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αἰωνίως. Anast. Sin. *quaest.* 21 p. 285 εἰ εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ κτισθέντα καλὰ βραχίως (leg. βεβραίως) καὶ αἰωνίως ἔξουσιν.

of future punishment ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 15. 11 ὁ παρὰ τοῦτο ποιῶν (i.e. maintaining that there are other gods but the one true God) αἰωνίως ἔχει κολασθῆναι, cf. 16. 2. Ath. *apol. c. Asian.* 88 μᾶλλον ἐλόμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον αἰσχυνθῆναι ἢ αἰωνίως τὴν τῶν συκοφαντῶν ὑπομέναι τιμωρίαν. Jo. Dam. *c. Manich.* 41 ἐγκαλέσατε μᾶλλον (Θεῷ) αἰωνίως κολάζοντι.

loosely always, of something which has an indefinitely long continuance ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 19. 23 ὁ κόσμος ὄργανόν ἐστι . . . ἵνα τῷ ἐσομένῳ ἄρρηνι αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τίκτηρ δικαίους αἰωνίους υἱούς. Meth. *synp.* 9. 2 τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἁμάρτημα λύσαντος θανάτῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀθανάτως ἁμαρτωλὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ᾖν . . . αἰωνίως κατάκριτος γενηθῆ. E. C. E. OWEN.

## ST ROBERT OF MOLESME

THE history of the origin of the Abbey of Molesme in 1075 and of the years there which preceded the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098, less, be it observed, than a quarter of a century, is admittedly a little difficult to unravel. Some learned authorities would detect a trace of chauvinism in William of Malmesbury's high estimate of the part played by St Stephen Harding in the great movement initiated from Molesme, an estimate which might seem to relegate to the background both St Robert and St Alberic. However this may be, this travelled man of Dorset, a *puero Schereburniae monachus*—'était-il réellement profès ou n'était-il tenu que par la promesse de son oblation, impossible de savoir'<sup>1</sup>—*sermone comis, facie jucundus, animo semper in Domino laetus*,<sup>2</sup> of whom Helinandus of Froidmont writes in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, obviously accepting William's estimate: *Pertinet ad gloriam Angliae quod talem virum genuerit qui hujus religionis auctor fuit et mediator. Is fuit Hardingus*;<sup>3</sup> he it was of whom the *Exordium Magnum*, in a context in which the author describes himself as a monk of Clairvaux in touch with the *seniores* of his house—a work written not earlier certainly than 1186, but probably not much later<sup>4</sup>—testifies: *Primus inter primos ferventissimo studio laboravit ac modis omnibus instituit ut locus et Ordo Cisterciensis institueretur*.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, in the *Exordium Parvum*, for which St Stephen himself was chiefly respon-

<sup>1</sup> Othon *Les Orig. Cisterc.* p. 129 (*Revue Mabillon*, 1932-1933).

<sup>2</sup> Guill. Malm. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* iv, *De Cisterciensibus*, ap. Stubbs *Rer. Britann. Script.* ii pp. 380 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Helid. *Frigid. Mont. Chron.* i 47 an. 1099, ap. *P.L.* ccxii 990.

<sup>4</sup> Watkin Williams *Studies in St Bernard of Clairvaux* p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Exord. Magn.* I xv.

sible, no such eulogy is to be found. Not that the context of any one of these passages would justify us in claiming that St Stephen was sole originator of a scheme, which amounted, let us remember, to a reform rather in observance of the Rule than in moral conduct; merely that, the scheme having been proposed, he was *primus inter primos* in giving it effect. Surely, *pertinet ad gloriam Angliae* that he should have been, if not, as the perhaps too generous statement of our French friend Helinandus puts it, the *auctor*, at least the *mediator*, or even the leading *mediator hujus religionis*. But let us discount the compliment and admit with Robert of Torigny that it was St Robert who, *Regulam S. Benedicti perscrutatus ad litteram, voluit persuadere discipulis suis ut labore manuum suarum viverent*.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the truth may be well summed up in the remark of Manriquez in the seventeenth century that, while to St Robert *creatio prima convenit* and to St Alberic *passio pro Cistercio*, it was St Stephen who *velut e nido Ordinem in immenso propagavit*.<sup>2</sup> After all, William of Malmesbury may not have been guilty of the alleged chauvinism in any great degree. A brief study of the only medieval Life of St Robert which is available may perhaps help to throw some light upon the subject.

A *Vita* of St Robert of Molesme, *auctore monacho Molismensi anonymo sub Adone abbate saeculo xii, ex ms. Bodecensi eruta a Joanne Gamans S.J., collata cum mss. Ultrajectino et Surio*, taken from the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, is to be found in the *Patrologia* of Migne.<sup>3</sup> The first-mentioned MS came from the *Monasterium Bodecense* (Bödeken) in the diocese of Paderborn in Westphalia. All that we can say of it now is that folios 472<sup>r</sup>-479<sup>r</sup> of the Brussels Bibl. Roy. MS 7773 provide a Life of St Robert taken *ex Bodecensis coenobii . . . Passionali pergameno MS insigni*, together with a prologue. This Brussels MS is entitled in its index *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis post impressionem reliqua* and so far speaks for itself. We may remark that *Gallia Christiana* records no Ado, Abbot of Molesme; but it records an Odo II, twenty-first abbot, who ruled from 1218 to c. 1233. This Odo *primus omnium miraculis S. Roberti testimonium perhibuit in inquisitione facta summi pontificis auctoritate; vi cujus anno sequenti 1222 idem S. Robertus catalogo sanctorum adscriptus est*.<sup>4</sup> The *Vita* is thus undoubtedly of a date no earlier than the thirteenth century.

The first MS collated is the *Codex Ultrajactensis Sancti Salvatoris*, which W. Levison in his *Conspectus Codicum Hagiographicorum* states to have been lost;<sup>5</sup> in any case no trace of it can be found; it is

<sup>1</sup> Robert. Torign. *De Immut. Monach.* i 1 ap. *P.L.* ccii 1309.

<sup>2</sup> Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* I, Introd. iii *ad fin.*

<sup>3</sup> *Acta SS. Bolland.* Aprilis, Tom. iii die 29 pp. 662 sqq. ap. *P.L.* clvii 1269 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Gall. Christ.* iv 736 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ap. Mon. Germ. Hist.* vii 539.

neither among the Bollandist *Collectanea* nor in the Royal Library at Brussels. Moreover, the copy used by the printer of the *Acta Sanctorum*, on which we might expect to find a written note of the *provenance* of the MS and also of other valuable details (so the present writer learns from Père Paul Grosjean of the Société des Bollandistes, whose kind help he would gratefully acknowledge), has unfortunately disappeared. There is no doubt but that the MS consisted of Lives of the Saints—many of them saints from the Netherlands, a fact which specially interested Héribert Rosweyde, the Jesuit Father who projected the *Acta Sanctorum* and whose collections were, on his death in 1629, entrusted to his *confrère* John Bolland. A brief recension of it made by Rosweyde exists on ff. 481<sup>r</sup>–484<sup>v</sup> of the MS. Brussels 7773 already mentioned. In later days the MS was held in less repute than it had been by Rosweyde, being discovered to provide but inferior and in many instances abbreviated recensions. Information, kindly supplied by the Librarian of the University of Utrecht and transmitted to the present writer by his friend Dr Paul Breuning, shows that it belonged to the *Capitulum Sancti Salvatoris* in that city, the library of which suffered a removal to Antwerp *c.* 1580 and subsequently, at or after the Revolution, a division, the MSS going to Brussels and the printed books to The Hague, in each case to the Royal Library.

The second MS collated, described as *Codex Surius*, is the text of Laurentius Surius, a Carthusian monk who about the third quarter of the sixteenth century partly compiled and partly recast in Renaissance Latin a collection of Lives of the Saints, *rifaccimenti*, as they were termed, which have often been adjudged valuable in hagiography for supplementary purposes. His work, entitled *De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis*, was first published at Cologne during the years 1570 to 1575. Later editions appeared up to the beginning of the seventeenth century; the defect of them all, however, consists in the fact that there is perhaps some sacrifice of strict documentary evidence to literary style.

The author in his *Prologus*, after proclaiming St Robert as a *lux splendescens*<sup>1</sup> in days of spiritual blindness, begs to be excused for his anonymity and warns his readers *ne verborum phaleras a me requirant*.<sup>2</sup> The *Vita* itself opens with praise of the *merita parentum*, Theodoric and Ermegarde, and the story of two visions of our Lady to his mother, in the former of which was bestowed a little golden ring to espouse the unborn *filius* to herself. As regards his country of origin he was, we read, *de Campaniæ partibus oriundus*.<sup>3</sup> The *Acta Sanctorum* refer to him as *vel Campanus, vel Normannus*; <sup>4</sup> Manriquez offers no alterna-

<sup>1</sup> Prov. iv 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita, Prolog.*

<sup>3</sup> *Vita* i 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. *P.L.* tom. cit. 1257.

tive, simply stating him to have been *patria Normannum*.<sup>1</sup> It would seem, however, that later in the seventeenth century Champagne was accepted as his native land, for we find Dom Joseph Meglinger in his *Iter Cisterciense*, addressed to the General Chapter of the Order in 1667, referring to him as *Divus Robertus, nobilis Campanus*.<sup>2</sup> Whatever his title to nobility, imperial ancestry on his mother's side, claimed for him by Henriquez, cannot reasonably be maintained; nor does the author of the *Vita* suggest it.<sup>3</sup> No mention is made of the year of his birth, but he is stated to have died *anno aetatis suae octogesimo tertio*.<sup>4</sup> We know that he was present at an agreement made in 1111 between the Abbots of St Jean-d'Aulps and Balerne. If he was born so early as the year given in the *Acta Sanctorum*, namely, c. 1017,<sup>5</sup> he would then have been ninety-four; moreover, he would have died only one or two years after the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098. Père Othon Ducourneaux is disposed to think that he was born in 1028.<sup>6</sup>

In his sixteenth year St Robert, *mundana vitans contagia*, dedicated himself to the Lord and received the *habitus regularis* at the Benedictine Abbey of S. Petrus Trecensis (al. *Coenobium Insulae Germanicae, S. Petri de Cella, Cella Bobini, Moûtier-la-Celle-de-Troyes*). Here in course of time he became prior. Later he was elected seventh Abbot of *Coenobium Tornodorense* (St Michel-de-Tonnerre),<sup>7</sup> in which office failing to rule successfully he resigned and *ad claustrum Cellense, unde digressus fuerat, remeavit*. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Prior of St Aygulph (St Ayoul) at Provins, a dependent house of Moûtier-la-Celle-de-Troyes.<sup>8</sup>

When St Robert was Prior of La-Celle there was living *in remotis nemorum latebris* a certain hermit, who, under strange conditions, was presently joined by two *milites, fratres quidem secundum carnem*. Wild fellows, given to *torneamenta*, they mutually agreed to fall upon one another, with the proviso that the survivor *in defuncti possessionem succederet*. But both survived,<sup>9</sup> and both, *compuncti corde*, began *spiritualiter vivere* with the man of God in the solitude of the woods. Before long their numbers grew and they became seven.<sup>10</sup> The place bore of old the name of *Colanum Nemus*, so the *Acta Sanctorum* would seem to

<sup>1</sup> Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* I, Introd. i 2.

<sup>2</sup> Megling. *Iter. Cisterc.* 2, ap. *P.L.* clxxxv 1570.

<sup>3</sup> Henric. *Fascic. SS. Ord. Cisterc.* I i 1 (4). Cf. Othon *Les Orig. Cisterc.* p. 33 (*Revue Mabillon*, 1932-1033).

<sup>4</sup> *Vita* iii 12, ap. *P.L. tom. cit.* 1279.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. *P.L. tom. cit., loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Annal. Bened.* v 679; *Gall. Christ.* xvi 487 sq.; Laurent *Cartulaire de Molesme* ii p. 180 no. 158; Othon *op. cit., loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Gall. Christ.* iv 714.

<sup>8</sup> *Vita* i 3, 6, and ii 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Vita* i 3 and 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Vita* i 5.

suggest<sup>1</sup>; the *Vita* might imply that the name was acquired later: *nunc Colanus dicitur*.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, as has been said, St Robert *a monachis S. Michaelis Tonnodorensis electus est in abbatem*. This house at Tonnerre was not so far distant but that the fame of its abbot's sanctity did not reach the hermits; and they, feeling increasingly the need of teachers *qui eos disciplinis regularibus informarent*, dispatched thither two of their number, who with difficulty persuaded the prior to admit them to St Robert. To their petition, *ut vir Dei sibi praestet*, the community, upon whose unanimity the abbot insisted, moved by the jealousy of the prior by no means assented; *hoc tamen [desiderium] dilatum fuit, ut dilataretur et cresceret*.<sup>3</sup> Whereupon St Robert, seeing the brethren *ab aequitatis tramite declinare* and fearing for his own soul *eo quod mores formari soleant a convictu*, returned to La-Celle as a simple monk; subsequently, on the death of the Prior of St Aygulph of Provins, *unanimi fratrum voto parique desiderio*, he was elected to succeed him. The hermits at Colan were, however, pertinacious. They would appeal to the Apostolic See, and again two of their number set forth, on this occasion for Rome, whence they returned with a letter from the Pope, directed to the Abbot of La-Celle, ordering *quatenus, quemcunque de fratribus* (i.e. of the monks of La-Celle) *elegissent, ipsis traderet in abbatem*. *Tristis quidem et moerens, sed mandatis apostolicis contraire non audens*, the abbot granted St Robert to the hermits.<sup>4</sup>

It was not long before St Robert—their numbers growing to thirteen and the place becoming too strait for them—*congruentiam loci desiderans, relictis ibi custodibus, in quoddam nemus, cui Molismus nomen est, recessit*. Here they suffered for lack both of food and of clothing until some of them were sent to beg at Troyes, where the bishop, who had some time before come across them in his travels and who thus realized their extreme poverty, thenceforth saw to it that they were sufficiently relieved. They were in the diocese, be it said, of Langres—*in episcopatu Lingonensi situm est coenobium, nomine Molismus*<sup>5</sup>—but Troyes was much nearer to them.<sup>6</sup> *Gallia Christiana* gives the same date for the foundation of Molesme as do the *Acta Sanctorum*, namely, December 20, 1075, and adds *die Dominica*, noting: *id convenit an. 1075*. Orderic Vitalis speaks of it as happening *tempore Philippi regis Francorum*, i.e. Philip I.<sup>7</sup>

As time passed the monks of Molesme became exceedingly prosperous and *cum coepissent abundare temporalibus, coeperunt spiritualibus vacuari, ut eorum iniquitas prodire quasi adipe videretur*. St Robert's

<sup>1</sup> Ap. P.L. tom. cit., loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, ii 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita* i 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita* ii 7.

<sup>5</sup> Caesar. Heister. *De Mirac.* i 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Vita* ii 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Gall. Christ.* iv 729 and *Instr.* 147 sq.; *Acta Sanct.* ap. P.L. tom. cit. 1258; Orderic. Vital. *Hist. Ecl.* III viii 25.

devotion to the Rule of St Benedict meant that his righteous soul suffered torture from what the *Vita* describes as their *iniqua opera*.<sup>1</sup> Finally, such was the discord amongst them that St. Robert left them and betook himself to a place called *Aurum, in quo audierat habitare fratres in spiritu humilitatis Domino seroventes*<sup>2</sup>; handing over the care of the community at Molesme to the prior, St. Alberic, so the *Acta Sanctorum* tells us on the authority of Manriquez, who perhaps would invite us to read between the lines when he writes of him as *commissae sibi domui, seu verius a Roberto dimissae, supponens humeros*.<sup>3</sup> When, thus ruled, *perdurarent (monachi Molismenses), multi veniebant ad illos, saeculum fugientes*<sup>4</sup>; during this period it probably was that there was founded from Molesme an *ascetarium in arce Vallis Coloris* on the invitation of a certain *senis Joffridi, nobilissimi principis et sanctae Ecclesiae fidelissimi*, as recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>5</sup>

And here, perhaps, it might be well to observe that there is no evidence in the *Vita* that St Robert was seeking to institute any reform of the Order as such, that he would have the Rule of St Benedict observed otherwise than it was observed in well-regulated houses of his day and generation, or that the *spiritualibus vacuari, the pravitas cordis, the discordia* which led to his retirement to Aurum meant more than that he was a saintly abbot who, *cor suum divitiis affluentibus non apponens*, expected his monks *secundum instituta S. Benedicti juste et pie et sobrie conversari*.<sup>6</sup> Consistently with this Orderic Vitalis writes of Molesme as a place where St Robert *coenobium condidit, et inspirante gratia Spiritus Sancti, discipulos magnae religionis aggregavit, studioque virtutum in sancta paupertate, juxta usum aliorum coenobiorum comiter instruxit*.<sup>7</sup> Thus, too, Caesarius of Heisterbach, after extolling Molesme as *religione perspicuum, viris illustribus nobilitatum, possessionibus amplum*, remarks significantly: *et quia divitiis virtutibusque diuturna non potest esse societas, viri nimium sapientes et virtutum amatores, altius intelligentes, licet honeste in praefato coenobio viverent, minus tamen ipsam, quam professi fuerant regulam, qualiter observarent considerantes*; these monks, *habito inter se communi consilio*, to the number of twenty-one, *unanimes assensu, eodem spiritu*, together with their abbot migrated to Cîteaux, *locum horroris et vastae solitudinis*, there desiring to live *de opere manuum suarum secundum Regulae praeceptum*.<sup>8</sup> It would be difficult to detect at this stage anything like either a righteous indignation at wide-spread dissolute living or a deliberate reaction against Cluniac mitigation of the Rule,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita* ii 9.<sup>2</sup> *Vita* ii 10.<sup>3</sup> Ap. *P.L. tom. cit.* 1259; Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* I, Introd. iii 3.<sup>4</sup> *Vita* ii 9.<sup>5</sup> Ap. *P.L. tom. cit.* 1259. Cf. *Gall. Christ.* iv. 730.<sup>6</sup> *Vita* ii 9.<sup>7</sup> Orderic. Vital. *op. cit., loc. cit.*<sup>8</sup> Caesar. Heist. *De Mirac.* i 1.

still less any suggestion of a gospel of strict literalism, a Judaizing monachism—may we so term it?—of which, justly or unjustly, the Cistercians have sometimes been accused.

Further, we may note that this was the second occasion of St Robert's voluntary retirement—on his own initiative and authority, as it would seem—from abbatial rule; the first had been when he left St Michel-de-Tonnerre and as a simple monk went back to La-Celle.<sup>1</sup> As Père Othon Ducourneaux remarks, 'il n'était pas de taille à réprimer une révolte'<sup>2</sup>; but it is not easy for us to estimate in either case the indocility of the recalcitrants. We may remember, however, that Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, in his Legatine Decree, addressed *c.* 1099 to Robert, Bishop of Langres, approving the request of the monks of Molesme that St Robert should return to them from Cîteaux, explicitly directs what steps are to be taken *si deinceps eandem Ecclesiam solita levitate deseruerit*.<sup>3</sup> Manriquez evidently took the view which these words imply when, with some emphasis, he wrote of Molesme as a house *a Roberto dimissa*, on the occasion of the latter's departure to Aurum; has the phrase *seu verius dimissa*, as here used (we wonder) the suggestion, as it were, of a deserted post?<sup>4</sup>

Of Aurum (Aulx, *al.* Aux, *Rilleium-de-Alliis*, probably so called from the growth there of leeks or of garlic, *incorrectly* Riel-des-Eaux<sup>5</sup>), which was in the vicinity of Molesme, St Robert was *non multo post* elected abbot.<sup>6</sup> The date at which he arrived at Aurum is given by Mons. J. Laurent, the learned editor of the Cartulaire de Molesme, and by Père Othon as not earlier than 1090.<sup>7</sup> After his departure the monks of Molesme *poenitentia ducti, quod virum Dei offendissent*, and moreover finding that not only *in moribus* but also, as the *Vita* naïvely puts it, *in possessionibus* were they deteriorating, approached the Supreme Pontiff, who would have been Urban II, and begged that St Robert might be recalled; as he was, according to the above-cited authorities, in 1093. He had left behind him, however, at his exodus to Aurum, four monks, *viri spiritu fortiores*, namely, Alberic, Stephen and two others, *qui post claustralis exercitii rudimenta ad singulare certamen eremi suspirabant*. Accordingly they departed to a place called *Vinicus* or, according to the Codex Ultrajectinus, *Vivificus*; Manriquez refers to it as *Unicus*<sup>8</sup>; doubtless it was some lonely spot in the woods, for the *Acta Sanctorum* describe it as *Unicensis Solitudo, Unicensis Silva*.<sup>9</sup> Courtépée describes

<sup>1</sup> *Vita* ii 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Hug. Lugdun. Archiep. *Epp. et Privil.* xxiii, ap. Migne *P.L.* clvii 524.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 409 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Courtépée *Descr. Hist. et Topogr. du Duché de Bourgogne* vii 197, éd. 1775-1785.

<sup>6</sup> *Vita*, ii 10.

<sup>7</sup> Othon *op. cit.* p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* I, *Introd.* iii 4 sq.

<sup>9</sup> *Ap. P.L. tom. cit.* 1260.



it as a cell of Montiéramey and identifies it with Vivier-sur-Artaud two and a quarter leagues from Bar-sur-Seine; Massuet speaks of it as near Landreville and four leagues from Molesme.<sup>1</sup> The language of the *Exordium Parvum*, to the effect that St Alberic, for his devotion to the high standard of St Robert, *multa opprobria, carcerem et verbera perpassus fuerat*,<sup>2</sup> leads us to suppose that his was the driving force throughout. The *Vita* proceeds to tell us of their being ordered by the diocesan, Joceran, Bishop of Langres, *ad instantiam Molismensium* to return to Molesme, adding: *Compulsi ergo praefatum locum relinquere, venerunt ad quamdam silvam, Cistercium ab incolis nuncupatam*, where they built an *oratorium* in honour of our Lady, *nec minis nec precibus a suo deinceps potuerunt proposito revocari, spiritu ferventes, et indefatigabiliter die ac noctu Deo servientes*. Then and there it was, so we are told, that St Robert joined them *assumptis secum viginti et duobus fratribus*.<sup>3</sup> Here we must observe that the story as told in the *Vita* seems to report both the four *virī spiritu fortiores* and St Robert to have been contumacious; they had all been ordered to return to Molesme; and, if we are to believe the *Acta Sanctorum*, they disobeyed not only their diocesan—who would have been, not Joceran (c. 1114–1125) but Robert I, his immediate predecessor, raised to the see in 1083<sup>4</sup>—but the Pope, to whom the monks of Molesme originally appealed and who gave his orders (for the return of the seceders) through the Bishop of Langres. The *Acta*, however, do not contemplate such contumacy, for they tell us that St. Robert himself, who presumably would have been at Aurum, was the first to obey—*parens primo S. Robertus—ac duo deinde alii, Albericus et Stephanus, Unicensi relicta Silva, Molismo se reddidere*.<sup>5</sup> Thus, accepting the years 1090–1093 as those of St Robert's sojourn at Aurum, some five years would have elapsed before the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098,<sup>6</sup> a period during which, as remarks Manriquez, *multa in melius mutata visabantur*,<sup>7</sup> and, above all, many began to reflect that, *etsi sancte honesteque viveretur, minus tamen pro sui desiderio atque proposito ipsam quam professi fuerant Regulam observari*.<sup>8</sup> Thus the *Vita* represents the four *virī spiritu fortiores*, St Alberic, St Stephen and the two unnamed—*Odonem, Joannemque Pena conjectat*<sup>9</sup>—as passing directly from Vinicus to Cîteaux, whither later they were followed by St Robert, bringing with him from

<sup>1</sup> Courtépée, *op. cit.* vii 200; Massuet *Annal. Bened.* v 219 [not. 100].

<sup>2</sup> *Exord. Parv.* ix, ap. *P.L.* clxvi 1505.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita* ii 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Gall. Christ.* iv 566 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ap. P.L. tom. cit.* 1260.

<sup>6</sup> Othon *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* i, Introd. iii 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Exord. Cisterc.* (sc. *Exord. Parv.*) Paris MS Bibl. Nat. 4346, ed. Humpfner.

1932.

<sup>9</sup> Manric. *op. cit.* I, Introd. iii 4.

Molesme twenty-two monks; this step on St Robert's part being explained by the fact that he had heard of their *sancta conversatio*, i.e. of the holiness of their monastic life, and was desirous *ut sancti eorum propositi esset particeps et adjutor*. On his arrival at Cîteaux—where St Alberic, St Stephen, and their associates would already have been living for some years under conditions, we must think, which did not strictly constitute a *conventus*—*summa cum devotione susceptus, eisdem aliquandiu paterna sollicitudine praefuit, regulariter ipsorum vitam et mores instituens, et semetipsum religionis et honestatis formam exhibens et exemplum*.<sup>1</sup>

Of this story, told in what is explicitly the Life of St Robert and was written on his canonization, Dom Alexis Presse, Abbot of Tamié, for whose friendly guidance the present writer has so frequently to be grateful, remarks: 'Voilà un roman historique; retenons-en seulement ce qui concorde avec l'Exorde: un groupe dont faisaient partie Albéric et Étienne eut l'initiative du projet, ce n'est que dans la suite que Robert s'associa au mouvement.'<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, one cannot escape its interest, and romance will sometimes bring a little light to history: perhaps the story may be told once more. WATKIN WILLIAMS.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita* ii 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Collect. Cisterc.* i p. 26, 1 Aprilis, 1934.