CHURCH HISTORY SERIES • LESSON 10 • NOLL TURNING POINT 4

Benedict's Rule (AD 530)

The monastic rescue of Western Christianity — ora et labora, stability, obedience, and conversion of life from Monte Cassino to the modern world • c. AD 480–604

By Shane Gunn • Following Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points*, ch. 4

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Where this fits: Lesson 10 of the Pleasant Springs *Church History* series — Noll's fourth turning point. **Augustine (Lesson 9)** died in 430 as the Vandals besieged Hippo; within a century the Western Empire was gone and the church had to face the question of how to preserve the gospel through collapse. Benedict's answer, written at Monte Cassino around 530, turned out to be one of the most consequential 9,000-word documents in Western history. See the full **Series Timeline**.

WHY THIS LESSON MATTERS

On a hill above the pass between Rome and Naples, sometime around AD 530, an Italian abbot named **Benedict of Nursia** finished writing a short, practical handbook for the dozen or so brothers in his monastery. It was not especially original. Benedict himself says at the end that his *Rule* is only a small beginner's guide, and that anyone who wants serious spiritual literature should go read **John Cassian**, Basil, and the Desert Fathers. He did not know he had just written the charter of Western civilization.

Over the next four centuries **the Rule of Benedict** became the almost universal rule of Western monasticism. The monasteries following it preserved the Scriptures, the Latin classics, the Greek fathers, the arts of reading, writing, farming, and brewing, through the darkest

centuries of Europe. When literate Christianity had almost vanished from the old Roman cities, it was living, at a low flame, in places like Jarrow and Iona and Fulda. It was Benedictine monks who evangelized Germany, Britain, and Scandinavia. It was a Benedictine-trained Pope — Gregory the Great — who sent missionaries to the Angles. Nearly every cathedral school that later became a medieval university began in a Benedictine cloister. When the Renaissance rediscovered Cicero and Virgil, it was because Benedictine monks had been copying them for nine hundred years.

Noll titles this chapter *The Monastic Rescue of the Church*. Without exaggeration: without Benedict's Rule there is no Western medieval Christianity, no Reformation, no modern church.

> *LXX (Ps 118:164): ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ᾔνεσά σε ἐπι ̀ τα ̀ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου.*
>
> Psalm 119:164 (ESV): "Seven times a day I praise you for your righteous rules."

Benedict read that verse literally and built a life around it. The seven daily offices of the Rule — and the Night Office — gave Western Christianity its prayer rhythm for a thousand years.

PART 1 — THE WORLD ROME LEFT BEHIND

To understand what Benedict did, you have to understand what was falling apart around him. The century between Alaric's sack of Rome (410) and Benedict's arrival at Monte Cassino (c. 529) is one of the hinge moments of European history.

410 • Alaric the Visigoth sacks Rome. Augustine begins *The City of God* in response.

430 • Augustine dies as the Vandals besiege Hippo.

455 • The Vandals sack Rome a second time; two weeks of looting.

476 • The last Western emperor, the teenaged *Romulus Augustulus*, is deposed by the Germanic general Odoacer. The Western Roman Empire formally ends.

493–526 • Ostrogothic rule in Italy under **Theoderic the Great** — an Arian Christian who, despite the theological gap, tolerates the Catholic church and preserves Roman civil institutions. Boethius serves Theoderic as consul, then is executed.

c. 529 • Benedict arrives at Monte Cassino and founds the monastery that will become Western monasticism's mother house. (The same year Justinian in Constantinople closes the Platonic Academy at Athens.)

535–554 • Justinian's Eastern armies attempt to reconquer Italy. The *Gothic Wars* are ruinous — Rome changes hands five times, population collapses from roughly half a million to perhaps thirty thousand, ancient aqueducts and public buildings are wrecked.

568 • The **Lombards** invade Italy, ending Byzantine control of most of the peninsula. They destroy Monte Cassino around 577. (The monks flee to Rome with the Rule; the monastery will not be rebuilt for 140 years.)

The cities are emptying. The roads are dangerous. The old imperial schools are closing. Literacy is collapsing outside the clergy. Gregory the Great, writing in the 590s, says he hears wolves at night in neighborhoods of Rome. Into this world Benedict writes a handbook for twelve men to live a stable, prayerful, working life together in a walled compound on a mountaintop. It was the right handbook at the right moment.

PART 2 — BEFORE BENEDICT: MONASTICISM'S LONG ROOTS

Christian monasticism was already two centuries old when Benedict wrote. Without its inheritance he has nothing to edit. The relevant ancestors:

Anthony the Great (c. AD 251–356) — Egypt

Hermit **Anchorite tradition**

An ordinary Egyptian Christian who sold his land after hearing Matthew 19:21 read in church and withdrew into the Egyptian desert around 271. His radical asceticism drew

thousands after him. Athanasius wrote his *Life of Anthony* around 360; it spread across the Latin West and shaped every later monastic vocation, including Augustine's (*Confessions* 8).

Pachomius (c. AD 292–348) — Upper Egypt

Cenobitic (community) monasticism **First rule**

A former Roman soldier who organized the desert hermits into actual communities with a written rule, a common table, a shared work-schedule, and an abbot. Pachomius is the grandfather of every later monastic *community* (from the Greek *koinos bios*, "common life"). His *Rule* survives.

Basil the Great (c. AD 329–379) — Cappadocia

Eastern rule **Cappadocian**

One of the three Cappadocian fathers of **Lesson 7 Part 6**, Basil wrote *The Long Rules* and *The Short Rules*, tempering the Egyptian extremism toward moderation and active service. Basil's rule remains the basis of Eastern Orthodox monasticism to this day.

Martin of Tours (c. AD 316–397) — Gaul

First Western monk **Bishop-monk**

A Roman soldier who converted, founded the first monastery in the Latin-speaking West at Ligugé (c. 361), and as Bishop of Tours gave the Western church the model of the "monk-bishop." Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin* was as influential in the West as the *Life of Anthony* had been in the East.

John Cassian (c. AD 360–435) — Southern France

Translator of Egypt to Latin **Benedict's teacher**

Cassian spent years with the Egyptian desert fathers, then founded a monastery at Marseilles (c. 415) and wrote two works that Benedict explicitly recommends in the last chapter of his Rule: the *Institutes* (on the structure of monastic life) and the

Conferences (records of his conversations with the desert fathers). Cassian is the single most important source for Benedict.

The Celtic monastic mission — Ireland, Scotland, Northumbria

Patrick, Columba, Columbanus | Missionary monasticism

Patrick (c. 385–461) evangelized Ireland; **Columba** (521–597) founded Iona off the Scottish coast in 563; **Columbanus** (543–615) planted Celtic-Irish monasteries across the continent — Luxeuil, Bobbio, St. Gall — practising a much more severe rule than Benedict's. The *interaction* between Celtic and Benedictine traditions shaped medieval Western monasticism. At the Synod of Whitby (664) the Benedictine (Roman) style won official approval in England, but many Celtic practices persisted.

Benedict's Rule is the synthesis. He drew explicitly on an earlier anonymous work (*The Rule of the Master*), on Cassian, on Basil, and on the Latin fathers, and produced something their rules were not: **a moderate, practical, humane guide that could actually be kept** by ordinary people for a lifetime.

PART 3 — THE LIFE OF BENEDICT (C. AD 480–547)

Everything we know about Benedict's life comes from **Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* Book 2**, written around 593 — about fifty years after Benedict's death, from reports Gregory received from four of Benedict's disciples. Gregory is writing hagiography, not biography: the book is full of miracles. But the core of the narrative is historical.

c. 480 • Born in **Nursia** (modern Norcia) in central Italy, into a provincial Roman family. His twin sister **Scholastica** is born the same year.

c. 500 • Sent to Rome as a student of rhetoric. Horrified by the moral decadence he sees, he abandons his studies and flees the city.

c. 500–503 • Lives as a hermit in a cave at **Subiaco**, about 40 miles east of Rome, fed by a neighboring monk named Romanus who lowers bread to him on a rope.

c. 504 • The monks of a nearby community ask him to be their abbot. He tries; they cannot bear his discipline; they try to poison him with a cup of wine. Gregory tells the story that Benedict made the sign of the cross over the cup and it shattered. He leaves.

c. 505–529 • Founds **twelve small monasteries** in the valleys around Subiaco, each with twelve monks and a deputy abbot, himself supervising.

c. 529 • Moves with a core group of monks to **Monte Cassino**, a mountaintop between Rome and Naples with an abandoned pagan shrine of Apollo. He pulls down the shrine, builds a church of St. Martin on the spot, and founds the monastery that will be the mother house of Western monasticism for 1,500 years.

c. 530–547 • Writes the *Rule*. Receives the Ostrogothic king **Totila** as a guest (Gregory says Benedict recognized and rebuked the king who had come in disguise). His sister Scholastica, who had taken up the same life nearby, predeceases him; the famous "storm" story (*Dialogues* 2.33) has her praying him into staying to talk with her all night, against his own rule.

c. 547 • Benedict dies standing up in the chapel, supported by his brothers, hands raised in prayer.

> *"The man of God, Benedict, who was radiant with so many miracles, was no less brilliant in the eloquence with which he set forth his teaching… He wrote a Rule for monks, remarkable for its discretion and the clarity of its language."*
>
> **— Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2.36 (c. AD 593)**

PART 4 — THE RULE — WHAT IT ACTUALLY SAYS

The *Rule of Benedict* is short — a Prologue and seventy-three chapters, about 9,000 Latin words. It opens with words that read like a father speaking to a son sitting across the table:

PROLOGUE OF THE RULE

"**Listen carefully, my son, to the master's instructions, and attend to them with the ear of your heart.** This is advice from a father who loves you; welcome it, and faithfully put it into practice."

— Rule of Benedict, Prologue 1 (c. AD 530)

The Rule's structure:

Chapters 1–7 (Foundations) — Four kinds of monks; the qualities of an abbot; calling the brothers to counsel; the twelve steps of humility.

Chapters 8–20 (The Divine Office) — Detailed orders for the eight daily times of corporate prayer (the Liturgy of the Hours). How psalms are to be distributed across the week, how the lessons are to be read, which hymns belong where.

Chapters 21–30 (Community discipline) — Deans, sleeping arrangements, the correction of faults, excommunication for grave sins.

Chapters 31–41 (Ordinary life) — The cellarer (monastery steward), the tools of the monastery, private property (none), food, drink (a *hemina* of wine per day, "though we read that wine is in no way suitable for monks"), clothing, bedding.

Chapters 42–52 (The day's rhythm) — Silence after Compline; the horarium; sick brothers; care for the elderly and the young; travel.

Chapters 53–57 (Hospitality and work) — Reception of guests; the work of the week; craftsmen; how to sell the work of the monastery "somewhat below the secular

rate."

Chapters 58–73 (Formation and conclusion) — The year of novitiate, profession of vows, the reception of priest-monks, the election of the abbot, the prior, mutual obedience, and Benedict's closing acknowledgement that his is only a "little rule for beginners" (*ch. 73*).

A day in a Benedictine monastery. The entire life is divided between three things: the *Opus Dei* ("the Work of God") — the eight offices of corporate prayer that punctuate the day and night, seven during the day and one in the middle of the night; the *labor* — manual work in the fields, kitchen, scriptorium, or workshop; and the *lectio divina* — slow, prayerful reading of Scripture.

The eight daily offices:

Vigils *~2am* *Night prayer*	**Lauds** *sunrise* *Dawn praise*	**Prime** *~6am* *First hour*	**Terce** *~9am* *Third hour*
Sext *noon* *Sixth hour*	**None** *~3pm* *Ninth hour*	**Vespers** *sunset* *Evening praise*	**Compline** *before sleep* *Completion*

Between the offices, the monk worked, read, ate, slept. Over a week the whole Psalter was chanted. Over a year, large parts of the Bible were read publicly at table and in church. The Rule's genius was that it kept the believer continually soaked in Scripture without anyone having to think of a spiritual program; the rhythm did the work.

PART 5 — THREE VOWS, TWO MOTTOS

The three Benedictine vows (ch. 58) are not the later standard Catholic triad of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Benedict's are different and, arguably, more psychologically penetrating:

STABILITY

Stabilitas loci. The vow to remain in this community, these walls, with these brothers, until I die. It rules out the perennial religious temptation to find holier air somewhere else. The brothers you cannot change are the ones God intends to use to change you.

CONVERSION OF LIFE

Conversatio morum. A lifetime's daily choosing of the monastic way. Holiness is not a crisis experience but a long obedience in the same direction. Benedict's own favorite word for it is simply *conversatio*, "way of life."

OBEDIENCE

Oboedientia. Listening (the Latin and Greek roots both mean "hear") with the ear of the heart — to the Abbot as to Christ, and to the brother who is my equal. Not military submission but attentive humility.

Two mottos (neither verbatim in the Rule, both faithful to it):

> • ***Ora et labora* — "Pray and work."** The Benedictine sees no competition between the two. Chapter 48 opens: "*Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Therefore the brothers should be occupied at certain times in manual labor, and again at fixed hours in sacred reading*." Work and prayer are the two halves of one obedience.

> • ***Hospes venit, Christus venit* — "A guest comes; Christ comes."** Chapter 53 opens: "*All guests who come shall be received as Christ, for he himself will say, 'I was a stranger and you welcomed me.'*" Every Benedictine monastery for 1,500 years has been obliged to house whoever arrives at the gate.

> *Greek NT (Matt 25:40): ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἑνι ̀ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοι ̀ ἐποιήσατε.*
>
> Matthew 25:40 (ESV): "Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it to me."

> *"Let all guests who come to the monastery be received as Christ, for he himself will say, 'I was a stranger and you welcomed me.'... In the reception of the poor and of pilgrims*

> *the greatest care and solicitude should be shown, because in them more particularly Christ is received."*
>
> **— Rule of Benedict, chapter 53.1, 53.15**

PART 6 — GREGORY THE GREAT (AD 540–604)

Pope Gregory I — "the Great"

BORN C. 540 INTO THE ROMAN SENATORIAL ARISTOCRACY • PREFECT OF ROME • MONK • POPE 590–604 • THE MOST IMPORTANT EARLY MEDIEVAL POPE

Monk-Pope **Servus servorum Dei** **English Mission**

The Rule of Benedict would probably have remained a local Italian document were it not for Gregory the Great — the most important pope of the early medieval period, the last of the four classical Latin fathers of the church (with Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine), and the first pope who had been a monk.

From senator to monk to pope. Gregory was born to one of the richest Roman families, served as Prefect of Rome in his early thirties, then — in a move his peers found incomprehensible — sold everything he owned, converted his family mansion on the Caelian Hill into the Monastery of St. Andrew, and became a monk. As papal ambassador to Constantinople (579–585) he gained his only experience of the Greek East. On 3 September 590, with plague devastating Rome, he was acclaimed bishop against his own protest.

His contribution to Benedict. Gregory's *Dialogues* (c. 593), Book 2, is our only substantial source for Benedict's life. Gregory himself had been trained in a monastery that probably followed the Rule. His endorsement carried the Rule out of central Italy into wider Latin use.

The English mission (AD 596–597). In 596 Gregory sent a band of forty monks, led by a prior from his own monastery named **Augustine** (not the Augustine of Hippo — a different man), across the Alps and the Channel to evangelize the pagan Angles of Kent. They arrived in 597, were received cautiously by King Aethelberht (whose

Frankish wife Bertha was already Christian), and by Christmas of 597 were reportedly baptizing thousands. The church in England that Augustine of Canterbury planted was Benedictine from its foundation. It is through the English mission that the Rule will travel back to continental Europe a century later in the hands of English missionaries like Boniface.

His writings. Gregory was a prolific author. His *Pastoral Rule* (c. 591) on the care of souls became the standard medieval handbook for bishops. His *Moralia in Job*, 35 books of moral exegesis, was read in monastic refectories for a thousand years. His 854 surviving letters are our best source for the administrative, diplomatic, and pastoral realities of the year 600. And Gregory is the man who signed himself *servus servorum Dei* — "servant of the servants of God" — a title every pope since has used.

Gregorian chant? Tradition names the plainchant musical tradition of the Western church after Gregory. The historical connection is tenuous — most of the chant repertory was codified two centuries after his death by Frankish musicians. But the label stuck, because Gregory was the man who made liturgy a pastoral priority.

PART 7 — WHAT THE MONASTERIES DID FOR THE WEST

Between 550 and 1100, while Western secular civilization crumbled and slowly rebuilt, the Benedictine monasteries quietly carried forward the things the ancient world had known how to do. Six enduring gifts:

> **1. The preservation of books.** Nearly every classical Latin text we still read was preserved because Benedictine monks copied it. Virgil, Cicero, Livy, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus — each survives in dozens of manuscripts almost all copied in Benedictine scriptoria. The same is true for the Latin Bible, the Latin fathers (Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose), and increasingly, by the 9th century, Greek fathers in translation.
>
> > **2. The preservation of learning itself.** The cathedral schools and eventually the medieval universities grew out of monastic and episcopal libraries. Bede at Jarrow (d. 735), Alcuin at York (d. 804), Rabanus Maurus at Fulda (d. 856),

Anselm at Bec (d. 1109) — all Benedictines, all working from monastery libraries, all training generations of students.

3. Evangelism of the Germanic peoples. Augustine of Canterbury (England, 597), Willibrord (Frisia, c. 690), Boniface (Germany, c. 718–754), Ansgar (Scandinavia, c. 826), and countless others were Benedictine or Benedictine-trained monks who left their cloisters to preach to pagans. Boniface's felling of the sacred oak of Donar at Geismar around 723 is the most famous single missionary moment of the early medieval West.

4. Agriculture and landscape. Monasteries drained swamps, cleared forests, bred livestock, and invented or refined techniques that passed into the wider peasant economy. The three-field crop rotation, the horse collar, water-powered mills, improved beekeeping, and — famously — monastic brewing and viticulture, all spread through the monasteries.

5. Art, music, and architecture. Illuminated manuscripts (the Book of Kells c. 800, the Lindisfarne Gospels c. 700, the Winchester Bible c. 1160), the development of Gregorian chant, the Romanesque and Gothic abbey churches, the invention of musical notation by Guido of Arezzo (a Benedictine) — Western artistic culture is largely a monastic story.

6. Hospitality and charity. Monastic guest houses, hospitals, and almonries were for most of the Middle Ages the only social safety net there was. A pilgrim, a sick traveler, or a poor widow could always go to the monastery gate. "All guests who come shall be received as Christ" was not a slogan; it was a policy.

PART 8 — WHY NOLL CALLS THIS A TURNING POINT

Noll's chapter on Benedict is titled *The Monastic Rescue of the Church*. He argues the Rule is a turning point on three levels:

> • **Ecclesially.** The Rule produced the institution — the Benedictine monastery — that held Western Christianity together through the darkest centuries of European history. Without that institution the church that met Luther and Wesley and Newton and O'Sullivan would not have existed to meet them.

> • **Culturally.** The Rule gave Europe a model of ordered, literate, prayerful life at a moment when the Roman model had collapsed. The *horarium* of monastic life seeped into the rhythms of towns (church bells), universities (lecture hours), even modern hospitals and schools.

> • **Spiritually.** The Rule offered a particular vision of the Christian life — stability, humility, manual work, hospitality, the slow reading of Scripture, the regular hours of prayer — that has continued to feed Christians who have never worn a habit. Every Christian retreat centre, every Daily Office in every parish prayer book, every instinct that "I should read the Bible slowly and pray at fixed times" is downstream of Monte Cassino.

A caveat Noll and others raise: later medieval monasteries accumulated great wealth, and by the time of the Reformation many (not all) had become lax and entangled with feudal power. Luther's experience as an Augustinian friar, and Calvin's broader disdain for the monastic vocation, were responses to real abuses. The Protestant dissolution of the monasteries (in England under Henry VIII, 1536–1541) destroyed genuine treasures alongside genuine problems. The Benedictine tradition today, in Catholic and Anglican forms, would argue: the cure for abuse is reform, not abolition.

WHY THIS MATTERS FOR US

> • **The Christian life is a rule of life, whether we say so or not.** Every Christian has a rhythm — when they pray, what they read, who they work with, who they eat with. Benedict's genius was to make the rhythm visible and

intentional. When our own rhythm is working against our discipleship, Benedict asks us what we would change if we put it in writing and signed it.

• **Stability is countercultural.** In a culture that changes churches the way it changes neighborhoods, Benedict's vow of stability says something strange: *the people you cannot leave are the people God has given you to make you holy*. A congregation that believes this will look very different from one that does not.

• **Work is prayer.** *Ora et labora* collapses the secular-sacred split most Protestants inherited from the modern world. Benedict did not leave the laundry, the vegetable garden, and the bookkeeping outside the church walls; he brought them inside. Every congregation can learn something from that.

• **Hospitality is a sacrament.** "All guests who come shall be received as Christ." This is not a suggestion for the welcoming committee; it is a theological claim about who arrives at our door. A church without open hospitality to strangers has not yet read chapter 53.

Greek NT (Col 3:17): και ̀ πᾶν ὅ τι ἐα ̀ν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ πατρι ̀ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ.

Colossians 3:17 (ESV): "And whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him."

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Benedict wrote the Rule as Roman civilization was collapsing around him. What does it mean that the church's best response to cultural collapse was not a political project but a disciplined community of prayer?

2. The three Benedictine vows are stability, conversion of life, and obedience — not the more familiar poverty, chastity, and obedience. Which of the three strikes you as hardest to imagine keeping? Why?

3. Read Rule of Benedict chapter 53 on hospitality aloud. If our congregation took it at face value, what would change about our Sunday mornings? Our weekdays?

4. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul" (Rule 48). Is that Protestant workaholism, Roman rigor, or something else? Where does it land on you?

5. Gregory sent forty monks to evangelize pagan England. In what ways does a monastery look like a missionary base in the 7th century? Do any of our contemporary church structures do for us what a monastery did for them?

6. The Reformation dissolved most Protestant monasteries and the Anglican Church kept only a ghost of the tradition. Was that a loss, a gain, or a mixture? What could modern evangelicals reasonably receive from Benedict without becoming Roman Catholic?

CLOSING PRAYER

Father, we thank you for Benedict — for Monte Cassino, for the seven daily hours of praise, for the little Rule that became a doorway. Thank you for the Roman civilization that collapsed and for the small communities that carried your gospel through the dark. Teach us stability when we want to flee, humility when we want to argue, and work that is also prayer. Let our houses receive guests as Christ. Let our days have their rhythm. Let us remember that we are not the first, that we will not be the last, and that you are the Lord both

> of emptying Romes and of mountain monasteries. Through Jesus Christ, with whom we pray: *Listen, Father, with the ear of your heart*. Amen.

FURTHER READING

Primary sources:

- *The Rule of Saint Benedict* — the standard English edition with commentary is Timothy Fry (ed.), *RB 1980* (Liturgical Press, 1981). Terrence Kardong's *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (1996) is also excellent.
- Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* Book 2 (c. 593) — the life of Benedict.
- Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Rule* (*Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, c. 591).
- Athanasius, *Life of Anthony*; Sulpicius Severus, *Life of Martin*; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (731).
- John Cassian, *Institutes* and *Conferences*.

Modern studies:

- **Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points*** (3rd ed., 2012), ch. 4: "The Monastic Rescue of the Church: Benedict's Rule (530)."
- Esther de Waal, *Seeking God: The Way of St. Benedict* (1984) — the classic modern introduction.
- Rowan Williams, *The Way of St Benedict* (2020).
- Lawrence Cunningham, *A Brief History of Saints* (2005).
- Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe* (1932) — the older classical study of monasticism and culture.
- Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (3rd ed., 2013).

- Greg Peters, *The Story of Monasticism: Retrieving an Ancient Tradition for Contemporary Spirituality* (2015) — a Protestant scholar's sympathetic retrieval.

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