in charity, but one by profession.

7. Let us all, therefore, run together alike into one tunic, and let one be made from all. From all, I say, one. For although she is of many and diverse parts, yet "my dove, my beautiful one, my perfect one is but one" (Song of Songs 6:8). Otherwise, it is neither I alone, nor you without me, nor he without us both; but we are all together that one, if only we are careful to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Not, I say, only our Order (Ordo), or yours alone, belongs to that one, but ours and yours together: unless perhaps (God forbid!) by envying one another, provoking one another, we bite and devour one another (Galatians 5:15), and thus the Apostle cannot present us as a chaste virgin to Christ (2 Corinthians 11:2), the one man to whom he has betrothed us. Nevertheless, that one says in the Song of Songs, "He has set in order charity in me" (Song of Songs 2:4): so that although she is one in charity, she is yet divided in her ordering. What then? I am a Cistercian: do I therefore condemn the Cluniacs? God forbid! But I love them, I praise them, I magnify them. "Why then," you ask, "do you not keep to that Order, if you praise it so?" Listen. Because of what the Apostle says: "Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called" (1 Corinthians 7:20). But if you ask why I did not choose it from the beginning, if I knew it to be such? I answer: Because of what the Apostle says again: "All things are lawful for me, but not all things are expedient" (1 Corinthians 10:22). Not that the Order is not holy and just, but because I was carnal, sold under sin (Romans 7:14); and I felt such a sickness in my soul that a stronger potion was necessary for it. And different remedies suit different diseases, and stronger ones for the stronger. Suppose two men are afflicted with fevers, one with a quartan, the other with a tertian. Let the one who suffers from the quartan fever recommend to the one with the tertian to take water, pears, and all cold things, while he himself abstains from these and takes wine and other warm things, as being suitable for him. Who, I ask, could rightly reprehend him for this? If the other were to say, "Why do you not drink the water which you praise so highly?" would he not rightly answer: "I faithfully prescribe it for you, and healthfully withhold it from myself?"

8. Finally, it may be asked of me [or: you ask] why, when I praise all Orders, I do not keep to them all! For I praise and love all, wherever life is lived piously and justly in the Church. I hold to one in practice, the others in charity. But charity will bring it about (I speak confidently) that I am not deprived of the fruit even of those whose institutes I do not follow. I will say something more. You, act cautiously for yourself. For it can happen that you have labored in vain; but that I should in vain love the good that you do, cannot happen at all. O, what great confidence there is in charity! One man works without loving, and another loves while doing no work.

Ille quidem suum opus perdit, illius vero charitas nunquam excidit. Et quid mirum, si in hoc exilio, peregrinante adhuc Ecclesia, quaedam hujusmodi sit pluralis, ut ita dixerim, unitas, unaque pluralitas: cum in illa quoque patria, quando jam ipsa regnabit, nihilominus forte talis aliqua dispar quodammodo aequalitas futura sit? Inde etenim scriptum est: In domo Patris mei mansiones 531 multae sunt (Joan. XIV, 2). Sicut itaque illic multae mansiones in una domo; ita hic multi ordines sunt in Ecclesia una: et quomodo hic divisiones gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus (I Cor. XII, 4); ita ibi distinctiones quidem gloriarum, sed una domus. Porro unitas tam hic quam ibi, consistit in una charitate; diversitas autem hic quidem in ordinum vel operationum multifaria divisione: illic vero in quadam meritorum notissima, sed et ordinatissima distinctione. Intelligens denique Ecclesia hanc suam quodammodo discordem concordiam, concordemve discordiam: Deduxit me, inquit, super semitas justitiae propter nomen suum. (Psal. XXII, 3). Ponens quippe semitas pluraliter, et justitiae singulariter; nec diversitatem praetermisit operationum, nec unitatem operantium. Praevidens quoque et illam in coelestibus discretam unitatem futuram, devotissime laeta decantat: Plateae tuae, Jerusalem, sternerentur auro mundo, et per omnes vicos tuos Alleluia cantabitur (Tob. XIII, 22). Audiens enim plateas et vicos, coronas et glorias diversas intellige. In auro, quo uno metallo illa civitas ornata describitur. et in uno Alleluia, quod cantandum perhibetur, dissimilium specierum similem pulchritudinem, et multarum mentium unam devotionem attende.

9. Non igitur una tantum semita inceditur, quia nec una est mansio quo tenditur. Viderit autem quisque quacumque incedat, ne pro diversitate semitarum ab una justitia recedat: quoniam ad quamlibet mansionem sua quisque semita pervenerit, ab una domo Patris exsors non erit. Verumtamen ut stella ab stella differt in claritate; sic erit, ait, et resurrectio mortuorum (I Cor. XV, 41, 42). Nam etsi fulgebunt justi sicut sol in regno Patris eorum: alii tamen aliis amplius, pro diversitate meritorum. Quae sane merita sciendum non sic in hoc saeculo, ut in illo, facile ab homine posse discerni: quippe cum hic tantum opera videantur, illic etiam corda nihil impediat intueri. Siquidem radiante ubique Sole justitiae, tunc manifesta erunt abscondita cordium (I Cor. IV, 5); et sicut non est nunc qui se abscondat a calore ejus (Psal. XVIII, 7), ita tunc non erit qui se occultet a splendore ipsius. Et de operibus quidem saepe incerta, et ob hoc periculosa sententia fertur, cum multoties minus justitiae habeant, qui magis operantur.

The former indeed loses his work, but the latter's charity never fails. And what wonder is it if, in this exile, while the Church is still on pilgrimage, there should be a certain plural unity of this kind, so to speak, and a single plurality: when in that homeland too, when she shall reign, there will nevertheless perhaps be some such unequal equality, in a way? For hence it is written: "In my Father's house there are many mansions" (John 14:2). Therefore, just as there are many mansions in one house there, so here there are many orders in one Church; and as here "there are diversities of graces, but the same Spirit" (1 Corinthians 12:4), so there there are distinctions of glories, but one house. Furthermore, unity, both here and there, consists in one charity; but diversity, here indeed in the manifold division of orders or operations, there however in a certain most notable and also most ordered distinction of merits. Finally, the Church, understanding this discordant concord, or concordant discord, of hers, says: "He hath led me upon the paths of justice, for his own name's sake" (Psalm 22:3). For by putting "paths" in the plural and "justice" in the singular, she has neither overlooked the diversity of operations nor the unity of the operators. Foreseeing also that future discrete unity in the heavens, she joyfully and most devoutly sings: "Your streets, O Jerusalem, shall be paved with pure gold, and Alleluia shall be sung through all your lanes" (Tobit 13:22). For when you hear of streets and lanes, understand diverse crowns and glories. In the gold, the one metal with which that city is described as adorned, and in the one Alleluia, which is said to be sung, behold the similar beauty of dissimilar kinds, and the one devotion of many minds.

9. Therefore, one does not proceed by only one path, because the mansion to which one tends is not one either. But let each one see to it, by whatever path he proceeds, that he does not depart from the one justice because of the diversity of paths: for to whichever mansion each one arrives by his own path, he will not be an outcast from the one house of the Father. Nevertheless, "as star differs from star in glory, so also," he says, "is the resurrection of the dead" (1 Corinthians 15:41-42). For although the just will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father, yet some will shine more than others, according to the diversity of their merits. It must be known that these merits cannot be so easily discerned by man in this world as in the next, since here only the works are seen, whereas there nothing prevents the hearts from being seen as well. Indeed, with the Sun of justice shining everywhere, "then the hidden things of the heart will be made manifest" (1 Corinthians 4:5); and just as "there is no one who can hide himself from his heat" now (Psalm 18:7), so then there will be no one who can conceal himself from His splendor. And concerning works, indeed, judgment is often uncertain and for this reason perilous, since many times those who do more work have less justice.

CAPUT V.

Religiosos aliorum Ordinum aemulos et obtrectatores acri stylo aggreditur.

Unde nunc mihi conveniendi sunt quidam de Ordine nostro, qui contra illam sententiam, Nolite ante tempus judicare, quoadusque veniat Dominus, qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit consilia cordium (I Cor. IV, 5); aliis Ordinibus derogare dicuntur, et suam justitiam solam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti: quos profecto (si qui tamen hujusmodi sunt) nec nostri, nec cujuspiam esse Ordinis verius dixerim; quippe qui etsi ordinate viventes, superbe tamen loquentes, cives se faciunt Babylonis, id est confusionis; imo filios tenebrarum, ipsiusque gehennae, ubi nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat (Job. X, 22). Vobis ergo, inquam, fratres, qui etiam post auditam illam Domini de Phariseo et Publicano parabolam, de vestra justitia [al. de vestro instituto] praesumentes, caeteros aspernamini, dicitis (ut dicitur) solos vos hominum esse justos, aut omnibus sanctiores; solos vos monachorum regulariter vivere, caeteros vero Regulae potius existere transgressores.

Primo quid ad vos de alienis servis? Suo domino stant, aut cadunt. Quis vos constituit judices super eos? Deinde si ita, ut dicitur, de Ordine vestro praesumitis; qualis ordo est, ut antequam de suo quisque trabem ejiciat, in fratrum oculis tam curiose festucas perquirat? Qui in Regula gloriimini, cur contra Regulam detrahitis? cur contra Evangelium, ante tempus, et contra Apostolum, alienos servos judicatis? (Rom. XIV, 4.) An Regula non concordat Evangelio vel Apostolo? alioquin Regula jam non est regula, quia non recta. Audite, et discite ordinem, qui contra ordinem aliis Ordinibus derogatis. Hypocrita, inquit, ejice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et sic videbis ejicere festucam de oculo fratris tui (Matth. VII, 3-5). Quaeris quam trabem? annon grandis et grossa trabes est superbia, qua te putans esse aliquid, cum nihil sis, insanissime tibi tanquam sanus exsultas, et aliis vanissime, trabem portans, de festucis insultas? Gratias, inquis, ego tibi, Deus, quia non sum sicut caeteri hominum, injusti, raptores, adulteri (Luc. XVIII, 21): sequere ergo, et dic, Detractores.

CHAPTER V.

He attacks with a sharp pen those religious who are rivals and detractors of other Orders.

Wherefore I must now address certain men of our Order who, contrary to that sentence, "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts" (1 Cor. 4:5), are said to disparage other Orders, and, wishing to establish their own righteousness alone, are not subject to the righteousness of God. Indeed, I would more truly say that such men (if any of this sort exist) belong neither to our Order nor to any Order at all; for although they live in an orderly manner, yet by speaking proudly they make themselves citizens of Babylon, that is, of confusion; nay, sons of darkness, and of Gehenna itself, "where no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth" (Job 10:22). To you, therefore, I say, brothers, who even after hearing that parable of the Lord about the Pharisee and the Publican, presuming upon your own righteousness [or: upon your own institute], despise others, you say (as it is said) that you alone among men are just, or holier than all; that you alone among monks live according to the Rule, while the rest are rather transgressors of the Rule.

First, what have you to do with other men's servants? To their own master they stand or fall. Who has appointed you judges over them? Then, if you presume so much upon your Order, as is said, what kind of order is it that, before each one casts the beam out of his own eye, he should so curiously seek for motes in his brothers' eyes? You who glory in the Rule, why do you slander contrary to the Rule? Why, contrary to the Gospel, do you judge before the time, and contrary to the Apostle, do you judge another's servant? (Rom. 14:4). Does the Rule not agree with the Gospel or the Apostle? Otherwise, the Rule is no longer a rule, because it is not right. Hear and learn order, you who against order disparage other Orders. "Hypocrite," He says, "first cast out the beam from your own eye, and then you will see clearly to cast out the mote from your brother's eye" (Matt. 7:3-5). Do you ask what beam? Is not pride a great and thick beam, by which, thinking yourself to be something when you are nothing, you most insanely exult in yourself as if you were sound, and most vainly, while carrying a beam, insult others about their motes? You say, "God, I thank you that I am not like other men, unjust, extortioners, adulterers" (Luke 18:21): go on, then, and say, "Slanderers."

Neque enim minima est haec festuca inter caeteras. Quare cum tam diligenter alias enumeres, istam taces? Si pro nulla vel minima habes, audi Apostolum: Neque maledici, ait, regnum Dei possidebunt (I Cor. VI, 10). Audi et Deum in Psalmo comminantem: Arguam te, inquit, et statuam contra faciem tuam (Psal. XLIX, 21). Quod quia detractori loquatur, certum est ex praecedentibus. Et quidem juste ad se retorquendus, et se compellendus est intueri, qui avertens faciem suam a se, aliena potius mala, quam sua solet curiosius perscrutari.

At, inquit, quomodo Regulam tenent, qui pelliciis induuntur; sani carnibus, seu carnum pinguedine vescuntur; tria vel quatuor pulmentaria una die quod Regula prohibet (Reg. S. Benedicti, cap. 39) admittunt; opus manuum, quod jubet (Ibid., cap. 48), non faciunt: multa denique pro libitu suo vel mutant, vel augment, vel minuunt? Recte. Non possunt haec negari. Sed attendite in regulam Dei, cui utique non dissonat institutio sancti Benedicti. Regnum Dei, inquit, intra vos est (Luc. XVII, 21), hoc est, non exterius in vestimentis aut alimentis corporis, sed in virtutibus interioris hominis. Unde Apostolus, Regnum Dei non est esca et potus, sed justitia, et pax, et gaudium in Spiritu sancto (Rom. XIV, 17): et rursus, Regnum Dei non est in sermone, sed in virtute (I Cor. IV, 20). De corporalibus itaque observantiis fratribus calumniam struitis; et quae majora sunt regulae, spiritualia scilicet instituta, relinquitis, camelumque glutientes, culicem liquatis? Magna abusio! Maxima cura est, ut corpus regulariter induatur, et contra regulam suis vestibus anima nuda deseritur. Cum tanto studio et tunica, et cuculla corpori procurentur, quatenus cui deerunt, monachus non putetur: cur similiter spiritui pietas et humilitas, quae profecto spiritualia indumenta sunt, non providentur? Tunicati et elati abhorremus pellicias! tanquam non melior sit pellibus involuta humilitas, quam tunicata superbia: praesertim cum et Deus tunicas pelliceas primis hominibus fecerit (Gen. III, 21); et Joannes in eremo zona pellicea lumbos accinxerit (Matth. III, 4); et ipse tunicarum institutor in solitudine, non tunicis, sed pellibus sese induerit. Repleti deinde ventrem faba, mentem superbia, cibis damnamus saginatos! quasi non melius sit exiguo sagimine ad usum vesci, quam ventoso legumine usque ad ructum exsaturari: praecipue cum et Esau non de carne, sed de lente sit reprehensus (Hebr. XII, 16); et de ligno Adam, non de carne damnatus (Gen. III, 17); et Jonathas ex gustu mellis, non carnis, morti adjudicatus (I Reg. XIV, 29): econtra vero Elias innoxie carnem comederit (III Reg. XVII, 6); Abraham gratissime carnibus Angelos paverit (Gen. XVIII, 7), et de ipsis sua fieri sacrificia Deus praeceperit (Exod. XXIX, 1).

For this is not the least mote among the others. Why, when you so diligently enumerate the others, are you silent about this one? If you consider it as nothing or as very small, listen to the Apostle: "Nor will slanderers," he says, "possess the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 6:10). Listen also to God threatening in the Psalm: "I will reprove you," He says, "and set [your sins] before your face" (Ps. 49:21). That He says this to the slanderer is certain from what precedes. And indeed, he is justly to be turned back upon himself and compelled to look at himself, who, turning his face away from himself, is accustomed to scrutinize the evils of others more curiously than his own.

"But," they say, "how do they keep the Rule, who are clothed in furs; who, when healthy, eat meat or the fat of meat; who permit three or four cooked dishes in one day, which the Rule forbids (Rule of St. Benedict, ch. 39); who do not perform manual labor, which it commands (Ibid., ch. 48); who, in short, change, add, or subtract many things according to their own pleasure?" Rightly so. These things cannot be denied. But pay attention to the rule of God, with which the institution of Saint Benedict is by no means dissonant. "The kingdom of God," it says, "is within you" (Luke 17:21), that is, not externally in clothing or bodily food, but in the virtues of the inner man. Whence the Apostle says, "The kingdom of God is not food and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom. 14:17); and again, "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power" (1 Cor. 4:20). Do you therefore build up a slander against the brothers concerning corporal observances, and neglect what is greater in the rule, namely the spiritual institutions, swallowing a camel and straining out a gnat? A great abuse! The greatest care is taken that the body be clothed according to the rule, yet against the rule the soul is left naked of its proper garments. While with such zeal both tunic and cowl are procured for the body, to the extent that he who lacks them is not considered a monk, why are piety and humility, which are indeed spiritual garments, not similarly provided for the spirit? Clad in tunics and proud, we abhor furs! As if humility wrapped in skins were not better than pride clad in a tunic; especially since God Himself made tunics of skin for the first humans (Gen. 3:21), and John in the desert girt his loins with a leather belt (Matt. 3:4), and the very institutor of tunics clothed himself in the wilderness not with tunics, but with skins. Then, with our belly full of beans and our mind full of pride, we condemn those fattened on rich foods! As if it were not better to eat a little fat for sustenance than to be stuffed with windy legumes to the point of belching; especially since Esau was reprov'd not for meat, but for lentils (Heb. 12:16); and Adam was condemned for the tree, not for meat (Gen. 3:17); and Jonathan was sentenced to death for a taste of honey, not of meat (1 Sam. 14:29); while on the contrary, Elijah ate meat without harm (1 Kings 17:6); Abraham most graciously fed the Angels with meat (Gen. 18:7), and God commanded that His own sacrifices be made from it (Exod. 29:1).

Sed et satius est modico vino uti propter infirmitatem, quam multa aqua ingurgitari per aviditatem: quia et Paulus Timotheo modico utendum vino consuluit (I Tim. V, 23); et Dominus ipse bibit, ita ut vini potator appellatus sit (Matth. XI, 19); Apostolis quoque bibendum dedit; insuper et ex eo Sacramenta sui sanguinis condidit (Id. XXVI, 27): cum econtrario aquam ad nuptias bibi non passus sit (Joan. II, 3-9), et ad aquas contradictionis 533 populi murmur terribiliter castigaverit (Num. XX); David quoque aquam, quam desideraverat, potare timuerit (II Reg. XXIII, 16); virique illi Gedeonis, qui prae aviditate toto corpore prostrato de flumine biberunt, digni ad praelium ire non fuerint (Judic. VII, 5-7), Jam vero de labore manuum quid gloria-mini, cum et Martha laborans increpata, et Maria quiescens laudata sit (Luc. X, 41, 42); et Paulus aperte dicat: Labor corporis ad modicum valet, pietas autem ad omnia? (I Tim. IV, 8.) Optimus labor, de quo propheta dicebat: Laboravi in gemitu meo (Psal. VI, 7): et de quo alibi, Memor fui Dei, et delectatus sum, et exercitatus sum. Ac ne corporale intelligas exercitium, Et defecit, inquit, spiritus meus (Psal. LXXXVI, 4). Ubi autem non corpus, sed spiritus fatigatur, spiritualis procul dubio labor intelligitur.

CAPUT VII.

Spiritualis exercitatio fructuosior corporali.

Quid ergo, inquis? Siccine illa spiritualia persuades, ut etiam haec, quae ex Regula habemus, corporalia damnes? Nequaquam: sed illa oportet agere, et ista non omittere. Alioquin cum aut ista omitti necesse est, aut illa; ista potius omittenda sunt, quam illa. Quanto enim spiritus corpore melior est, tanto spiritualis quam corporalis exercitatio fructuosior. Tu ergo cum de horum observatione elatus, aliis eadem non observantibus derogas, nonne te magis transgressorem Regulae indicas, cujus licet minima quaedam tenens, meliora devitas, de quibus Paulus: Aemulamini, ait, charismata meliora? (I Cor. XII, 31.) Detrahendo quippe fratribus, in quo temetipsum extollis, perdis humilitatem; in quo alios deprimis, charitatem: quae sunt procul dubio charismata meliora. Tu tuum corpus multis et nimiis laboribus atteris, ac regularibus asperitatibus mortificas membra tua quae sunt super terram. Bene facis.

But it is also better to use a little wine on account of infirmity than to guzzle much water through greed: for Paul advised Timothy to use a little wine (1 Tim. 5:23); and the Lord Himself drank, so that He was called a wine-drinker (Matt. 11:19); He also gave it to the Apostles to drink; and moreover, from it He instituted the Sacrament of His blood (Matt. 26:27): while on the contrary, He did not suffer water to be drunk at the wedding (John 2:3-9), and He terribly punished the murmuring of the people at the waters of contradiction (Num. 20); David also feared to drink the water he had desired (2 Sam. 23:16); and those men of Gideon who, out of greed, drank from the river prostrate with their whole body, were not worthy to go into battle (Judg. 7:5-7). Now indeed, why do you glory in manual labor, when Martha, who was working, was rebuked, and Mary, who was at rest, was praised (Luke 10:41-42); and Paul openly says: "Bodily labor is of little value, but piety is of value in every way"? (1 Tim. 4:8). The best labor is that of which the prophet said: "I have labored in my groaning" (Ps. 6:7); and of which elsewhere, "I was mindful of God, and was delighted, and was exercised." And lest you understand this as a bodily exercise, he says, "And my spirit fainted" (Ps. 76:4). But where not the body, but the spirit is wearied, a spiritual labor is without doubt to be understood.

CHAPTER VII.

Spiritual exercise is more fruitful than corporal.

What then, you say? Do you so advocate for those spiritual things that you condemn even these corporal ones which we have from the Rule? By no means; but it is right to do the former, and not to omit the latter. Otherwise, when it is necessary to omit either the latter or the former, the latter are to be omitted rather than the former. For by as much as the spirit is better than the body, by so much is spiritual exercise more fruitful than corporal. When you, therefore, puffed up by the observance of these things, disparage others who do not observe them, do you not show yourself to be a greater transgressor of the Rule, since, while holding to certain minimal things, you avoid the better ones, of which Paul says: "Be zealous," he says, "for the better gifts"? (I Cor. XII, 31.) Indeed, by detracting from the brethren, in which you extol yourself, you lose humility; in which you put others down, you lose charity: which are without doubt the better gifts. You wear out your body with many and excessive labors, and with the rigors of the rule you mortify your members which are upon the earth. You do well.

Sed quid si ille quem similiter non laborantem dijudicas, modicum quidem habeat de hac, quae ad modicum est utilis, corporali videlicet exercitatione; amplius autem quam tu de illa, quae ad omnia valet, id est pietate? Quis, quaeso, vestrum Regulam melius tenet? Annon melius qui melior? Quis vero melior, humilior an fatigatior? Annon is qui a Domino didicit mitis esse et humilis corde (Matth. XI, 29), qui et cum Maria optimam partem elegit, quae non auferetur ab eo? (Luc. X, 42.)

Quod si Regulam ab omnibus qui eam professi sunt, sic ad litteram tenendam censes, ut nullam omnino dispensationem admitti patiaris, audacter dico, nec tu eam, nec ille tenetis. Nam etsi ille quantum quidem pertinet ad observationes corporeas, in pluribus offendit, impossibile est tamen te quoque vel in uno non transgredi. Scis autem quia in uno offendit, omnium est reus. Sin vero concedas aliqua posse mutari dispensatorie, procul dubio et tu illam tenes, et ille, quanquam dissimiliter: nam tu quidem districtius, at ille fortasse discretius. Neque hoc dico, quia haec exteriora negligenda sint; aut qui se in illis non exercuerit, mox ideo spiritualis efficiatur: cum potius spiritualia (quanquam 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 (I Cor. XV, 46). Sicut nec Jacob, nisi prius cognita Lia, desideratos Rachelis amplexus meruit obtinere. Unde rursus in psalmo, Sumite psalmum, et date tympanum (Psal. LXXX, 3): quod est dicere, Sumite spiritualia, sed prius date corporalia. Optimus autem ille, qui discrete et congrue et haec operatur, et illa.

Jam vero epistola, ut epistola remaneat, finienda erat, quandoquidem et nostros (de quibus, pater, conquestus estis, quod Ordini vestro detraherent) satis, quantum potui, stylo corripui; et me quoque ab hujusmodi falsa suspicione purgavi, ut debui. Sed quoniam dum nostris minime parco, nonnullis de vestris nimium, in quibus non decet, videor assentire; pauca quae et vobis displicere cognovi, et omnibus bonis vitanda esse non dubito, necessarium reor subungere: quae quidem etsi fieri videntur in Ordine, absit tamen ut sint de Ordine! Nullus quippe ordo quidpiam recipit inordinatum: quod vero inordinatum est, ordo non est. Unde non adversum Ordinem, sed pro Ordine disputare putandus ero, si non Ordinem in hominibus, sed hominum vitia reprehendo. Et quidem diligentibus Ordinem in hac re molestum me fore non timeo: quinimo gratum procul dubio accepturi sunt, si persequimur quod et ipsi oderunt. Si quibus vero displicuerit, ipsi se manifestant, quia Ordinem non diligunt, cujus utique corruptionem, id est vitia, damnari nolunt. Ipsis itaque illud Gregorianum respondeo: «Melius est ut scandalum oriatur, quam veritas relinquatur.» (Homil. 7 in Ezech.)

But what if he whom you judge for not laboring in like manner, has indeed little of this corporal exercise, which is useful for a little, but more than you of that which is profitable for all things, that is, piety? Which of you, I ask, keeps the Rule better? Is it not he who is better? But who is better, the more humble or the more fatigued? Is it not he who has learned from the Lord to be meek and humble of heart (Matth. XI, 29), who also with Mary has chosen the better part, which shall not be taken away from him? (Luc. X, 42.)

But if you think that the Rule must be kept so literally by all who have professed it that you would allow no dispensation whatsoever, I say boldly, neither you nor he keeps it. For even if he, as far as corporal observances are concerned, offends in many things, it is nevertheless impossible for you not to transgress in at least one. But you know that he who offends in one point is guilty of all. If, however, you grant that some things can be changed by dispensation, without doubt both you and he keep it, although differently: for you do so more strictly, but he perhaps more discreetly. Nor do I say this because these exterior things are to be neglected, or because he who has not exercised himself in them should for that reason immediately become spiritual; since rather the spiritual things (although better), are either acquired or obtained through these, or scarcely, or not at all, as it is written: "Not first that which is spiritual, but that which is animal; then that which is spiritual" (I Cor. XV, 46). Just as Jacob did not merit to obtain the desired embraces of Rachel until he had first known Leah. Whence again in the psalm, "Take a psalm, and bring hither the timbrel" (Psal. LXXX, 3): which is to say, "Take up the spiritual, but first give the corporal." But he is best who works both these and those, discreetly and fittingly.

Now indeed the letter, that it might remain a letter, should have been ended, since I have sufficiently, as much as I could, rebuked with my pen our own men (of whom, Father, you complained that they were detracting from your Order); and I have also, as I ought, cleared myself of such a false suspicion. But since, while I do not spare our own, I seem to agree too much with some of yours in matters where it is not fitting, I think it necessary to add a few things which I know displease you also, and which I do not doubt must be avoided by all good men: which things, although they seem to be done in the Order, may it be far from the case that they are of the Order! For no order admits anything inordinate; but what is inordinate, is not order. Whence I should be thought to argue not against the Order, but for the Order, if I reprehend not the Order in men, but the vices of men. And indeed I do not fear that I shall be troublesome in this matter to those who love the Order; nay rather, they will undoubtedly receive it gratefully if we pursue what they themselves also hate. But if it should displease any, they themselves make it manifest that they do not love the Order, whose corruption, that is, its vices, they are unwilling to have condemned. To them, therefore, I give that response of Gregory: "It is better that a scandal arise, than that the truth be abandoned." (Homil. 7 in Ezech.)

CAPUT VIII.

Cluniacensium vitia, virtutum nomine palliata, perstringit.

Dicitur, et veraciter creditur, sanctos patres illam vitam instituisse; et ut in ea plures salvarentur, usque ad infirmos Regulae temperasse rigorem, non Regulam destruxisse. Absit autem ut credam, tantas eos, quantas video in plerisque monasteriis, vanitates ac superfluitates praecepisse, vel concessisse. Miror etenim unde inter monachos tanta intemperantia in comessionibus et potationibus, in vestimentis et lectisterniis, et equitaturis, et construendis aedificiis inolescere potuit: quatenus ubi haec studiosius, voluptuosius, atque effusius fiunt, ibi ordo melius teneri dicatur, ibi major putetur religio. Ecce enim parcitas putatur avaritia, sobrietas austeritas creditur, silentium tristitia reputatur. Econtra remissio discretio dicitur; effusio, liberalitas; loquacitas, affabilitas; cachinnatio, jucunditas; mollities vestimentorum et equorum fastus, honestas; lectorum superfluus cultus, munditia. Cumque haec alterutrum impendimus, charitas appellatur. Ista charitas destruit charitatem, haec discretio discretionem confundit. Talis misericordia crudelitate plena est, qua videlicet ita corpori servitur, ut anima juguletur. Quae etenim charitas est, carnem diligere, et spiritum negligere? quaeve discretio totum dare corpori, et animae nihil? qualis vero misericordia, ancillam reficere, et dominam interficere? Nemo pro huiusmodi misericordia speret se consequi misericordiam, quae misericordibus promittitur in Evangelio, Veritatis ore dicentis, Beati misericordes quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur (Matth. V, 7): sed certissime potius poenam exspectet, quam tali, ut ita dicam, impio misericordiam sanctus Job magis prophetizando, quam affectando imprecatur, Non sit, inquit, in recordatione, sed conteratur quasi lignum infructuosum. Dignae plane retributionis causam mox subinfert satis idoneam, dicens: Pavit enim sterilem, et quae non parit, et viduae non benefecit (Job XXIV, 20, 21).

Inordinata profecto atque irrationabilis misericordia est, sterilis et infructuosae carnis (quae juxta Domini verbum non prodest quidquam [Joan. VI, 64], et secundum Apostolum regnum Dei non possidebit [I Cor. XV, 50]) adimplendis invigilare desideriiis, et de animae cura Sapientis saluberrimum non curare consilium, admonentis atque dicentis: Miserere animae tuae placens Deo (Eccli. XXX, 24). Bona misericordia, misereri animae tuae; nec potest non mereri misericordiam, qua fit ut placeas Deo.

CHAPTER VIII.

He touches upon the vices of the Cluniacs, cloaked under the name of virtues.

It is said, and truly believed, that the holy fathers instituted that life; and so that more might be saved in it, they tempered the rigor of the Rule even for the weak, but they did not destroy the Rule. But far be it from me to believe that they commanded or permitted such vanities and superfluities as I see in most monasteries. For I wonder whence such great intemperance in eating and drinking, in clothing and bedding, in horse-riding and in the construction of buildings could have grown so strong among monks: to the extent that where these things are done more studiously, more voluptuously, and more lavishly, there the order is said to be better kept, there religion is thought to be greater. For behold, parsimony is considered avarice, sobriety is believed to be austerity, silence is reputed as sadness. On the contrary, laxity is called discretion; extravagance, liberality; talkativeness, affability; loud laughter, joyfulness; softness of clothing and pride of horses, decency; superfluous care of beds, cleanliness. And when we bestow these things on one another, it is called charity. This charity destroys charity, this discretion confounds discretion. Such mercy is full of cruelty, by which, namely, the body is so served that the soul is strangled. For what charity is it to love the flesh and neglect the spirit? Or what discretion to give everything to the body and nothing to the soul? What kind of mercy, indeed, is it to refresh the handmaiden and kill the mistress? Let no one hope to obtain for this kind of mercy the mercy which is promised to the merciful in the Gospel, by the mouth of Truth saying, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy" (Matt. 5:7): but rather let him most certainly expect the punishment which holy Job, prophesying rather than wishing, imprecates upon such an, so to speak, impious merciful man, saying, "Let him not be in remembrance, but be broken in pieces like an unfruitful tree." He then immediately adds a very suitable reason for this just retribution, saying: "For he has fed the barren woman that bears not, and has done no good to the widow" (Job 24:20-21).

It is indeed a disordered and irrational mercy to be vigilant in fulfilling the desires of the sterile and unfruitful flesh (which, according to the Lord's word, "profits nothing" [John 6:64], and according to the Apostle, "will not possess the kingdom of God" [1 Cor. 15:50]), and to disregard the most salutary counsel of the Wise Man concerning the care of the soul, who admonishes and says: "Have pity on your own soul, pleasing God" (Ecclus. 30:24). It is a good mercy to have pity on your own soul; nor can it fail to merit mercy, by which it comes about that you please God.

Alias autem non est misericordia, sicut jam dixi, sed crudelitas; non est charitas, sed iniquitas; non discretio, sed confusio, sterilem quae non parit pascere, id est, inutilis carnis concupiscentiis inservire; et viduae nil boni facere, animae videlicet excolendis virtutibus nullam operam dare. Quae utique, licet Sponso interim sit viduata coelesti, sensus tamen de Spiritu sancto concipere et parere non desinit immortales; qui videlicet incorruptibilis coelestisque haereditatis valeant esse capaces, sed si pium habeant studiosumque cultorem.

Sub hac tamen abusione jam fere ubique sic pro ordine tenentur, fere jam ita ab omnibus sine querela atque irreprehensibiliter observantur; quanquam dissimiliter. Nonnulli quippe his omnibus tanquam non utentes utuntur; et ideo aut cum nulla offensa, aut cum minima. Aliquanti quippe haec agunt ex simplicitate, aliquanti ex charitate, aliquanti ex necessitate. Quidam namque simpliciter ista tenent, quoniam sic eis praecipitur; parati aliter agere, si aliter praeciperetur. Quidam autem ne discorder vivant ab eis cum quibus habitant; sectantes in his, non suam libidinem, sed aliorum pacem. Alii vero, quia resistere non valent multitudini contradicentium, qui haec utique tanquam pro Ordine libera voce defendunt; et quoties isti aliqua, prout ratio dictat, restringere vel mutare incipiunt illi, mox tota eis auctoritate resistunt.

CAPUT IX.

Eorumdem intemperantiam comparat cum antiquorum monachorum parcimonia.

19. Quis in principio, cum Ordo coepit monasticus, ad tantam crederet monachos inertiam devenire? O quantum distamus ab his qui in diebus Antonii exstiterent monachi! Siquidem illi cum se invicem per tempus ex charitate reviserent, tanta ab invicem aviditate panem animarum percipiebant, ut corporis cibum penitus obliti, diem plerumque totum jejunis ventribus, sed non mentibus transigerent. Et hic erat rectus ordo, quando digniori parti prius inserviebatur: haec summa discretio, cum amplius sumebat quae major erat: haec denique vera charitas, ubi animae, quarum charitate Christus mortuus est, tanta sollicitudine refocillabantur. Nobis autem convenientibus in unum, ut verbis Apostoli utar, jam non est dominicam coenam manducare (I Cor. XI, 20). Panem quippe coelestem nemo est qui requirat, nemo qui tribuat. Nihil de Scripturis, nihi! de salute agitur animarum; sed nugae, et risus, et verba proferuntur in ventum. Inter prandendum quantum fauces dapibus, tantum aures pascuntur rumoribus: quibus totus intentus, modum nescias in edendo.

Otherwise, however, it is not mercy, as I have already said, but cruelty; it is not charity, but iniquity; not discretion, but confusion, to feed the barren one who does not bear, that is, to serve the concupiscences of the useless flesh; and to do no good to the widow, that is, to give no effort to cultivating the virtues of the soul. For the soul, although for a time it is widowed of its heavenly Spouse, nevertheless does not cease to conceive and bring forth immortal thoughts from the Holy Spirit; which, to be sure, can be capable of an incorruptible and heavenly inheritance, but only if they have a pious and diligent cultivator.

Nevertheless, under this abuse, these things are now held almost everywhere as part of the order, and are observed almost by all without complaint and as if irreprehensible; although in different ways. For some indeed make use of all these things as though not using them; and therefore either with no offense, or with very little. For some do these things out of simplicity, some out of charity, some out of necessity. For some simply hold to these things because it is so commanded them, ready to act otherwise if it were otherwise commanded. Others, however, do so lest they live in discord with those with whom they dwell, seeking in these things not their own pleasure, but the peace of others. Still others, because they are not able to resist the multitude of those who contradict them, who indeed defend these things with a free voice as if for the Order; and as often as the former begin to restrict or change anything, as reason dictates, the latter immediately resist them with all their authority.

CHAPTER IX.

He compares their intemperance with the frugality of the ancient monks.

19. Who, in the beginning, when the monastic Order began, would have believed that monks would arrive at such great indolence? O how far we are from those who were monks in the days of Antony! Indeed, when they visited one another from time to time out of charity, they received the bread of souls from each other with such eagerness that, completely forgetting the food of the body, they would often spend the whole day with empty stomachs, but not empty minds. And this was the right order, when the more worthy part was served first; this was the highest discretion, when that which was greater took more; this, finally, was true charity, where souls, for whose love Christ died, were refreshed with such great solicitude. But when we come together, to use the words of the Apostle, it is no longer to eat the Lord's supper (I Cor. 11:20). For there is no one who seeks the heavenly bread, no one who gives it. Nothing is said of the Scriptures, nothing of the salvation of souls; but trifles, and laughter, and words are uttered to the wind. During the meal, as much as the throat is fed with dishes, so much are the ears fed with rumors; wholly intent on these, you know no measure in eating.

20. Interim autem fercula ferculis apponuntur: et pro solis carnibus, a quibus abstinetur, grandia piscium corpora duplicantur. Cumque prioribus fueris satiatus, si secundos attigeris, videberis tibi necdum gustasse priores [al. pisces]. Tanta quippe accurate et arte coquorum cuncta apparantur, quatenus quatuor aut quinque ferculis devoratis, prima non impediant novissima, nec satietas minuatur appetitum. Palatum quippe, dum novellis seducitur condimentis, paulatim dissuescere cognita, et ad succos extraneos, veluti adhuc jejunum, avide renovatur in desideria. Venter quidem, dum nescit [al. vescitur]. operatur, sed varietas tollit fastidium. Quia enim puras, ut eas natura creavit, epulas fastidimus, dum aliae aliis multifarie permiscuntur, et spretis naturalibus, quos Deus indidit rebus, quibusdam adulterinis gula provocatur saporibus; transitur nimirum meta necessitatis, sed necdum delectatio superatur. Quis enim dicere sufficit, quot modis (ut caetera taceam) sola ova versantur et vexantur, quanto studio evertuntur, subvertuntur, liquantur, durantur, diminuuntur; et nunc quidem frixa, nunc assa, nunc farsa, nunc mistim, nunc singillatim apponuntur? Utquid autem haec omnia, nisi ut soli fastidio consulatur? Ipsa deinde qualitas rerum talis de foris apparere curatur, ut non minus aspectus, quam gustus delectetur: et cum jam stomachus crebris ructibus repletum se indicet, necdum tamen curiositas satiatur. Sed dum oculi coloribus, palatum saporibus illiciuntur, infelix stomachus, cui nec colores lucent, nec sapor demulcent, dum omnia suscipere cogitur, oppressus magis obruitur quam reficitur.

21. Jam vero de aquae potu quid dicam, quando ne ullo quidem pacto vinum aquatum admittitur? Omnes nimirum, ex quo monachi sumus, infirmos stomachos habemus, et tam necessarium Apostoli de utendo vino consilium merito non negligimus, modico tamen, quod ille praemisit (I Tim. V, 23), nescio cur praetermisso. Et utinam vel solo, cum etiam purum est, contenti essemus! Pudet dicere, sed magis pudeat actitari; et, si pudet audiri, non pudeat emendari. Videas uno in prandio ter, vel quater, semiplenum calicem reportari: quatenus diversis vinis magis odoratis, quam potatis, nec tam haustis quam attactis, sagaci probatione et celeri cognitione unum tandem e pluribus, quod fortius sit, eligatur. Quale est autem illud, quod nonnulla monasteria ex more observare dicuntur, in magnis videlicet festis vina delibuta melle, pigmentorum respersa pulveribus, in conventu bibere? Nunquid et hoc fieri dicemus propter infirmitatem stomachi? Ego vero ad nihil aliud valere video, nisi ut vel amplius bibatur, vel delectabilius. Sed cum venae fuerint vino ingurgitatae, toto in capite palpitantes, sic surgenti a mensa quid aliud libet, nisi dormire? Si autem ad vigilias surgere indigestum cogis, non cantum, sed planctum potius extorquebis.

20. Meanwhile, however, courses are piled upon courses; and in place of meat alone, from which they abstain, huge bodies of fish are served in double portions. And when you have been sated with the first, if you touch the second, it will seem to you that you have not yet tasted the first [or: fish]. For everything is prepared with such care and art by the cooks that, after four or five courses have been devoured, the first do not hinder the last, nor does satiety diminish the appetite. Indeed, the palate, while it is seduced by new seasonings, gradually unlearns what is familiar, and is avidly renewed in its desires for exotic juices, as if it were still fasting. The stomach, indeed, while it does not know [or: is fed], works, but variety removes the disgust. For because we disdain pure foods, as nature created them, while some are mixed with others in many ways, and, spurning the natural flavors which God instilled in things, the gullet is provoked by certain artificial tastes; the limit of necessity is indeed passed, but delight is not yet overcome. For who can sufficiently say in how many ways (to say nothing of the rest) eggs alone are turned and tormented, with what zeal they are turned over, turned under, liquefied, hardened, minced; and now served fried, now roasted, now stuffed, now mixed, now separately? But for what purpose is all this, if not solely to cater to fastidiousness? Then, care is taken that the quality of the things appears such on the outside that the sight is no less delighted than the taste: and when the stomach, by frequent belching, indicates it is full, curiosity is nevertheless not yet sated. But while the eyes are enticed by colors and the palate by flavors, the unhappy stomach, for which colors do not shine nor flavors soothe, while it is forced to receive everything, is more overwhelmed and crushed than refreshed.

21. Now what shall I say about the drinking of water, when not even wine mixed with water is admitted under any circumstances? For we all, it seems, since we became monks, have weak stomachs, and we rightly do not neglect the Apostle's so necessary counsel about using wine, though for some reason omitting the "a little" which he prefixed (I Tim. 5:23). And would that we were content with it alone, even when it is pure! It is shameful to say, but it should be more shameful to do; and if it is shameful to hear, it should not be shameful to amend. You may see in a single meal a half-full cup brought back three or four times, so that from various wines, more smelled than drunk, not so much drained as touched, one may finally be chosen from the many, the one that is stronger, by shrewd tasting and quick recognition. And what of that custom which some monasteries are said to observe, namely, on great feasts to drink in community wines sweetened with honey and sprinkled with powders of spices? Shall we say that this too is done on account of a weak stomach? I, for my part, see it serving no other purpose than that one may drink either more or more delightfully. But when the veins have been gorged with wine, throbbing in the whole head, what else pleases one who rises thus from the table, but to sleep? But if you force an undigested man to rise for vigils, you will extort from him not a song, but rather a lament.

22. Cum vero ad lectum devenero, requisitus incommodum plango, non crapulae peccatum, sed quod manducare non queo. Ridiculum vero (si tamen verum est) quod relatum est mihi a pluribus, qui hoc se pro certo scire dicebant, reticendum esse non arbitror. Aiunt enim incolumes ac validos juvenes conventum solere deserere, in domo se infirmorum, qui non sunt infirmi, collocare; carniū esu (qui vix aegrotis duntaxat, et omnino debilibus ex Regulae discretionē pro viriū reparatione conceditur [Reg. S. Benedicti, capp. 31, 39]) non quidem corporis infirmantis ruinas reficere pro incommodo, sed carnis luxuriantis curam perficere in desiderio. Rogo, quae est haec securitas, inter frendentium undique hostium fulgurantes hastas et circumvolantia spicula, tauquam finito jam bello et triumphato adversario, projicere arma, et aut prandiis incubare longioribus, aut nudum molli volutari in lectulo? Quid hoc ignaviae est, o boni milites? Sociis in sanguine et caede versantibus, vos aut cibos diligitis delicatos, aut somnos capitis matutinos? Aliis, inquam, nocte et die cura pervigili festinantibus redimere tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt; vos econtrario et longas noctes dormitando consumitis, et dies fabulando ducitis otiosos? An dicitis, Pax, et non est pax? cur vel non verecundamini ad exprobrationem apostolicae indignationis? Nondum enim, ait, restitistis usque ad sanguinem (Hebr. XII, 3). Imo jam ad ejusdem terribilis valde comminationis tonitruum cur non expergiscimini? Cum dixerint, inquit, Pax et securitas; tunc repentinus eis superveniet interitus, sicut dolor in utero habentis, et non effugient (I Thess. V, 3). Delicata nimis medicina est, prius alligari quam vulnerari, membrum non percussum plangere, et necdum suscepto ictu admovere manum, fovere unguento ubi non dolet, emplastrum adhibere ubi caesura non est.

23. Ad discernendum deinde inter sanos et male habentes, baculos in manibus portare jubentur aegrotantes, plane necessarios: ut quam pallor in vultu, maciesque non indicat, baculus sustentans mentiatur invaletudinem. Ridendas, an lugendas dixerim hujusmodi ineptias? Sic Macarius vixit? sic Basilius docuit? sic Antonius instituit? sic patres in Aegypto conversati sunt? sic denique sancti Odo, Maiolus, Odilo, Hugo, quos se sui utique Ordinis principes et praeceptores habere gloriantur, aut tenuerunt, aut teneri censuerunt? Sed hi omnes, si sancti, imo quia sancti fuerunt, a sancto Apostolo non dissenserunt, qui nimirum ita loquitur: Habentes victum ei vestitum, his contenti sumus (I Tim. VI, 8). Nobis autem est pro victu satietas, nec vestitum appetimus, sed ornatum. CAPUT X. Vestium ornatum luxumque in eisdem persequitur.

22. But when I get to bed, if asked, I lament my discomfort, not the sin of gluttony, but that I cannot eat. But I do not think I should keep silent about a ridiculous thing (if it is indeed true) which has been reported to me by several people, who said they knew it for a fact. For they say that healthy and strong young men are accustomed to leave the community and place themselves in the infirmary, though they are not infirm; by eating meat (which, by the discretion of the Rule, is scarcely granted even to the sick and utterly weak for the restoration of their strength [Rule of St. Benedict, ch. 31, 39]) they do not repair the ruins of a failing body on account of discomfort, but rather perfect the care of their lustful flesh in its desire. I ask you, what security is this, amidst the flashing spears and flying darts of gnashing enemies on all sides, to cast away your weapons as if the war were already over and the adversary vanquished, and either to brood over longer meals or to roll naked on a soft little bed? What cowardice is this, O good soldiers? While your comrades are engaged in blood and slaughter, do you either love delicate foods or take morning naps? While others, I say, hasten night and day with watchful care to redeem the time, because the days are evil; do you, on the contrary, both consume the long nights in sleeping and pass the days idly in gossiping? Or do you say, "Peace," when there is no peace? Why are you not even ashamed at the reproach of apostolic indignation? "For you have not yet," he says, "resisted to the point of shedding blood" (Heb. 12:3). Indeed, why do you not now awaken at the thunder of that same very terrible threat? "When they shall say," he says, "'Peace and security'; then sudden destruction will come upon them, as labor pains upon a pregnant woman, and they will not escape" (I Thess. 5:3). It is too delicate a medicine to be bandaged before being wounded, to lament a limb that has not been struck, and to apply the hand before a blow has been received, to soothe with ointment where there is no pain, to apply a plaster where there is no cut.

23. Then, to distinguish between the healthy and the unwell, the sick are ordered to carry staffs in their hands, clearly necessary, so that the supporting staff may feign the infirmity which pallor in the face and thinness do not indicate. Should I say such follies are to be laughed at, or lamented? Did Macarius live thus? Did Basil teach thus? Did Antony establish thus? Did the fathers in Egypt live thus? Finally, did Saints Odo, Majolus, Odilo, Hugh, whom they boast of having as princes and teachers of their Order, either hold to this or judge that it should be held? But all these, if they were saints, indeed because they were saints, did not dissent from the holy Apostle, who speaks thus: "Having food and clothing, with these we are content" (I Tim. 6:8). But for us, instead of sustenance we have satiety, and we do not seek clothing, but ornament. CHAPTER X. He pursues the ornamentation and luxury of their clothing.

24. Quaeritur ad induendum, non quod utilius, sed quod subtilius inveniatur: non quod repellat frigus, sed quod superbire compellat: non denique juxta Regulam, «quod vilius comparari potest» (Reg. S. Benedicti, cap. 55), sed quod venustius, imo vanius ostentari. Heu me miserum qualemcunque monachum! cur adhuc vivo videre ad id devenisse Ordinem nostrum, Ordinem scilicet qui primus fuit in Ecclesia, imo a quo coepit Ecclesia; quo nullus in terra similior angelicis ordinibus, nullus vicinior ei quae in coelis est Jerusalem mater nostra, sive ob decorem castitatis, sive propter charitatis ardorem; cujus Apostoli institutores, cujus hi, quos Paulus tam saepe sanctos appellat, inchoatores exstiterunt? Et quidem inter illos cum nihil quod suum esset quispiam retinuisset, dividebatur, ut scriptum est, singulis, prout cuique opus erat: non igitur quod quisque pueriliter gestire [al. gestare] poterat. Sane ubi tantum quod opus erat accipiebatur, ibi nihil procul dubio otiosum admittebatur: quanto magis nihil curiosum? quanto magis nihil superbum? Quod, inquit, opus erat; hoc est quantum ad indumenta, quod et nuditatem tegetet, et frigus repelleret. Putasne ibi cuiquam galabrum aut isembrum quaerebatur ad induendum; cuiquam ducentorum solidorum mula parabatur ad equitandum? Putasne, inquam, cujuspiam ibi lectulum opertorium cattinum, aut discolor barricanus operiebat, ubi singulis dividebatur tantum, prout cuique opus erat? Non illic arbitror valde curatum fuisse de pretio, de colore, de cultu vestimentorum, ubi tam indefessum inerat studium in concordia morum, animorum cohaerentia, profectuque virtutum. Multitudinis, inquit, credentium erat cor unum, et anima una (Act. IV, 32, 35).

25. Ubi nunc illud unanimatis exercitium? Fusi sumus exterius, et de regno Dei quod intra nos est, relictis veris ac perennibus bonis, foris quaerimus vanam consolationem de vanitatibus et insaniis falsis: ac jam religionis antiquae non solum virtutem amisimus, sed nec speciem retinemus. Ecce enim ipse habitus noster (quod et dolens dico), qui humilitatis esse solebat insigne, a monachis temporis nostri in signum gestatur superbiae. Vix jam in nostris provinciis invenimus, quo vestiri dignemur. Miles et monachus ex eodem panno partiuntur sibi cucullam et chlamydem. Quivis de saeculo, quantumlibet honoratus, etiamsi rex, etiamsi imperator ille fuerit, non tamen nostra horrebit indumenta, si suo sibi modo praeparata fuerint et aptata.

24. For clothing, what is sought is not what is more useful, but what is finer; not what repels the cold, but what compels one to be proud; not, finally, according to the Rule, "what can be obtained more cheaply" (Rule of St. Benedict, ch. 55), but what can be displayed more elegantly, or rather, more vainly. Alas, wretched monk that I am! Why do I still live to see our Order come to this—the Order which was the first in the Church, indeed from which the Church began; than which none on earth is more like the angelic orders, none closer to that Jerusalem which is in heaven, our mother, whether for the beauty of its chastity or for the ardor of its charity; whose founders were the Apostles, whose beginners were those whom Paul so often calls saints? And indeed, among them, since no one retained anything as his own, "distribution was made," as it is written, "to each as any had need": not, therefore, what each could childishly delight in [or: wear]. Surely, where only what was needed was received, there without doubt nothing idle was admitted: how much less anything for show? how much less anything for pride? "What was needed," it says; that is, as for clothing, what would both cover nakedness and repel the cold. Do you think that there anyone sought a brown or grey-brown garment to wear; that for anyone a mule worth two hundred solidi was prepared for riding? Do you think, I say, that anyone's little bed was covered there by a cat-fur coverlet or a multi-colored barracan, where to each was distributed only as much as he had need? I do not think that much care was taken there for the price, the color, or the style of clothing, where there was such an indefatigable zeal for harmony of conduct, coherence of minds, and progress in virtues. "The multitude of believers," it says, "had one heart and one soul" (Acts 4:32, 35).

25. Where now is that practice of unanimity? We have been poured out externally, and concerning the kingdom of God which is within us, having abandoned true and perennial goods, we seek outside a vain consolation from vanities and false madresses: and now we have not only lost the virtue of the ancient religion, but we do not even retain its appearance. For behold, our very habit (which I say with sorrow), which used to be a mark of humility, is worn by the monks of our time as a sign of pride. We can now scarcely find in our provinces anything we deign to be clothed with. The soldier and the monk divide the same cloth between them for a cowl and a cloak. Any person from the world, however honored, even if he were a king or an emperor, would not shrink from our garments, if they were prepared and fitted for him in his own way.

26. Caeterum in habitu, inquis, non est religio, sed in corde. Bene. At tu quando cucullam empturus lustras urbes, fora circuis, percurris nundinas, domos scrutaris negotiatorum, cunctam evertis singulorum supellectilem, ingentes explicas cumulos pannorum, attrectas digitis, admoves oculis, solis apponis radio; quidquid grossum, quidquid pallidum occurrerit, respuis; si quid autem sui puritate ac nitore placuerit, illud mox quantolibet pretio satagis tibi retinere: rogo te, ex corde facis haec, an simpliciter? Cum denique contra Regulam, non quod vilius occurrerit, sed studiosissime quaeris, quod quia rarius invenitur, pretiosius emitur; ignorans facis haec, an ex industria? Ex cordis thesauro sine dubio procedit, quidquid foris apparet vitiorum. Vanum cor vanitatis notam ingerit corpori; et exterior superfluitas interior is vanitatis indicium est. Mollia indumenta animi molliem indicant. Non tanto curaretur corporis cultus, nisi prius neglecta fuisset mens inculta virtutibus.

Miror autem, cum Regula dicat, ad magistrum respicere quidquid a discipulis delinquitur (Reg. S. Benedicti, cap. 2); et Dominus per prophetam sanguinem in peccato morientium de manu pastorum requirendum esse minetur (Ezech. III, 18), quomodo abbates nostri patiantur fieri talia; nisi forte (si audeam dicere) nemo fidenter reprehendit, in quo se esse irreprehensibilem non confidit. Siquidem humanitatis est omnium, in quo sibi quisque indulget, aliis non vehementer irasci. Dicam, dicam; praesumptuosus dicar, sed verum dicam. Quomodo lux mundi obtenebrata est? quomodo sal terrae infatuatum est? Quorum nobis vita, via vitae debuit esse, dum exemplum in suis actibus ostendunt superbiae, caeci facti sunt duces caecorum. Quod enim (ut caetera taceam) specimen humilitatis est, cum tanta pompa et equitatu incedere, tantis hominum crinitorum stipari obsequiis; quatenus duobus episcopis unius abbatis multitudo sufficiat? Mentior, si non vidi abbatem sexaginta equos, et eo amplius in suo ducere comitatu. Dicas, si videas eos transeuntes, non patres esse monasteriorum, sed dominos castellorum; non rectores animarum, sed principes provinciarum. Tum deinde gestari jubentur mappulae, scyphi, bacini, candelabra, et manticae suffarcinatae, non stramentis, sed ornamentis lectulorum. Vix denique quatuor leucis a sua quispiam domo recedit, nisi cum tota supellectili sua, tanquam sit vel iturus ad exercitum, vel transiturus per desertum, ubi non valeant inveniri necessaria. Annon posset eodem vasculo et aqua manibus vergi, et vinum bibi? Annon posset ardens lucere lucerna, nisi in tuo quod portas candelabro, et hoc aureo, vel argenteo? Annon posset dormire, nisi super varium stratum, aut sub peregrino coopertorio?

26. "But," you say, "religion is not in the habit, but in the heart." Good. But when you, about to buy a cowl, survey the cities, go around the markets, run through the fairs, search the houses of merchants, turn over all the stock of each one, unfold huge piles of cloth, handle them with your fingers, bring them close to your eyes, hold them up to a ray of sunlight; whatever coarse or pale thing you find, you reject; but if anything pleases you by its purity and sheen, you immediately strive to keep it for yourself at any price: I ask you, do you do this from the heart, or simply? When, finally, against the Rule, you seek not what is cheaper, but most studiously what, because it is found more rarely, is bought more dearly; do you do this in ignorance, or deliberately? From the treasure of the heart, without doubt, proceeds whatever of vices appears outwardly. A vain heart imposes the mark of vanity on the body; and exterior superfluity is an indication of interior vanity. Soft garments indicate softness of soul. The care of the body would not be so great, had not the mind, uncultivated in virtues, first been neglected.

I wonder, however, since the Rule says that whatever is done amiss by the disciples is the master's concern (Rule of St. Benedict, ch. 2), and the Lord threatens through the prophet that the blood of those who die in sin will be required from the hand of the shepherds (Ezekiel 3:18), how our abbots can permit such things to happen; unless perhaps (if I may dare to say so) no one confidently rebukes in another that in which he does not trust himself to be irreproachable. Indeed, it is a universal human trait not to be vehemently angry with others for that in which one indulges oneself. I will speak, I will speak; I may be called presumptuous, but I will speak the truth. How has the light of the world been darkened? How has the salt of the earth lost its savor? They whose life ought to have been for us the way of life, by showing an example of pride in their actions, have become blind leaders of the blind. For what sign of humility is it (to say nothing of the rest) to proceed with such pomp and cavalry, to be surrounded by the services of so many long-haired men, that the retinue of one abbot would suffice for two bishops? I lie if I have not seen an abbot leading sixty horses, and even more, in his company. You would say, if you saw them passing, that they are not fathers of monasteries, but lords of castles; not directors of souls, but princes of provinces. Then, they order to be carried napkins, cups, basins, candelabra, and saddlebags stuffed not with straw bedding, but with bed-ornaments. Finally, a man scarcely departs four leagues from his own house unless with all his furnishings, as if he were either going to war or about to cross a desert where necessities cannot be found. Could not water be poured for the hands and wine be drunk from the same small vessel? Could not a burning lamp give light, unless in your own candelabrum which you carry, and that one of gold or silver? Could not one sleep, except upon a multicolored mattress, or under a foreign coverlet?

Annon unus aliquis minister posset et jumentum ligare, et ad mensam servire, et lectulum praeparare? Nunc ergo tantae multitudini garsionum ac jumentorum, cur, vel ad solatium mali, nobiscum non ferimus necessaria, quatenus hospites non gravemus?

CAPUT XII.

Luxum et abusum in templis et oratoriis exstruendis, ornandis, pingendis, arguit.

28. Sed haec parva sunt: veniam ad majora, sed ideo visa minora, quia usitatiora. Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudes, supervacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones, curiosas depictiones: quae dum orantium in se retorquent aspectum, impediunt et affectum, et mihi quodammodo repraesentant antiquum ritum Iudaeorum. Sed esto, fiant haec ad honorem Dei. Illud autem interrogo monachus monachos, quod in gentilibus gentilis arguebat: Dicite (ait ille), pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum? (PERS. sat. II, vers. 69.) Ego autem dico: Dicite, 539 pauperes: non enim attendo versum, sed sensum; dicite, inquam, pauperes, si tamen pauperes, in sancto quid facit aurum? Et quidem alia causa est episcoporum, alia monachorum. Scimus namque, quod illi sapientibus et insipientibus debitores cum sint, carnalis populi devotionem, quia spiritualibus non possunt, corporalibus excitant ornamentis. Nos vero qui jam de populo exivimus; qui mundi quaeque pretiosa ac speciosa pro Christo reliquimus; qui omnia pulchre lucentia, canore mulcentia, suave olentia, dulce sapientia, tactu placentia, cuncta denique oblectamenta corporea arbitrati sumus ut stercora, ut Christum lucrificamus: quorum, quaeso, in his devotionem excitare intendimus? Quem, inquam, ex his fructum requirimus? stultorum admirationem, an simplicium oblationem [al. oblectationem]? An quoniam commisti sumus inter gentes, forte didicimus opera eorum, et servimus adhuc sculptibilibus eorum?

28. Et ut aperte loquar, an hoc totum facit avaritia, quae est idolorum servitus, et non requirimus fructum, sed datum? Si quaeris, quomodo? Miro, inquam, modo. Tali quadam arte spargitur aes, ut multiplicetur. Expenditur ut augeatur, et effusio copiam parit. Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum quam ad orandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit: quia nescio quo pacto, ubi amplius divitiarum cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Auro tectis reliquiis saginantur oculi, et loculi aperiuntur.

Could not some single servant both tie up the beast of burden, and serve at table, and prepare the bed? Now therefore, for such a multitude of servants and beasts, why do we not, at least to mitigate the evil, carry our own necessities with us, so that we do not burden our hosts?

CHAPTER XII.

He argues against the luxury and abuse in the building, ornamenting, and painting of temples and oratories.

28. But these are small matters: I will come to greater ones, which seem lesser only because they are more common. I pass over the immense heights of the oratories, their immoderate lengths, their superfluous widths, the costly polishing, the curious paintings, which, while they draw the eyes of the worshipper, hinder their devotion, and in a way remind me of the ancient rite of the Jews. But let it be; let these things be done for the honor of God. But I, a monk, ask of monks what a pagan used to censure in pagans: "Tell me," he said, "O pontiffs, what has gold to do in a holy place?" (Persius, Sat. II, v. 69). But I say: Tell me, O poor men—for I do not heed the verse, but the sense—tell me, I say, you poor men, if indeed you are poor, what has gold to do in a holy place? And indeed, the case of bishops is one thing, that of monks another. For we know that they, being debtors to the wise and to the unwise, stir up the devotion of a carnal people with corporeal ornaments, since they cannot do so by spiritual means. But we who have now come out from the people; who have left all that is precious and beautiful in the world for Christ's sake; who have esteemed all things that shine with beauty, that soothe with song, that smell sweet, that taste sweet, that please the touch—in short, all bodily delights—as dung, that we may win Christ: whose devotion, I ask, do we intend to arouse by these things? What fruit, I say, do we seek from these things? The admiration of fools, or the offering of the simple [alternative reading: the delight of the simple]? Or is it because we have mingled with the nations that we have perhaps learned their works, and still serve their graven images?

28. And to speak plainly, does not avarice, which is the service of idols, cause all this, and do we not seek the gift rather than the fruit? If you ask, how? In a marvelous way, I say. By a certain art, money is scattered so that it may be multiplied. It is spent that it may be increased, and effusion brings forth abundance. Indeed, by the very sight of these sumptuous but marvelous vanities, men are more incited to give offerings than to pray. Thus riches are drawn out by riches, thus money attracts money: because, I know not how, where more wealth is seen, there one offers more willingly. The eyes are feasted on relics covered with gold, and the purses are opened.

Ostenditur pulcherrima forma sancti vel sanctae alicujus, et eo creditur sanctior, quo colorator. Currunt homines ad osculandum, invitantur ad donandum; et magis mirantur pulchra, quam venerantur sacra. Ponuntur dehinc in ecclesia gemmatae, non coronae, sed rotae, circumseptae lampadibus, sed non minus fulgentes insertis lapidibus. Cernimus et pro candelabris arbores quasdam erectas, multo aeris pondere, miro artificis opere fabricatas, nec magis coruscantes superpositis lucernis quam suis gemmis. Quid, putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? poenitentium compunctio, an intuentium admiratio? O vanitas vanitatum, sed non vanior quam insanior! Fulget ecclesia in parietibus, et in pauperibus eget. Suos lapides induit auro, et suos filios nudos deserit. De sumptibus egenorum servitur oculis divitum. Inveniunt curiosi quo delectentur, et non inveniunt miseri quo sustententur. Utquid saltem sanctorum imagines non reveremur, quibus utique ipsum, quod pedibus conculcatur, scatet pavementum? Saepe spuitur in ore angeli, saepe alicujus sanctorum facies calcibus tunditur transeuntium. Et si non sacris his imaginibus, cur vel non parcitur pulchris coloribus? Cur decoras quod mox foedandum est? cur depingis quod necesse est conculcari? Quid ibi valent venustae formae, ubi pulvere maculantur assiduo? Denique quid haec ad pauperes, ad monachos, ad spirituales viros? Nisi forte et hic adversus memoratum jam poetae versiculum propheticus ille respondeatur: Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae, et locum habitationis gloriae tuae (Psal. XXV, 8). Assentio: patiamur et haec fieri in ecclesia: quia etsi noxia sunt vanis et avaris, non tamen simplicibus et devotis.

29. Caeterum in claustris coram legentibus fratribus quid facit illa ridicula monstruositas, mira quaedam deformis formositas, ac formosa deformitas? Quid ibi immundae simiae? quid feri leones? quid monstruosi centauri? quid semihomines? quid maculosae tigrides? quid milites pugnantes? quid venatores tubicinantes? Videas sub uno capite multa corpora, et rursus in uno corpore capita multa. Cernitur hinc in quadrupede cauda serpentis, illinc in pisce caput quadrupedis. Ibi bestia praefert equum, capram trahens retro dimidiam; 540 hic cornutum animal equum gestat posterius. Tam multa denique, tamque mira diversarum formarum ubique varietas apparet, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando. Proh Deo! si non pudet ineptiarum, cur vel non piget expensarum?

A most beautiful form of some male or female saint is displayed, and the more colorful it is, the holier it is believed to be. People run to kiss it, they are invited to give; and they admire the beautiful things more than they venerate the sacred ones. Then there are placed in the church jeweled wheels, not crowns, surrounded by lamps, but shining no less from the inlaid stones. We see also, instead of candlesticks, certain trees erected, wrought with much weight of bronze and with marvelous skill of the artisan, glittering no more from the lights placed upon them than from their own gems. What, do you think, is sought in all these things? The compunction of penitents, or the admiration of onlookers? O vanity of vanities, but no more vain than insane! The church gleams in its walls, and is destitute in its poor. She clothes her stones with gold, and leaves her sons naked. The eyes of the rich are served with the resources of the needy. The curious find that which delights them, and the miserable do not find that which sustains them. Why at least do we not reverence the images of the saints, with which the very pavement, which is trodden underfoot, is teeming? Often one spits in the face of an angel, often the face of some saint is trampled by the heels of passers-by. And if not for these sacred images, why are not even the beautiful colors spared? Why do you decorate what is soon to be defiled? Why do you paint what must needs be trodden upon? What worth have lovely forms there, where they are stained by constant dust? Finally, what have these things to do with the poor, with monks, with spiritual men? Unless perhaps here too, against the aforementioned verse of the poet, that prophetic one might be answered: "Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth" (Psalm 25:8). I agree: let us suffer these things also to be done in the church, because although they are harmful to the vain and the avaricious, they are not so to the simple and devout.

29. But in the cloisters, before the reading brethren, what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, that certain marvelous, deformed beauty and beautiful deformity? What are unclean apes doing there? What fierce lions? What monstrous centaurs? What half-men? What spotted tigers? What fighting soldiers? What horn-blowing hunters? You may see many bodies under one head, and again, many heads on one body. Here is seen a serpent's tail on a quadruped, there a quadruped's head on a fish. There a beast presents the front of a horse, while dragging the hind half of a goat; 540 here a horned animal bears the rear of a horse. In short, so many and so marvelous a variety of diverse forms appears everywhere, that one is more tempted to read in the marbles than in the books, and to spend the whole day in admiring these single things, than in meditating on the law of God. For God's sake! If one is not ashamed of the follies, why does one not at least regret the expense?

CAPUT XIII.

Modos et media mutuae charitatis et pacis fovendae summatim colligit, denique transfugas instabilitatis notat.

30. Multa quidem et alia suggererat addenda larga materia; sed avellit me et propria satis anxia occupatio, et tua, frater Ogeri, nimis festina discessio, qui videlicet nec morari diutius acquiescis, nec abire tamen vis absque recenti opusculo. Facio itaque quod vis, et te dimitto, et sermonem brevior: praesertim quia utiliora sunt pauca in pace, quam multa cum scandalo! Et utinam haec pauca scripserim sine scandalo. Enimvero vitia carpens, scio me offendere vitiosos. Potest tamen fieri, volente Deo, aliquibus quos me timeo exasperasse, potius placitum esse, sed si desinant esse vitiosi: si videlicet, et districtiores desinant esse detractores, et remissiores amputent superfluitates; si sic quisque bonum teneat quod tenet, ut alium aliud tenentem non iudicet; si qui accepit jam esse bonus, non invidet melioribus; et qui sibi videtur agere melius, bonum non spernat alterius: si qui districtius vivere possunt, eos qui non possunt nec aspernentur, nec aemulentur; et qui non possunt, eos qui possunt sic mirentur, ut temere non imitentur. Sicut enim non licet his, qui majus aliquid forte voverunt, ad id quod minus est descendere, ne apostatentur: sic non omnibus expedit de bonis minoribus ad majora transire, ne praecipitentur.

31. Scio quippe nonnullos de aliis et congregationibus, et institutionibus, ad nostrum Ordinem pervolasse, pulsasse, intrasse: qui hoc quidem agendo, et suis scandala reliquerunt, et nobis nihilominus attulerunt, dum quantum illos sua temeraria discessione, tantum nos turbarunt sua misera conversatione. Et quoniam superbe spreverunt quod tenebant, et temere praesumpserunt quod non valebant; digno Deus exitu eorum tandem patefecit ignaviam: quia et impudenter deseruerunt quod imprudenter arripuerant, et turpiter redierunt ad id quod leviter deseruerant. Cum enim claustra nostra suis potius Ordinis impatientia, quam desiderio nostri expetierint; ostendunt quod sunt, dum a vobis ad nos, a nobis ad vos instabili levitate pervolantes, et nobis, et vobis, et omnibus bonis scandalum faciunt. Quanquam ergo nonnullos eorum noverimus, qui et fortiter Deo auctore coeperunt, et ipso protectore fortius perseverant; securius est tamen ut perseveremus in bono quod coepimus, quam quod incipiamus ubi non perseveremus; et hoc pariter omnes studeamus, quo secundum Apostoli consilium omnia nostra in charitate fiant (I Cor. XVI, 14).

CHAPTER XIII.

He briefly summarizes the ways and means of fostering mutual charity and peace; finally, he censures unstable deserters.

30. The ample subject matter indeed suggested that many other things should be added; but I am pulled away both by my own quite anxious occupation and by your too hasty departure, brother Oger, as you evidently do not consent to stay longer, nor yet do you wish to leave without a new little work. And so I do what you wish, and I let you go, and I shorten my discourse: especially since a few things in peace are more useful than many with scandal! And would that I have written these few things without scandal. For indeed, by censuring vices, I know that I offend the vicious. It can happen, however, God willing, that I will rather please some whom I fear I have exasperated, but only if they cease to be vicious: that is, if the more strict cease to be detractors, and the more lax cut off their superfluities; if each one so holds to the good that he has, that he does not judge another who holds to something else; if he who has already received the grace to be good does not envy those who are better, and he who seems to himself to be doing better does not spurn the good of another; if those who can live more strictly neither spurn nor envy those who cannot, and if those who cannot so admire those who can, that they do not rashly imitate them. For just as it is not permitted for those who have perhaps vowed something greater to descend to that which is less, lest they become apostates, so it is not expedient for all to pass from lesser goods to greater ones, lest they fall headlong.

31. For I know that some from other congregations and institutions have flown to our Order, knocked, and entered; who, in so doing, both left scandals for their own communities and nonetheless brought them to us, since they disturbed us by their wretched conduct as much as they disturbed the others by their rash departure. And since they proudly spurned what they held and rashly presumed what they were not capable of, God at last, by a fitting outcome, revealed their worthlessness: for they impudently deserted what they had imprudently seized, and shamefully returned to that which they had lightly deserted. For since they sought our cloisters more out of impatience with their own Order than from a desire for ours, they show what they are, while, flying from you to us and from us to you with unstable levity, they cause scandal to us, to you, and to all good people. Although, therefore, we have known some of them who began bravely with God as their author and persevere more bravely with Him as their protector, it is nevertheless safer that we persevere in the good we have begun than that we begin something in which we may not persevere; and let us all alike strive for this, that, according to the Apostle's counsel, *all that we do be done in charity* (1 Cor 16:14).

Haec est nostra de nostro, et de vestro Ordine sententia; haec nostris et vestris, haec non de vobis, sed vobis me solere dicere, nullus melius mihi testis erit quam vos, et si quis me novit sicut vos. Quae in vestris laudabilia sunt, laudo et praedico: si quae reprehendenda sunt, ut emendentur, vobis et aliis amicis meis suadere soleo. Hoc non est detractio, sed attractio. Quod ut nobis a vobis semper fiat, omnino precor et supplico. Valete.

This is our opinion concerning our Order and yours; that I am accustomed to say these things to our people and to yours, and to say them not about you but to you, no one will be a better witness for me than you, and anyone who knows me as you do. The things that are praiseworthy among you, I praise and proclaim; if there are things to be censured, I am accustomed to urge upon you and my other friends that they be corrected. This is not detraction, but attraction. That this may always be done for us by you, I altogether pray and beseech. Farewell.