

Rippinger, Joel, OSB. "The Benedictine Intellectual Tradition: An Overview."

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The life of the mind is not an easy thing to pin down. Whether we attach it to an intellectual movement or to people who have changed history by their ideas and writing, the very nature of the intellectual defies convenient description. Still, there is a case to be made for at least tracing the features of such a tradition within the millennium and a half sprawl of the Christian monastic movement. Firstly, because the sources of that movement are for the most part readily accessible. Secondly, we are the inheritors of that movement, not only as monastics of the third millennium, but as believers whose newly arrived global consciousness requires us all the more to be attentive to the lessons that are still to be learned from the intellectual tradition passed on by monastic forebears.

With Benedictines we are talking about not so much the life of the mind as the life of the soul. We are also talking about a monastic culture, one that is characterized by a biblical world of references and language, a poetic world of symbols and song, as well as an eschatological world to come.

Gregory the Great

I think we can speak of a first or seminal generation of monastic minds that arrived in the wake of St. Benedict. That is not to discount the richness of the monastic contributions of Basil and Evagrius, Augustine and Jerome. But one cannot help be struck by the tributaries that flowed directly from Benedict's sixth-century Italy. The headwaters of that flow are represented by Gregory the Great, who embraced not only the budding monastic culture of that time but the abundant resources of its texts. Irene Nowell will offer Gregory to us as a model of the biblical exegete. He certainly stands tall in the monastic tradition in that respect. But he also represents the aristocratic learned man, well traveled and enveloped in a world of power and diplomacy. Within this profile, Gregory saw secular learning only as an instrument of embracing his biblical world of miracles, spiritual heroism and muscular holiness. His Book of Pastoral Care combined the best elements of Steven Covey and Rich Warren and maybe that is why it was a best-seller among the working clergy for well over a millennia.

Gregory, whether as traveling diplomat, urban prefect or pope, seems the quintessential intellectual manqué, always looking back with nostalgia at his quiet monastic remove on Rome's Coelian Hill. A complement to this busy monastic model is a contemporary of Gregory, Cassiodorus at Vivarium, writing The Institutes of Divine and Human Learning."¹ He becomes in his rural Italian retreat, producing manuscripts that would find their way to some of the best libraries of Europe, a counter to Gregory in civilization's epicenter at Rome, trying to hold off barbarians and the chaos of a city without administration, even as he pens homilies and commentaries.

Bede

The natural segue from the Italy of Gregory and Cassiodorus is to the Anglo-Saxon world of Bede. Their world was one that shared a love of books and a love of miracles."² The filter of Bede in popular understanding is his Ecclesiastical History of the English People."³ No doubt I bare my own bias as amateur historian by selecting Bede as exemplifying a monastic intellectual tradition that always has given a pride of place to the historical record. But Bede's history was somehow different than all others up to his time. From a very restricted geographical circle of northern England, he was able to put himself in contact with resources far beyond his confined monastic sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow -- and this at a time when centralized archival sources, to say nothing of globalized electronic access, was in the far future.

In the words of a fellow Anglo-Saxon monk of the 20th century, "What comes forth [from Bede] beyond all technique is his capacity to absorb and retransmit the atmosphere and implications of all he gathered up. He was the first Englishman to understand the past . . . [He] brought intelligibility to it all."⁴ Yet Bede's intellectual horizon was far from limited to history. Most of his writings are commentaries upon Scripture. That should come as no surprise for someone who was weaned on the Word of God. Nor should we be surprised that the writings were in such demand in Bede's lifetime that many copies were made by Jarrow's monastic scribes. Neither should we be surprised that some of these are used today in the Church's Liturgy of the Hours for the Office of Readings.

Moreover the penetrating insights one finds in these commentaries remind one of how knowledge of God's Word led one to knowledge of the world in which that Word was received. In the case of Bede and his monks the intellectual activity that was part of that enterprise was always connected with the spread of the Word and the salvation of one's soul. Striking as Bede is in the landscape of Benedictine England in the early 8th century, he is not alone.

One noteworthy aspect of Bede's life that will recur down through the Benedictine centuries is that he is well connected. He was mentored from his youth by the monks of Jarrow who provided him with the best education of his day. But he also was able to be introduced to other monks and bishops who opened to him a wider world of thought and possibility, analogous to the task of a university in any age. Bede was networking before that term came into vogue.

Not unlike a veteran journalist with his sources, Bede had won the confidence of bishops and abbots who were able to supply him with information and resources. These were the ones who could go to Rome to collect documents for him even as he became the model of a stable monk and never strayed far from his own monastic precincts and Northumbrian home. Bede in turn mentored others and through them influenced subsequent generations of monastic scholars.

Alcuin of York

The person identified as the central figure in the Carolingian Renaissance of learning, Alcuin of York, claimed Bede as his model and mentor. Perhaps the last word on Bede should be reserved for a contemporary English scholar Benedicta Ward. "If the term 'Christian thinker' can be expanded to include those who exercise their minds with great intellectual power upon the many aspects of the work of God, then this was Bede's life's work and in every sphere about which he wrote he made a lasting contribution to Christian understanding."⁵

To go from Bede in the remote Anglo-Saxon preserve of the Dark Ages to the European Continent almost four centuries later is to enter into the monastic centuries and the zenith of a culture that created the famous phrase of Jean Leclercq, "The Love of Learning and the Desire for God." I would like to touch upon two well known but quite distinct figures in order to highlight some of the qualities that a Benedictine intellectual tradition was acquiring at this time.

Hildegard of Bingen

One mentions the name of Hildegard of Bingen today with some caution. A generation ago she was still comfortably ensconced in the backwaters of only the most remote academic circles. With the English translation and publication of her *Scivias* by the Paulist Press in 1990,⁶ the famous Hildegard CDs of the same decade and her being claimed as a patronal saint by everyone from New Age advocates of holistic medicine to environmental activists, Hildegard has acquired a niche in popular culture. That should not in any way, however, detract from the remarkable and well deserved place she has in the development of the Catholic Church's spiritual and intellectual tradition. In fact, Irene Nowell will consider Hildegard as an interpreter of Scripture.

In Hildegard we are given the profile of a woman emblematic of the best mind that the Benedictine life of twelfth century Europe could produce. Hildegard was afforded an education by Blessed Jutta of Spanheim that mirrored the finest quality of monastic mentoring of its day. She also was singular in being able to have the connection of a Benedictine monastery of men and a monk, Volmar, who helped to transmit her message in an age when there was little if any alternate avenue for a woman to write and propagate her ideas.

Scivias, the *Liber Vitae Meritorum*, *Liber Divinorum Operum* and *Ordo Virtutum*, constitute as rich and varied an assortment of intellectual creativity and depth as one is likely to find in the medieval period. Perhaps the most striking of Hildegard's intellectual gifts was the wide compass of her learning. She was accomplished as a musical composer, a medical expert (see her *Causae et Curae* and *Physica*) an artist and a poet. Finally, the well known narrative of Hildegard's conflict with Church authority accentuates one more hazard of those whose writings tested the prevailing wisdom of the time.

Anselm of Bec

Hildegard's representative position as prophetic voice and provocateur in the intellectual landscape is clarified by contrast when one looks at a contemporary, Anselm of Bec. St. Anselm was blessed with an educational pedigree that placed him as the pupil of the great Lanfranc. In Anselm we see today a renowned churchman and philosopher, an intellect who towered over the already formidable minds of the high middle ages. But what I find most distinctive about Anselm's intellectual equiptage is that it had its origin and real growth within the monastic confines of Bec.

It was at Bec that he became a teacher and in this Normandy monastery that he was asked by his fellow monks to write. Apart from dissertations and letters of recommendation, when was the last time a member of your Benedictine community or school faculty was asked to write? His earliest writings on logic, his Monologion and Proslogion, all were written at the behest of his fellow monks. Even the famous Cur Deus Homo was written in the form of a dialogue to one of the Bec monks, visiting Anselm when he was in Canterbury.

Anselm also serves as a prime example of the monk-scholar who, once called to the episcopate, finds his intellectual talents eclipsed by demands of office. In many ways, Anselm was a benchmark of his times. He shows us monastic theology at its zenith, combined with a model of monastic observance and devotion (see his Prayers and Meditations) that are timeless."**7**

One could linger over this golden age of Benedictine writing and compare Gertrude of Helfta with Hildegard, measure the wide reading audience and resonant monastic vocabulary of Bernard of Clairvaux, Aelred of Rievaulx and the Cistercians. But I would prefer to head to a more troubled time in the Church, the Counter Reformation, to see a newer type of Benedictine writing.

Dame Gertrude More

As a first example of this time frame I would like to return to the England (and France) of the early 17th century and the daughter of Thomas More's great grandson, Helen More. My reason for selecting Helen (known in religion as Dame Gertrude) More is because she encapsulates the model of intellectual as exile and the process of being mentored by a series of monastic elders. No doubt today's home schoolers would be impressed at how Helen received an education not unlike her relative and only daughter of Thomas More, Margaret. She also had a Benedictine confessor and he recommended that Helen be sent to the Continent where there was a plan to found a house of Benedictine women, in reaction to the penal laws then in place against Catholics in England.

The elder in question was Father Augustine Baker, a trained lawyer and historian, who represented the best of the English Benedictine intellectual tradition. Augustine Baker's position as chaplain for the community of Benedictine women at the community of Cambrai allowed the intersection of Baker's mystical tradition and two remarkable spiritual souls, Gertrude More and Catherine Gascoigne. The latter was a spiritual convert of Baker's teachings before Gertrude and was Gertrude's immediate superior.

Augustine Baker

In a few short years (Gertrude died tragically at the age of 27) she was to undergo a spiritual and intellectual transformation. Baker himself wrote a life of Gertrude "**8** that was to provide the impetus for the robust spiritual and intellectual tradition that was carried to Stanbrook years later and served generations of English Benedictine women. There is a treatise of seventy short sections on contemplative life bearing the stamp of Baker's teaching that he wrote before her death. "**9** In the case of both More and Baker, their writings and ideas were put under a cloud.

When More died in 1632 and Baker in 1638 many believed their distinct brand of Benedictine contemplative spirit would die with them. But in the face of pressure from the English Benedictine Congregation of monks to have the sisters of Cambrai expunge all of the written manuscripts of Augustine Baker, Abbess Catherine stood firm. As a result, they were able to publish two years later, Sancta Sophia, Holy Wisdom, "**10** a compendium of Baker's teachings that soon became a spiritual classic.

Jean Mabillon

Gertrude More died prematurely at Cambrai in 1632. In that same year in the French province of Champagne, Jean Mabillon was born into a family of peasant stock. Mabillon was drawn to the monastery of Saint-Remi near Rheims, which he entered in 1653. The monastery had been established only 25 years earlier as a house of the Maurist Congregation. Under the guidance of Gregory Tarsis, this new congregation took on the intellectual enterprise of finding historical resources that could be employed in writing a history of the Benedictine Order, as well as of its principal monasteries and saints.

Mabillon entered the congregation mindful of this work. After spending time at the abbeys of Nogent and Corbie, he was sent in 1660 to the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris. There he was placed in charge of the abbey museum and he began on his own the work of editing manuscripts of the writings of St. Bernard. "**11** While doing this, he came

under the eye of the esteemed Maurist scholar Luc d'Achery, who was then residing at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.

When Mabillon arrived at the abbey in 1664, the aging d'Achery assigned him the arduous work of finishing the six volumes of the Benedictine *Acta Sanctorum*. This was in addition to the labor of finishing his work on St. Bernard and what many intellectual historians consider to be Mabillon's masterpiece, the most significant modern work on historical method, the *De Re Diplomatica*. It was a work that made the name of Mabillon famous throughout Europe. **"12** His contributions to a historical method of scientific criticism and his legacy to scholarship in liturgical studies and the authenticity of written sources became legendary as a result. This work alone would have consigned the Maurist monk to the first rank of Benedictine scholars. But it was another subject matter and a different work that draw our attention to Mabillon today with a more pressing relevance.

A controversy that had become heated in the French monastic world of the late seventeenth century was that of the suitability of serious study as work for monks. On the one side of this dispute stood the outsized personality of the Trappist abbot Armand de Rancé. In the 1680s Rancé had published two works that, in the penetratingly descriptive words of monastic historian David Knowles, "constituted a polemic against any kind of intellectual occupation for the monk. **"13**

In response Mabillon wrote his *Traité des Etudes Monastiques*, a meticulous and reasoned justification of the revered place that the love of learning had always had in monastic life. **"14** Its temperate and prudent tone was all that Rancé's fulminations were not and it met with wide approval in monastic circles throughout Europe. Yet its appearance provoked Rancé to a polemical retort.

The ensuing debate took on dimensions of a contemporary clash whose intellectual fault lines could be comparable to the tabloid press confronting the stylistic equanimity and intellectual high ground of either the *Wall Street Journal* or the *New York Times*. Ultimately it was the urging of a mutual female friend, a dowager duchess, and the passage of Mabillon close by the abbey of La Trappe that allowed for the visit of the two monastic controversialists.

In consequence, the "tempestuous abbot" (as Rancé was nicknamed) was won over by the courtesy, holiness and humble comportment of the visiting scholar. The transparent simplicity and dignity of Mabillon had trumped the impetuous fervor of his rival. Mabillon was to have still more disputes in his day, but by the time of his death on December 27, 1707, his patronal feast day, he had created an entirely new model of the monk as intellectual. As Knowles puts it ever so persuasively: "When he takes up a problem, great or small, he shakes it out and holds it up, and then applies to it tests of every kind from every angle. Whether it is Augustine's teaching on grace, the meaning of a word in the Rule [of Benedict], the Eucharistic practice of the early Church, the order of succession of bishops and abbots, or the date of a charter, Mabillon brings to bear upon it the same acuteness of observation, the same wealth of information, the same sanity of judgment, the same lucidity of exposition. When he has done with it, the matter is, in four cases out of five, settled for good. **"15**

In the Maurist Congregation, Mabillon also served as an intellectual mentor of such notable scholars as Martene, Montfaucon and Ruinart. Less externally notable was the example of community life and personal observance that Mabillon maintained to the last. He was one who never believed that the regular monastic round need be pushed aside by the heavy demands of scholarship. The sad fact is that if more of his monastic generation had absorbed this lesson the ravages of the French Revolution and the implosion of monastic life at the end of the 18th century would have been attenuated considerably.

If Mabillon was the exemplar of a new type of intellectual on the monastic scene, it is worth viewing the landscape of the monastic reform that began in the nineteenth century to see if there are any emerging individuals and currents that can direct the observer to make judgments on the vitality of Benedictine intellectual life in our own era.

One characteristic that bears mentioning is a return to the sources. This can too easily be presented as nostalgia for a golden age of monasticism or an antiquarian retrieval of symbols selected for the purpose of confronting the rampant secularism and anti-religious skepticism of the age. But the reforms of Solesmes and Beuron in particular laid emphasis upon a newly vigorous attempt to explore the sources and history of monastic life. In selecting a figure to illustrate the vigor and depth of intellectual life that accompanied the nineteenth-century monastic revival I am ready to return once again to England and the person of Cuthbert Butler.

Cuthbert Butler

Butler's life and work invite choice, among other things, because it was so solidly Benedictine. He entered the school of Downside Abbey in 1869 and received in his six years there a firm grounding in the classics and liberal arts. After a year or so on his own, he decided to test a vocation to the monastic life and entered the common novitiate of the English Benedictine Congregation at Belmont Abbey. It was there he encountered some foundational and fateful works that sparked his own intellectual gifts.

The first of these was nothing less than the previously mentioned Sancta Sophia of Augustine Baker. It was Baker who also led him to take up the Desert Fathers and Cassian and eventually the arguments of Mabillon and Rancé on the suitability of monastic studies. When Butler returned to Downside from Belmont after four years in 1880, his own ideal of monastic life was already well shaped. It would confront the reality of the English Benedictine Congregation and the still small community of Downside at that time, a reality grounded in what was known as the English mission and the regular labor of parish supply work and a monastic life that placed more emphasis on the ascetical than on learning.

Butler's ideal, suffused with a fascination for early monasticism and monastic studies, was of a more contemplative existence and governance that respected the autonomy of the individual monastery. It was a far cry from the missionary-oriented, intellectually sterile and highly centralized life of the restored English Benedictine Congregation. Butler's initial monastic years at Downside were also intersected by a number of major intellectual influences. His prior was the future abbot and renowned Church historian, Aidan Gasquet, then in his thirties and already giving hints of a different direction for the Downside community.

During Lent of 1882 the community retreat at Downside was given by Laurence Shepherd, the chaplain at Stanbrook and a main proponent of monastic observance. It was Shepherd who introduced for Butler and Downside the legacy of Baker and Gertrude More, as well as his unique experience of visiting reformed Italian monasteries and, not least, Shepherd's friendship with Prosper Guéranger, founder of Solesmes.

A last influence was an apostolic visitor appointed by Pope Leo XIII in 1881. The man chosen for this job, Boniface Krug, then prior and later abbot of Monte Cassino Abbey, was a spearhead of reform and intellectual life of the revival, and one who thus listened to the proposals of many young monks like Butler with a sympathetic ear. Shortly afterward, the literary flagship, *The Downside Review*, was founded and continues today. Butler was fortunate enough to have another prior, Edmund Ford, who recognized his intellectual gifts, and provided a place for them to prosper.

That place was Cambridge, where Butler was resident from 1896 to 1904. To be given the luxury of ample hours of study and writing, the facilities of a great library, and the opportunity to form a new network of friendships, says much about how the upper echelons of English intellectual life had changed by the end of the nineteenth century with respect to their reception of monastic scholars. Reading today a vintage *Encyclopaedia Britannica* with Butler's many articles on monastic and religious history is testimony to the contributions Butler's extended intellectual idyll were to bring.

However in the line of Gregory the Great, Anselm and Bernard, Butler was called out of his ivory tower to the role of superior of his community when he was elected abbot of Downside in November of 1906. He was to continue as abbot until 1923 and to serve as abbot president of the congregation for four of those years. Amazingly enough, Butler continued to write during his time as abbot. His landmark *Benedictine Monachism*, **"16** a compendium of his studies on Benedictine life, was published in 1919.

Three years later he published *Western Mysticism*, **"17** an effort to tie the Benedictine centuries with contemplative prayer. It introduced subject matter that shortly after its release was to be refined still more by Garrigou-Lagrange. A year later, Butler somewhat unexpectedly announced his retirement as abbot of Downside. More interesting for our point of view, he then set a precedent for a retired superior when, after his resignation as abbot in 1923, he began a retirement fully engaged in an even wider array of monastic activity. Using the monastery of Ealing near London as his base, he engaged in open-air preaching for the Catholic Evidence Guild, led the daily round of observance with the Ealing monks, heard confessions, celebrated Mass and preached in a variety of parishes, did spiritual direction, and maintained his ties with the sisters of Stanbrook. His writing in this period concentrated on historical works, *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne* and *The History of the Vatican Council*. These were his last substantive works before an illness brought death in 1933.

Perhaps the best way of calculating the impact of Butler is to compare the desultory intellectual landscape of Downside and the English Congregation in 1876 with the vibrant and expansive culture of the 1930s. Just as this life

of the mind flourished with Butler's peers at Downside, Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Ford, it was to continue in subsequent generations with the names of John Chapman, David Knowles, Christopher Butler and Basil Hume.

The 20th Century

With the twentieth century, one is more reticent to speak in detail or with intent of historical objectivity about intellectual life in the Benedictine world. Certainly one notices an ever-broadening profile of figures.

Jean Leclercq, the man who spent the whole of World War II in Paris at the Bibliotheque Nationale pouring over manuscripts, became with the advent of jet travel the wandering minstrel of monastic scholarship. For others, such as Thomas Merton or Adalbert DeVogué, there was the monastic hermitage that supplied them with the detachment and solitude to do serious writing. The geographic spread of intellectual life spanned new horizons. A Michael Casey in Australia and an Anscar Chupungo in the Philippines, made for a larger orbit of monastic ideas. So did a proliferation of monastic journals and the establishment of Sant'Anselmo in Rome as an international center for scholarship.

The integration of women into the main current of intellectual life was far too late in coming and still hobbled by historical disparities, but the last quarter of the twentieth century heralded their arrival in all circles of scholarship. Biblical scholars such as Irene Nowell and Sean Carruth, experts in monastic studies such as Aquinata Böckmann, Maria Boulding and Mary Forman, all attest to the ways in which the life of the mind has been enriched by the perspective of the feminine. Of course, an ongoing problem for the flourishing of Benedictine intellectual life has been the repeated cycle of established scholars being absorbed into administrative and authority positions.

One thinks of the Cistercian scholars André Louf, Armand Veilleux and Basil Pennington being elected to multiple terms of abbot, or how in this country a Mary Collins and Ephrem Hollermann or a Jerome Kodell and Claude Peifer sacrifice their potential time and scholarly gifts for leading their communities. At the least, they have the consolation of knowing that Gregory, Anselm and Hildegard faced the same dilemma. Of course, the advent of the computer age and the Internet brought the treasures of rarified sources straight to the monastic cell, so that by the end of the second millennium there was an access to intellectual resources beyond the imagining of earlier generations.

Our Millennium

But what of the Benedictine intellectual tradition today? Is it being newly configured, endangered, resting on its laurels? Does such an entity indeed exist? Let me take the liberty of introducing a few reflections that can at least raise questions on the present and future course of such a tradition.

In this country and most of the first world today, the educational levels of people who enter monastic communities are unparalleled in our history. Coupled with presence of Benedictine communities in the apostolate of higher education in so many places, one would think that all of the elements for a monastic culture favoring the life of the mind are well in place. Instead we see monastics, both young and old, who have stopped reading.

Digitalized technology has triumphed over the written word throughout the monastic world. In this we are no different than our contemporaries. Yet it has been precisely the monastic tradition of reading, listening and writing that has been a constant throughout periods of monastic decline and fall. Without a monastic culture that supports the pursuit of learning through the text, in whatever form that comes, our intellectual heritage is in peril.

Another tension shared by both first world and third world Benedictines is that between the active apostolic endeavors taken up by the community and the need for leisure time and space in which to pursue the life of the mind. Of course, it is not an either/or argument. The key to the success of Benedictine life has always been striking a balance between manual labor and study, active ministry and lectio divina, community activities and the solitude of the cell. But were one to evaluate how well we are doing that today, I'm afraid the balance would be wanting.

With increasing workloads for productive community members and dwindling numbers of new members, the reality is grim. One could question whether any ivory towers ever existed in monastic communities, but it seems the closest thing we have to that today is the infirmary -- too late for the productive cycles of most people with intellectual bent.

When superiors are expected to spend sizable amounts of time raising money, when the serious reading of monastic sources seems to be confined to the initial stages of monastic formation, and even academic sabbaticals are

considered more R and R time for burned out administrators than thoughtfully planned periods of intellectual revitalization, even the most ingrained optimist is pulled up short.

Still, there are signs of hope. The stability of monastic life continues to draw people who are overwhelmed with the accelerated pace of modern life and the cheapened products of the popular culture. A telling marker for us should be that lay academics seeking to associate themselves with a center of intellectual stimulus and equipoise, often gravitate to monastic communities.

Last month a University of Chicago professor visiting France commented on a Catholic philosopher who mused on how the intellectually gifted young French men who several generations ago would have joined the Jesuits or Dominicans now choose to enter monasteries. At the same time, one can say that a Benedictine intellectual tradition is more than just a pious phrase tossed off to gild the lily of publicists.

There is a growing body of first-rate scholarly work of translations and interpretation in the area of monastic studies. To compare what stocked the shelves of libraries years ago from a broad range of Benedictine authors with what exists today is a revelation to many. And that is not even to tap the trove of CD-ROMS and Web-sites. There are also sabbatical programs in place and an incredibly high level of professional degrees represented in monastic communities, active and contemplative, men and women.

Of one thing we can be sure. The intellectual tradition that takes shape in years to come will be a different one than has existed in the past. Whatever diversity and new elements come into play, we can only hope that there will remain a linkage with its historical heritage. For it is that heritage of learning and leisure, life of the mind and life of the soul, that will insure the health of any intellectual tradition in future years.

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Notes

- 1 An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings by Cassiodorus Senator (Norton, New York, 1969).
- 2 See William McCready, *Miracles and the Venerable Bede* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994).
- 3 The best modern commentary on this work is J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
- 4 Dom Alberic Stacpoole, "St. Bede," in David Hugh Farmer (ed.) *Benedict's Disciples* (Leominster: The Trinity Press, 1980) p. 102.
- 5 Benedicta Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, 1998), pp. 143-44.
- 6 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, Columba Hart, O.S.B. and Jane Bishop translators, (New York: Paulist Press, 1990).
- 7 The best translated collection of Anselm's writing is Gillian Evans and Brian Davies (eds.), *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 8 Gertrude More, Benedict Weld-Blundell, O.S.B. (ed.), *The Inner Life and the Writings of Dame Gertrude More*, 2 volumes (London: R & T Washbourne, 1911).
- 9 Frideswide Sandeman, "Dame Gertrude More," in *Benedict's Disciples*, p. 275.
- 10 Augustine Baker, *Holy Wisdom or Direction for the Prayer of Contemplation* (London: Burnes & Oates, 1964).
- 11 Guy Marie Oury, "Mabillon," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité X* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977) 1-2.
- 12 David Knowles, *The Historian and Character* (Cambridge University Press, 1963) p. 223.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

14 Jean Mabillon, *Science et Sainteté: L'Etude Dans La Vie Monastique*, René Jean Hesbert (ed.) (Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1958).

15 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

16 Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (London: Longmans, 1919).

17 Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism* (London: Constable, 1926).