

The Primitive Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission

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I. Introduction

Saint Vincent opens his definitive publication of the Common Rules with an affirmation that there were other rules in existence before those finally distributed to the Congregation in 1658.

It is now about thirty-three years since our Congregation was founded, but I have not had our Rules printed for you before now. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, I wanted to take our Savior as a model. He put things into practice before He made them part of His teaching. Secondly, delaying their printing has avoided many problems which most certainly would have arisen if these Rules or Constitutions had been published too soon.... It has also made it possible for the Congregation gradually and smoothly to get used to living the Rules before having them in print. You will not find anything in them which you have not been doing for a long time, and I must say how pleased I am that you do live by them and that they have enabled you all to help one another.¹

Recent discoveries of three old texts have brought to light the early rules that were the basis of the Common Rules. The first text, the oldest, judging from the archaic spelling of the French, was found among the documents formerly in Constantinople (Istanbul), in the house of Saint Benoît.² This foundation had been staffed by members of the Congregation from 1783, succeeding the Jesuits there. I was led to examine these archives since I suspected that such an old house might have materials unknown elsewhere, possibly going back to Saint Vincent himself. This hunch was at least partially proven to be true.

The second text is in the provincial archives of the Congregation of the Mission, Madrid. Unlike the other two texts studied in this

¹ *Règles Communes*, entête de Saint Vincent de Paul.

² Archives of the Congregation of the Mission, Paris (ACM Paris) Constantinople, St. Benoît, Carton VIII, B, 3.

presentation, this one is dated, to 1699. It was written by Jean-Claude Paris (1669-1755), who for some reason wrote out the title page in Italian, transcribing his name as Jouanni Claodii Parigi.³ How it arrived in Madrid is unknown. I have a copy in my files.

The third text is found in the departmental archives of the Aube, in Troyes, which made it available to me. The first one to note it was Joseph Guichard, who painstakingly examined the printed lists of the holding of French departmental archives and arranged his materials in a typed version kept at the archives of the Congregation of the Mission in Paris. I discovered this reference while studying Guichard's materials. The Congregation had a foundation in Troyes from 1637 until the Revolution, at which time the archives of the house were seized by the State. This is probably the reason for the presence of this manuscript in the departmental archives. The spelling in the document is more modern in comparison with the Constantinople text, but otherwise it is nearly the same.⁴

There are certainly other texts remaining in various archives, such as in the Bibliothèque municipale de Bordeaux (Mériadeck) but only these three are examined here because of their representative nature.

The reason for publishing these early rules is to have yet another unknown (or in fact unrecognized) text by Vincent de Paul in print. The value of this one is that it shows how his ideas developed over the years, from the beginnings of the Congregation to the final publication of the Common Rules in 1658.

II. Identification

The distinctive mark of the three early texts is their title, "Règlement pour la Congrégation de la Mission," or "Rule for the Congregation of the Mission." This title is important, since it contrasts with a similar version of the rules found in the standard rules of the internal seminary faithfully copied by generations of novices (or seminarists). An Italian version dated 1831 calls this compilation "Summary of the Rules,"⁵ and the official version published under Antoine Fiat in 1888 omits the traditional title and gives it a more descriptive one, but one that is finally less accurate: "Pars Prior ea complectens quae missionarios universim

³ It has the identification number of "1 Re. 1, N.I."

⁴ Archives départementales de l'Aube, 5 G 39, 22 pages, paper.

⁵ "Regole e Practiche," ms. novitiate rules in De Andreis Rosati Memorial Archives, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, Perryville papers, p. 5.

attingunt.”⁶ In other words, as part of the rules of the Internal Seminary, there appeared, in the first part, those matters which deal with Missioners in general. The editors mistakenly believed that the rules to follow, which they had taken “ex antiquissimis Codicibus, quibus a temporibus S. Vincentii usque ad finem saeculi XVIII usi sunt Missionarii” [from the earliest manuscripts, which the Missioners used from the time of Saint Vincent until the end of the 18th century], were only a summary of the Common Rules, not a preliminary, or “primitive,” version of the same. The translators of the French text into Latin in 1888 took some liberties in translation, probably in an attempt to bring the rules up to date.⁷

The Constantinople (C) text is in a small unbound and unnumbered paper notebook, 15 × 20 cm (approximately 6 × 8 inches). The rules are written in French, in ink and in one hand, on six pages numbering approximately thirty lines. The rest of the notebook contains materials useful for the Internal Seminary (Novitiate) of the Congregation, such as the rules, customs and practices, methods for confession, hearing Mass, the particular and general examens, and the like. The Madrid (M) text is about the same size as the C version, with the rules in French, in ink and in one hand. The rules cover about six pages, also numbering approximately thirty lines. The entire notebook, with the rules of the Internal Seminary, contains sixty-one pages. The Troyes (T) text is a somewhat larger notebook, bound in paper, marked “Séminaire.” The rules in question, also in French and written in ink, are the work of one scribe. They open the booklet and fill about four pages of around forty lines each. The rest of T, like C and M, consists of materials for the Internal Seminary. In all the texts, the “Advice” given by Saint Vincent during the retreats of 1632 and 1635 appear next, followed by rules for the Internal Seminary,⁸ in much the same way as followed by later publications as well as the Latin version published in 1888.

With the exception of the Madrid text, neither booklet is dated or has the name of the scribe or the owner of the booklet. Clearly, however, these were copied by students of the Internal Seminary

⁶ *Regulae Seminarii Interni Congregationis Missionis. Monita ad Curatores.* Paris, 1888.

⁷ For two examples among many, Rule 3: “N’aspirer a aucun benefice” (Not to aspire to any benefice) became: “Ad nullum beneficium *aut dignitatem ecclesiasticam* aspirare” (Not to aspire to any benefice *or ecclesiastical dignity*). Rule 5: “Obeir au superieur” (to obey the superior) became: “Superioribus... obedire” (to obey the superiors).

⁸ “Recueil des maximes, règles, pratiques, usages et coutumes qui composent le Règlement du séminaire interne de la Congrégation de la Mission,” ms. notebook, dated 1819, in ACM Paris.

(which one is unknown) for their own use. In all likelihood they found their way into the archives of the houses of Constantinople and Troyes at some period thanks to the confrere who wrote them and left them behind, either at his death or departure from the house. The T manuscript, in addition, has some notes in another hand, consisting of single letters and numbers, which seem to be references to other texts, but not to the Common Rules. They appear here only in footnotes to the text.

The importance of proper identification of these rules will be seen through a comparison between the text of the Primitive Common Rules and that of the official Common Rules. The Primitive Common Rules encapsulate Vincent's original inspiration for his confreres. He often referred in his letters to rules ("the little rules"), which he cited in a general way, and a more thorough study than the one offered here will easily show that he followed his early ideas throughout his life, with only a few exceptions.

For the moment, there is no way to date the earliest composition of these rules, but indications appear in the saint's correspondence concerning the "little rules" as he often called them.⁹ An Order of Day for missions was in existence in 1632, as is reflected in the "Advice" given by the founder during the retreat of that year.¹⁰ In 1635 he wrote that "we have not yet drawn up our rules,"¹¹ but this may refer to the whole complex of common and particular rules. These primitive common rules must have been existence as early as 1637 when the first Internal Seminary began in Paris. Another early witness is the description that Vincent made of the Order of Day in his important letter to Jeanne de Chantal from 1639.¹² The centrality of these rules for Vincentian life is demonstrated by the fact that they are the first rules given in the notebooks destined for incoming candidates. In addition, the Primitive Rules seem to be derived principally from the experience of Saint-Lazare. For example, the regular mention of "the superior" undoubtedly refers to Saint Vincent himself, as it does in the rules of the Sisters. By contrast, however, the earliest text we have of the rules of the Internal Seminary, edited by Vincent de Paul himself and dated 1652, does not contain the Primitive Common Rules.¹³ It would, therefore, be

⁹ See for example COSTE, vol. I, letters 30, p. 66, 1628; 91, p. 139, about 1631; 142, p. 204, July 1633, 365, p. 528, 1838.

¹⁰ Conference 83; COSTE, vol. 11, p. 100.

¹¹ Letter 195, p. 291 (English p. 273).

¹² Letter 383, from Troyes, July 14, 1639.

¹³ "Règles du Séminaire interne, qui remonte à 1652," ms., six notebooks, ACM Paris.

easy to conclude that these primitive rules were still the rules of the Congregation in that year and available to everyone, since the official Common Rules would be published only six years in the future. Because they were still the rules currently being observed, they would not need to be added to the individual notebooks copied by the seminary students.

One element of the Primitive Common Rules may seem to speak against their antiquity, the Order of Day. On first reading, it might appear that this section was designed only for the Internal Seminary, inasmuch as it is very static and idealized. The only activity alluded to, apart from prayer, is study. This focus, however, changes in the last article, which offers a schedule for those giving missions. Also, there is no difference mentioned between the activities of priests and brothers. Although it is well known that Saint Vincent held other exercises, such as repetition of prayer and weekly conferences, these are not reflected in this daily schedule, possibly because this schedule was early and gave only a general summary. Certainly, he himself did not observe it in all its particulars, given his numerous meetings, conferences, correspondence and other administrative duties. As a careful examination of the dates of his various letters and other activities shows, he seems also to have taken a day off on Thursdays, but the schedule makes no distinction among any of the days of the week or even the feasts or seasons of the year, apart from prescribing an annual retreat. There are occasional references elsewhere, however, to a weekly walk which does not appear here. Possibly this was a development from this generalized schedule.¹⁴

The editors of the 1888 Internal Seminary rules must have been confused by the summary nature of the final article of the Order of Day, since they published it only in a footnote and inserted a more precise text in its place. This will be found in the notes to article XVI.

Another indication of the antiquity of these rules is that they and the earliest rules of the Daughters of Charity follow the same format. That is, the Primitive Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission consist of thirty-three specific articles followed by an Order of Day in sixteen articles. In the case of the rules of the Sisters, there are forty-three articles, but developed at much greater length than those for the Missioners. Then follows an order of day in twenty-seven articles, also more developed than the one for the

¹⁴ These differences would be codified in the Customs Book (Coutumier) drawn up for Saint Lazare and other houses.

priests and brothers of the Mission.¹⁵ This very development from the almost laconic style of the Primitive Rules to the early version of the Common Rules of the Sisters shows how the Founder worked on his ideas. His tendency to elaborate on them, can be appreciated even in Rule 32, which begins to sound more like the exhortations found in the Common Rules.

Since Vincent de Paul died before publishing the Common and Particular Rules of the Sisters, his many conferences to the Daughters of Charity deal with the early form of their rules in forty-three articles. The official "Common Rules" of the Sisters were finally published in a significantly revised version by René Alméras in 1672. By contrast, Vincent's conferences to his confreres dealt with the actual text of the Common Rules that he published in 1658 and not with the Primitive Rules being transcribed here.

III. Publication

This publication of the text of the Primitive Common Rules (part IV) is offered with the original spelling in French of the C manuscript since it appears to be the oldest.¹⁶ At the period of writing, most likely the late seventeenth century, spelling, the use of accents, capitalization, abbreviations and punctuation had not been standardized. The M text is dated 1699, and its spelling falls between the styles of the other two versions. The T manuscript, judging from its spelling and style of handwriting, dates from the eighteenth century. In those few places where M or T differs substantially from C, these variations are mentioned. Some explanations of them are offered in the notes where they occur. In addition, it should be remarked that errors could easily creep into the text, especially because directors of the internal seminary would not normally check the accuracy of the work of their novices.

Following that text, in part V, I have presented in parallel columns the Primitive Common Rules and the essential parts of the official Common Rules of 1658 that quote the earlier text. It will become evident that Vincent generally followed the text of his Primitive Common Rules but generally offered a richer and more satisfying text in his official Common Rules, one more clearly developed in

¹⁵ For the English publication of these texts, see PIERRE COSTE, *Vincent De Paul. Correspondence, Conferences, Documents*, ed. and trans. Marie Poole et al., Hyde Park, NY, 2003, vol. 13b, pp. 147-169.

¹⁶ The author is grateful for the help given by Fr. Bernard Koch, C.M., in deciphering difficult portions of the text.

spiritual and theological terms. I leave it to others to draw out more comparisons and to shed a better light on these texts. The official Common Rules, it should be noted, were written first in French and later translated into Latin, probably by someone other than the Founder. The French text sounds like Vincent himself, whereas the Latin translation is dry and occasionally misses the sense of the original. The French text of the Common Rules used here is that published also in 1658 for the use of the brothers, both clerical and lay. The modern French text follows this one closely, but has some changes required for modern readers.¹⁷

The most obvious difference between the Primitive Common Rules and the Common Rules of 1658 is the omission of the Order of Day. In many cases, Vincent moved the rules out of this section into one of the chapters of the later work. But he apparently also felt that he could simply require that “the timetable which is customary in the Congregation is to be strictly followed by everyone, whether at home or on missions, particularly as regards the times for getting up and going to bed, prayer, the Divine Office, and meals.”¹⁸

Other differences will be noted in the omission of certain points which for various reasons he did not maintain. Rule 30: “Not to go to the garden outside the hours of recreation without permission.” This might have been applicable only for the huge property of Saint-Lazare and hence would be meaningless in smaller houses. The other noteworthy omission is Rule 4: “To spend the whole time of one’s life in the exercises of the Mission.” Since the development of the vow of stability took such a long time to concretize, it was undoubtedly thought better to omit any treatment of it here, particularly since the Common Rules of 1658 did not mention vows, only virtues.

By contrast, some of the primitive rules were clarified and made more demanding, such as the decision that the superior would designate a traveling companion (Rules 7 and 8).

Various smaller changes have their own interest. In rule 28, the exception about taking breakfast, which was never regarded as a meal and consequently was not begun with the prayers before meals, was not included in the Common Rules. It is possible that the custom had become generalized by 1658. The freedom to take a brief walk

¹⁷ The text of the Common Rules in “Codex Sarzana” does not contain these points of rule, which points likewise to the fact that they were omitted early on. For that text, see the author’s “Codex Sarzana,” *Vincentiana* 35: 3-4 (1991), 307-406.

¹⁸ Chapter X, article 18.

with an extern in the courtyard did not find its way from Rule 29 into the Common Rules either.

In the Order of Day, Rule 2, “to be fully clothed,” was softened to “decently clothed,” probably in view of the obvious necessity of sometimes leaving one’s room for “satisfying our necessities” before being fully clothed.¹⁹ The omission from Rule 4 of the obligation of celebrating the Little Hours in common was probably due to the impracticality of scheduling this along with the need to celebrate Mass and provide altar servers from among the students.

Besides the differences in wording or omissions of certain sections, one will easily recognize that many important additions were made to the Common Rules that did not appear in the Primitive Rules. These surely must have come from Vincent’s experience of the life of his confreres. His assertion that “you will not find anything in them which you have not been doing for a long time,” is not completely justified.

Part VI presents an English translation of the Primitive Common Rules alone. These can easily be compared to the Common Rules of 1658 by referring to the numbers of chapter and article appearing in the table of comparisons.

Part VII presents brief analysis of the order within the rules themselves. They move from short and generic and to long and specific.

IV. Text

REGLEMENT POUR LA CONGREGATION DE LA MISSION

Premierement Le principal²⁰ du Missionnaire doit estre de travailler a sa propre perfection 2^{mt} au salut des pauvres gens des champs 3^{mt} a l’avancement de lestat ecclesiastique en la vertu.

2^e Vivre en pauvreté, et en commun.

3^e N’aspirer a aucun benefice.

4^e Employer tout le temps de sa vie aux exercices de la Mission.

5^e Obéir au superieur, et a tous ceux qu’il aura commis pour le représenter tant a la ville qu’aux champs.²¹

¹⁹ Interestingly, neither of the versions of the Common Rules specifies details of clothing.

²⁰ Although “principal” is a noun, translation requires the addition of another term to complete the sense. The 1888 version translates: “Praecipua Missionariorum **cura** est.”

²¹ T: “p.5.a.5.6.a.1.”

- 6^e User de toutes les precautions imaginables pour conserver la pureté interieure, et exterieure.
- 7^e Ne sortir jamais de la maison sans la permission du superieur, ou de celuy qui le represente; ny sans dire les lieux ou l'on va et les affaires qu'on y a; et au retour se représenter a luy pour luy rendre compte de son voyage.²²
- 8^e L'on ira dehors que deux a deux, et celuy qui servira de compagnon donnera le devant a l'autre,²³ et le laissera parler.
- 9^e Ne jamais manger aux maisons externes de la ville, ny des champs, ny faire manger personne a la maison sans permission expresse du superieur.
- 10^e On mettra les lettres qu'on escrira avant de les cacheter, entre les mains du superieur pour les envoyer, ou les retenir selon qu'il trouvera a propos, sans jamais en escrire autrement, ny ouvrir celles qu'on aura receu, sans les avoir fait voir auparavant au dit superieur.²⁴
- 11^e Faire les exercices spirituels tous les ans une fois.²⁵
- 12^e Rendre compte de temps en temps de sa conscience au superieur,²⁶ ou a tel qu'il députera.
- 13^e Dire tous les vendredys sa coulpe au superieur ou a celuy qui le represente a la ville ou aux champs en presence des autres. Et escouter volontiers les advertissements qui [*seront donnés; et faire de bon cœur les paenitences qui seront ordonnées* (T, M)]²⁷ [*seront ordonnés*].²⁸
- 14^e Suivre les advis de celuy que le superieur deputera pour les choses spirituelles, et se confesser a luy deux fois toutes les sepmeines sçavoir le mercredy, et le samedy apres l'office du matin.
- 15^e S'entreavertir charitablement les uns les autres de ses manquements, et recevoir avec humilité les advertissements qui nous seront donnés.²⁹

²² T: "8.a.4."

²³ M: "à son compagnon."

²⁴ T: "Cassianus instit. lib. 4 cap.," a reference to *De institutis coenobiorum* by John Cassian.

²⁵ M: The order of the three following rules is 12, 13, 11, in comparison with C.

²⁶ M: "Luy rendre compte de temps en temps de sa conscience."

²⁷ The Troyes text makes more sense, and is explained as a haplography, that is, the eye of the copyist inadvertently skipped from one phrase, *seront donnés*, to a similar phrase in the following line, *seront ordonnés*, thereby omitting several words in between.

²⁸ T: "p.8.a.5."

²⁹ T: "p.5.n.7.8.p.7.a.18.p.8.a.7."

- 16° Donner avis au superieur des manquements qu'on aura remarqué parmi les autres, et trouver bon qu'on l'advertisse des nostres.
- 17° Se porter un grand respect les uns les autres et vivre neantmoins d'une maniere toutte cordiale ensemble sans jamais se tutoyer, ny toucher par familiarité.³⁰
- 18° Ne point louer ceux qui preschent, catechisent confessent, ou reussissent dans les emplois exterieurs, mais ceux qui sont fort vertueux et interieurs.³¹
- 19° Esviter esgallement les amitiés particulieres et les aversions.³²
- 20° Ne point parler de la conduite, ny des affaires de la maison, ny de celles du temps.
- 21° Ne parler jamais mal de personne, et principalement du Superieur.
- 22° Garder fidellement silence du depuis [*Garder le silence depuis* (T, M)]³³ les prieres du soir jusques au landemain incontinent apres [*le* (T)] disné³⁴ et depuis la fin de la recreation jusques apres le souper.³⁵
- 23° Ne point visiter ses compagnons en leur chambres, ny s'entretenir ensemble hors les heures de recreation.
- 24° On fera tousiours lecture a table, tant a la mission,³⁶ qu'à la maison.³⁷
- 25° Ne manger a la maison les vendredys au soir que d'une sorte de mets, qui sera des legumes, pruneaux ou herbages pour honorer la passion de nostre seigneur.
- 26° Tous les exercices de la mission³⁸ se feront gratis.
- 27° Ne rien prendre des externes, ny donner³⁹ sans la permission du superieur.

³⁰ T: "5.a.6."

³¹ T: "p.6.n.7.p.5.n.9."

³² M: "et aversions."

³³ A simpler expression in T.

³⁴ M: "incontinent diné."

³⁵ T: "p.8.n.4."

³⁶ M: "tant à la maison qu'à la mission," a more logical word order.

³⁷ T: "Cassianus instit. lib. 4, cap. 17, à Cappadocis rixantibus... dicit."

The reference is to the origin of reading at table, which Cassian attributed to monks in Cappadocia, not so much as a spiritual exercise but to put an end to useless discussions or quarreling.

³⁸ M: "de la maison," clearly an error in transcription for "de la mission."

³⁹ M: "ny rien prendre sans la permission," perhaps another haplography.

- 28^e Ne boire ny manger hors le repas, ceux la neantmoins, qui auront besoin de desieuner pourront prendre un morceau de pain, et un doigt de vin.
- 29^e Ne parler aux externes sans permission et ne jamais les mener en sa chambre, ny s'entretenir, dans le cloestre ne faire plus dun tour ou deux.⁴⁰
- 30^e N'aller⁴¹ au jardin hors les heures de recreation sans permission.
- 31^e A l'arrivée, et a la sortié de la mission recevoir la benediction de Messieurs les curéz et en leur absence de messieurs les [*leurs* (T, M)] vicaires, et ne rien faire d'importance sans leur permission, et leur communiquer [*sans leur communiquer* (T, M)], comme letablissement de la charité, la communion des enfans, la processon, l'administration des sacrements aux malades et se bien garder et bien faire contre leur gré.
- 32^e Estre fort circonspect a proposer les difficultez qu'on aura trouvez en confession, en sorte qu'on ne puisse entendre de qui on parle. La compagnié doit faire en ce point une attention sans⁴² pareille et pour mortifier la trop grande affection⁴³ qu'on a de dire ce qu'on a trouvé de nouveau. Lon ne proposera aucune difficulté sur les cas qu'on aura rencontrez que par ladvis du superieur.⁴⁴
- 33^e Nul ne s'appliquera aux visites des malades ny aux accommodements que par l'ordre du Superieur.

EMPLOY DE LA JOURNÉE

- Premierement Se lever a quattres heures, et faire le signe de la croix, et dire *benedicta sit sancta atque individua trinitas nunc et semper, et per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Sancta Dei genetrix sit nobis auxiliatrix. Amen.*
- 2^e Employer une demie heure a s'habiller, faire son lict et satisfaire a ses necessitez. Ne point sortir de la chambre sans estre entierement habillé.
- 3^e Durant ce temps⁴⁵ garder le silence marcher sans bruit, faire ses actions avec un esprit tranquille et recueilly se ressouvenant que bientost on doit entrer en oraison.

⁴⁰ T: "8.a.6."

⁴¹ M: "N'aller jamais."

⁴² M: "attention non pareille."

⁴³ M: "mortifier l'affection trop grande qu'on a."

⁴⁴ T: "p.6.n.13."

⁴⁵ M: "ce temps la."

- 4^e Donner une heure de temps a l'oraison au lieu destiné, et au sortir d'icelle dire prime, tierce, sexte, [*et* (T, M)] nonne en commun.
- 5^e Celebrer ou ouir la Sainte Messe a son tour.
- 6^e Estant de retour en sa chambre flechir les genoux ce qu'il faut observer toutes les fois qu'on y entre et qu'on en sort⁴⁶ pour offrir a J.Ch. ce qu'on va faire [*desirant que ce soit* (T)]⁴⁷ pour accomplir la volonté de Dieu et nous avancer en son amour.
- 7^e Lire un chapitre du nouveau testament teste nuë et a genoux avec trois acts. 1^e adorer les veritez qui y sont contenuës. 2^e Entrer dans les sentiments avec les quelles nostre Seigneur les a prononcéz. 3^e Se resoudre a pratiquer les conseils qui y sont contenus et puis s'occuper⁴⁸ a l'estude ou autre exercice qui nous aura esté marqué⁴⁹ par le superieur.
- 8^e⁵⁰ Immediatement devant disner faire un examen⁵¹ particulier touchant la vertu qu'on s'est propose d'acquérir ou le vice qu'on veut extirper.⁵²
- 9^e Disner a unze heures, et apres faire une heure de recreation en forme de conference gayement et modestement.
- 10^e Apres la recreation se rentrer dans sa chambre, et s'employer [*s'addonner* (T)] a lestudes comme au matin.
- 11^e⁵³ A deux heures dire vespres et Complies en commun puis employer un quart d'heure⁵⁴ a la lecture spirituelle.
- 12^e A cinq heures dire matines, et laudes.
- 13^e A six heures et demie l'examen particulier, le souper et la recreation.
- 14^e A huict heures et un quart faire l'examen general avec les prieres ordinaires et la lecture du suiet de l'oraison pour le landemain matin.

⁴⁶ M: "toutes les fois que l'on en sort, ou qu'on y entre."

⁴⁷ Possibly a clarification of an obscure text. M: "pour offrir ce que l'on va faire desirant accomplir."

⁴⁸ M: "s'appliquer."

⁴⁹ M: "à autres exercices qui nous auront esté marqués."

⁵⁰ M: Perhaps by accident, the copyist omitted numbering this rule, and then numbered as 8 what in the other texts is 9, and so on to the end.

⁵¹ M: "faire l'examen."

⁵² T: "infra p. 18."

⁵³ M: The copyist has switched the order of this rule and the next.

⁵⁴ M: "employer un quart à la lecture."

- 15° A neuf heures se coucher se recommandant a la tres sainte trinité, et a la sainte Vierge, afinq' nos premieres, et dernieres pensez⁵⁵ soient adresséz à Dieu et a sa sainte Mere.
- 16° On observera le mesme ordre aux missions excepté qu'on⁵⁶ ira a six heures a leglize pour en sortir a unze, qu'on y retournera a deux pour en sortir a cinq', et qu'on dira vespres et complies a une heure, et matines et laudes a cinq heures.⁵⁷

V. Comparison of Texts

Règlement pour la Congrégation de la Mission	Règles Communes, 1658
Premièrement Le principal du Missionnaire doit être de travailler à sa propre perfection; 2 ^m au salut des pauvres gens des champs; 3 ^m à l'avancement de l'état ecclésiastique en la vertu.	C'est pourquoi sa fin est: 1° de travailler à sa propre perfection, en faisant son possible pour pratiquer les vertus que ce souverain Maître a daigné nous enseigner, de parole et d'exemple; 2° de prêcher l'évangile aux pauvres, particulièrement à ceux de la campagne; 3° d'aider les ecclésiastiques à acquérir les sciences et les vertus nécessaires à leur état. (I, 1)
2° Vivre en pauvreté, et en commun.	chacun tâchera, selon son petit pouvoir, de l'imiter en la pratique de cette vertu [pauvreté] (III, 1)
3° N'aspirer à aucun bénéfice.	il n'aspirera pas même à aucun bénéfice (III, 10)
4° Employer tout le temps de sa vie aux exercices de la Mission.	—

⁵⁵ M: "afin que nos dernieres prieres et pensées."

⁵⁶ M: The copyist mistakenly writes: "L'on observera... que l'on ira."

⁵⁷ The 1888 publication of the Internal Seminary rules has substituted the following for article XVI: "In Missionibus, ea quae sequuntur inviolabiliter observare: 1° Horâ quartâ surgere et nonâ cubitum ire. 2° Orationi mentali vacare. 3° Horas canonicas in communi recitare. 4° Horâ statuta Sacrum celebrare. 5° Ab ecclesia non egredi sine Superioris facultate, causam egressûs illi exponendo. 6° Lectionem libri spiritualis ad mensam non omittere. 7° Quâlibet feriâ sexta capitulum celebrare" (p. 18).

Règlement pour la Congrégation de la Mission	Règles Communes, 1658
5° Obéir au supérieur, et à tous ceux qu'il aura commis pour le représenter tant à la ville qu'aux champs.	nous obéirons exactement à nos Supérieurs, et à chacun d'iceux, (V, 1)
6° User de toutes les précautions imaginables pour conserver la pureté intérieure et extérieure.	c'est pourquoi chacun apportera de son côté tout le soin, la diligence et la précaution possible pour conserver entièrement cette chasteté, tant à l'égard du corps, qu'à l'égard de l'âme. (IV, 1)
7° Ne sortir jamais de la maison sans la permission du supérieur, ou de celui qui le représente; ni sans dire les lieux où l'on va et les affaires qu'on y a; et au retour se représenter à lui pour lui rendre compte de son voyage.	Personne ne sortira de la maison, sinon comme, quand, et avec qui le Supérieur le jugera à propos, auquel il appartiendra de nommer le compagnon, s'il n'a délégué quelque autre pour le faire. (IX, 11)
8° L'on ira dehors que deux à deux, et celui qui servira de compagnon donnera le devant à l'autre, et le laissera parler.	et celui qui aura été donné pour compagnon donnera le devant à l'autre et le laissera parler. (IX, 11)
9° Ne jamais manger aux maisons externes de la ville, ni des champs, ni faire manger personne à la maison sans permission expresse du supérieur.	Nul n'invitera à manger ou boire aucun externe, sans la même permission du Supérieur. (IX, 6)
10° On mettra les lettres qu'on écrira avant de les cacheter, entre les mains du supérieur pour les envoyer, ou les retenir selon qu'il trouvera à propos, sans jamais en écrire autrement, ni ouvrir celles qu'on aura reçues, sans les avoir fait voir auparavant au dit supérieur.	nul n'écrira, ni n'enverra, ni n'ouvrira des lettres sans la permission du Supérieur, entre les mains duquel chacun remettra celles qu'il aura écrites, pour les envoyer ou les retenir comme bon lui semblera. (V, 11)
11° Faire les exercices spirituels tous les ans une fois.	Ceux qui sont déjà entrés feront les mêmes Exercices avec une autre confession depuis la dernière géné-

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	rale, les séminaristes tous les six mois, et les autres tous les ans. (X, 10)
12° Rendre compte de temps en temps de sa conscience au supérieur, ou à tel qu'il députera.	C'est pourquoi, tous et un chacun feront, avec toute la sincérité et dévotion qu'ils pourront et en la manière dont on a accoutumé d'user en la Congrégation, leur communication intérieure au Supérieur, ou à quelque autre qu'il aura député pour cela, (X, 11)
13° Dire tous les vendredis sa coulpe au supérieur ou à celui qui le représente à la ville ou aux champs en présence des autres. Et écouter volontiers les avertissements qui seront ordonnés.	tous les vendredis chacun dira, en présence des autres, sa coulpe au Supérieur ou à celui qui le représentera, et cela tant à la maison qu'aux missions, et recevra de bon cœur les avertissements et les pénitences qui lui seront donnés. (X, 13)
14° Suivre les avis de celui que le supérieur députera pour les choses spirituelles, et se confesser à lui deux fois toutes les semaines, savoir le mercredi, et le samedi après l'office du matin.	et afin que le tout se fasse avec ordre, les prêtres se confesseront deux fois, ou du moins une fois, toutes les semaines, à un des confesseurs de la maison, à ce député, et non à d'autres, sans la permission du Supérieur, (X, 6)
15° S'entreavertir charitablement les uns les autres de ses manquements, et recevoir avec humilité les avertissements qui nous seront donnés.	On gardera aussi la sainte pratique de demander au Chapitre d'y être averti publiquement de nos défauts, et pour lors, chacun sera soigneux de faire cet avertissement en esprit d'humilité et de charité. (X, 13)
16° Donner avis au supérieur des manquements qu'on aura remarqué parmi les autres, et trouver bon qu'on l'avertisse des nôtres.	dès que quelqu'un aura des pensées suspectes d'illusion[s], ou quelque peine intérieure, ou tentation notable, il s'en découvrira, le plus tôt qu'il pourra, au Supérieur ou au directeur à ce député, afin qu'il y apporte le remède convenable; lequel chacun recevra et agréera comme

Règlement pour la Congrégation de la Mission	Règles Communes, 1658
	venant de la main de Dieu, et s'y soumettra avec confiance et respect. (II, 16)
17° Se porter un grand respect les uns les autres et vivre néanmoins d'une manière toute cordiale ensemble sans jamais se tutoyer, ni toucher par familiarité.	tous agiront les uns avec les autres dans un grand respect, (VIII, 2); Tous se donneront de garde de se toucher l'un l'autre, (VII, 3)
18° Ne point louer ceux qui prêchent, catéchisent, confessent, ou réussissent dans les emplois extérieurs, mais ceux qui sont fort vertueux et intérieurs.	personne ne louera les Nôtres, particulièrement en leur présence, pour les rares talents naturels ou acquis, principalement pour les prédications qu'ils auraient faites éloquemment, et avec applaudissement des hommes; (XII, 4)
19° Eviter également les amitiés particulières et les aversions.	ils fuiront pourtant diligemment les amitiés particulières, aussi bien que les aversions: (VIII, 2)
20° Ne point parler de la conduite, ni des affaires de la maison, ni de celles du temps.	Nul ne rapportera légèrement ou inutilement aux externes ce qu'on a fait, ou ce qu'on doit faire en la maison, ni ne s'entretiendra avec eux des choses dont il ne nous est pas permis de parler entre nous, particulièrement de celles qui regardent l'Etat ou le gouvernement du royaume. (IX, 9)
21° Ne parler jamais mal de personne, et principalement du Supérieur.	Personne ne touchera tant soit peu la réputation des autres, particulièrement des Supérieurs, (VIII, 11)
22° Garder fidèlement silence du depuis les prières du soir jusques au lendemain incontinent après dîner et depuis la fin de la récréation jusques après le souper	pour cela, chez nous, le silence se gardera, hors les heures de récréation; (VIII, 4)

Règlement pour la Congrégation de la Mission	Règles Communes, 1658
23° Ne point visiter ses compagnons en leurs chambres, ni s'entretenir ensemble hors les heures de récréation.	Nul n'entrera dans la chambre d'un autre, s'il n'a permission générale ou particulière du Supérieur, (V, 13)
24° On fera toujours lecture à table, tant à la mission, qu'à la maison.	on fera toujours la lecture spirituelle dans toutes nos maisons, même dans les missions, durant tout le temps du repas. (X, 19)
25° Ne manger à la maison les vendredis au soir que d'une sorte de mets, qui sera des légumes, pruneaux ou herbages pour honorer la passion de notre seigneur.	Pour honorer en quelque façon la Passion de Jésus-Christ, chacun se contentera, le vendredi de chaque semaine, en la réfection du soir, d'un seul mets, qui sera d'herbes ou légumes, si ce n'est lorsqu'on est en mission ou en voyage. (X, 16)
26° Tous les exercices de la mission se feront gratis.	mais nous y ferons toutes nos fonctions gratuitement (XI, 7)
27° Ne rien prendre des externes, ni donner sans la permission du supérieur.	Personne... ne donnera, ne recevra, ne prêtera, n'empruntera ni ne demandera rien d'ailleurs, sans la licence du Supérieur. (III, 5)
28° Ne boire ni manger hors le repas, ceux la néanmoins, qui auront besoin de déjeuner pourront prendre un morceau de pain, et un doigt de vin.	personne ne boira ni ne mangera hors les heures accoutumées, sans licence du Supérieur. (V, 12)
29° Ne parler aux externes sans permission et ne jamais les mener en sa chambre, ni s'entretenir, dans le cloître ne faire plus d'un tour ou deux.	Personne ne parlera dans la maison aux externes ni ne les fera parler a d'autres des Nôtres, sans la permission du Supérieur. (IX, 5)
30° N'aller au jardin hors les heures de récréation sans permission.	—
31° A l'arrivée, et à la sortie de la mission recevoir la bénédiction de Messieurs les curés et en leur absence de messieurs les vicaires, et ne rien faire d'importance	A l'arrivée et à la sortie de la mission, ils demanderont la bénédiction à Messieurs les Pasteurs et, en leur absence, à Messieurs les Vicaires ; et ne feront rien d'importance sans le

Règlement pour la Congrégation de la Mission	Règles Communes, 1658
sans leur permission, et leur communiquer, comme l'établissement de la charité, la communion des enfants, la procession, l'administration des sacrements aux malades et se bien garder et bien faire contre leur gré.	leur avoir communiqué auparavant ; et se garderont bien de rien entreprendre contre leur gré. (XI, 6)
32° Etre fort circonspect à proposer les difficultés qu'on aura trouvez en confession, en sorte qu'on ne puisse entendre de qui on parle. La compagnie doit faire en ce point une attention sans pareille et pour mortifier la trop grande affection qu'on a de dire ce qu'on a trouvé de nouveau. L'on ne proposera aucune difficulté sur les cas qu'on aura rencontrez que par l'avis du supérieur.	On usera de grande prudence et circonspection à proposer les doutes sur les cas de conscience, qui se présentent en confession ; en sorte qu'on ne puisse jamais conjecturer qui est la personne dont il s'agit. Et pour obvier aux maux qui en pourraient arriver, personne ne proposera les doutes touchant aucun cas de conscience un peu considérable, qu'on aura rencontré en confession, qu'auparavant on n'ait demandé au directeur de la mission s'il trouve bon qu'on les [= le] propose. (XI, 9)
33° Nul ne s'appliquera aux visites des malades ni aux accommodements que par l'ordre du Supérieur.	néanmoins, afin que la charité soit bien ordonnée par l'obéissance, personne n'entreprendra ces sortes d'œuvres de miséricorde, sans la licence du Supérieur. (XI, 8)

Emploi de la Journée	Règles Communes, 1658
Premièrement Se lever à quatre heures, et faire le signe de la croix, et dire <i>benedicta sit sancta atque individua trinitas nunc et semper, et per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Sancta Dei genetrix sit nobis auxiliatrix. Amen.</i>	= X, 18
2° Employer une demie heure à s'habiller, faire son lit et satisfaire à ses nécessités. Ne point sortir de la chambre sans être entièrement habillé.	Personne ne sortira de sa chambre sans être décentement vêtu. (VII, 6)

Emploi de la Journée	Règles Communes, 1658
3 ^e Durant ce temps garder le silence marcher sans bruit, faire ses actions avec un esprit tranquille et recueilli se ressouvénant que bientôt on doit entrer en oraison.	Pour mieux observer le silence, chacun fera attention le plus qu'il pourra, à ne faire du bruit dans sa chambre, ou allant et venant par la maison (VIII, 6)
4 ^e Donner une heure de temps à l'oraison au lieu destiné, et au sortir d'icelle dire prime, tierce, sexte, nonne en commun.	tous et un chacun feront soigneusement tous les jours une heure d'oraison mentale, et, selon la coutume de la Congrégation, en commun et au lieu à ce destiné. (X, 7)
5 ^e Célébrer ou ouïr la Sainte Messe à son tour.	et célébreront la sainte Messe tous les jours, si quelque chose ne les en empêche; et tous les autres qui ne sont pas prêtres..., entendront tous les jours la sainte Messe. (X, 6)
6 ^e Etant de retour en sa chambre fléchir les genoux ce qu'il faut observer toutes les fois qu'on y entre et qu'on en sort pour offrir à J.Ch. ce qu'on va faire pour accomplir la volonté de Dieu et nous avancer en son amour.	s'agenouiller en entrant et en sortant des chambres de la maison, pour invoquer Dieu avant notre action, et lui en rendre grâces après qu'elle est faite. (X, 20)
7 ^e Lire un chapitre du nouveau testament teste nue et à genoux avec trois actes. 1 ^{er} adorer les vérités qui y sont contenues. 2 ^e Entrer dans les sentiments avec les quelles notre Seigneur les a prononcés. 3 ^e Se résoudre à pratiquer les conseils qui y sont contenus et puis s'occuper à l'étude ou autre exercice qui nous aura été marqué par le supérieur.	Outre cela, les prêtres et tous les clercs liront un chapitre du Nouveau Testament, et respecteront ce livre comme la règle de la perfection chrétienne et pour en profiter davantage, cette lecture se fera à genoux, et tête nue, faisant du moins à la fin les trois actes suivants, dont le premier sera d'adorer les vérités contenues dans ce même chapitre; le second, de s'exciter à entrer dans les sentiments, dans lesquels Notre-Seigneur ou les Saints les ont prononcées; le troisième, de se résoudre à la pratique des conseils ou préceptes qui y sont contenus, et à l'imitation des exemples de vertus qu'on y trouve. (X, 8)

Emploi de la Journée	Règles Communes, 1658
8° Immédiatement devant dîner faire un examen particulier touchant la vertu qu'on s'est proposé d'acquérir ou le vice qu'on veut extirper.	tous et un chacun feront tous les jours deux sortes d'examen de conscience, l'un particulier, qui se fera courtement avant le dîner et le souper, sur quelque vertu à acquérir, ou sur quelque vice à déraciner (X, 9)
9° Dîner à onze heures, et après faire une heure de récréation en forme de conférence gaiement et modestement.	De plus, tous garderont exactement l'ordre de la journée, qu'on a accoutumé d'observer en la Congrégation, soit dans la maison, soit dans les missions, particulièrement à l'égard des heures du lever et du coucher, de l'oraison, de l'office divin et des repas. (X, 18)
10° Apres la récréation se rentrer dans sa chambre, et s'employer à l'étude comme au matin.	= X, 18
11° A deux heures dire Vêpres et Complies en commun puis employer un quart d'heure à la lecture spirituelle	= X, 18
12° A cinq heures dire matines, et laudes.	= X, 18
13° A six heures et demi l'examen particulier, le souper et la récréation.	= X, 18
14° A huit heures et un quart faire l'examen général avec les prières ordinaires et la lecture du sujet de l'oraison pour le lendemain matin.	= X, 18
15° A neuf heures se coucher se recommandant à la très sainte trinité, et à la sainte Vierge, afin que nos premières, et dernières pensées soient adressées à Dieu et à sa sainte Mère.	= X, 18

Emploi de la Journée	Règles Communes, 1658
16 ^e On observera le même ordre aux missions excepté qu'on ira à six heures à l'église pour en sortir à onze, qu'on y retournera à deux pour en sortir à cinq, et qu'on dira vêpres et complies à une heure, et matines et laudes à cinq heures.	= X, 18

VI. English Translation

RULE FOR THE CONGREGATION OF THE MISSION

First, the main [duty] of the Missioner should be to work for his own perfection; second, for the salvation of the poor country people; third, for the advancement in virtue of the clerical state.

2. To live in poverty, and in common.
3. Not to aspire to any benefice.
4. To spend the whole time of one's life in the exercises of the Mission.
5. To obey the superior and all those he will have appointed to represent him, both in town and in the country.
6. To use all imaginable precautions to maintain intact both interior and exterior purity.
7. Not to leave the house without the permission of the superior or of the person who represents him; nor without mentioning the places where one is going and the business that one has there; and on returning, to speak to him to render an account of his trip.
8. We will go outside only two by two, and the one who is the companion will let the other go first and will let him speak.
9. Never to eat in houses out in town, nor in the country, nor to bring anyone to eat in the house without the express permission of the superior.
10. We will hand over the letters we write to the superior before sealing them, for him to send them or to keep them back as he deems fit, without ever writing in any other way, nor opening those we will have received without first showing them to the superior.
11. To make a retreat once a year.

12. From time to time to make an account of our conscience to the superior, or to the person he designates.
13. Every Friday, to admit one's faults to the superior or to the one who represents him, both in town and in the country, in the presence of the others. And to listen willingly to the notices [*that will be given, and to readily perform the penances that*] will be ordered.
14. To follow the advice of the one whom the superior will designate for spiritual matters, and to go to confession to him twice every week, namely on Wednesday and Saturday after Matins.
15. To charitably mention to one other his defects, and to receive humbly the admonitions that will be given us.
16. To inform the superior of the defects noted in others, and to be willing to have our own made known to us.
17. To have a great respect for each other, and nevertheless to live in a very cordial manner, but without ever speaking familiarly with each other, nor touching each other through familiarity.⁵⁸
18. Never to praise those who preach, catechize, hear confession, or succeed in public duties, except for those who are very virtuous and interior men.
19. In like manner, to avoid both particular friendship and particular aversions.
20. Never to speak of the governance or the affairs of the house, nor those of the world.
21. Never to speak ill of anyone, and principally of the superior.
22. To faithfully keep silence after evening prayer until the following day immediately after dinner and from the end of recreation until after supper.
23. Not to visit our confreres in their rooms, nor to gather together outside the hours of recreation.
24. We will always have reading at table, both on the mission and in the house.
25. On Friday evenings at home, we will eat only one kind of dish, which will be vegetables, prunes or greens, to honor the passion of Our Lord.
26. All the exercises of a mission will be given freely.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Se tutoyer* refers to an informal form of address in French, using *tu* in place of the formal *vous*.

⁵⁹ The text is ambiguous, since it may refer to a parish or popular mission, or to the works of the (Congregation of the) Mission in general. Since Vincent insisted on payment for his confreres working in seminaries and parishes, it is

27. Not to receive anything from externs, nor give them anything without the superior's permission.
28. Not to eat or drink outside of meals; however, those who need to breakfast may take a piece of bread and one finger of wine.
29. Not to speak to externs without permission, and never to bring them to our room, nor to entertain them; in the cloister⁶⁰ [courtyard] to make no more than one or two rounds.
30. Not to go to the garden without permission outside the hours for recreation.
31. When arriving and leaving a mission, to receive the blessing of the pastors, or in their absence, of their associates; and to do nothing of importance without their permission, and [without] telling them, such as the establishment of the [Confraternity of] Charity, the communion of the children, the procession, the administration of the sacraments to the sick; and to be careful of doing anything against their wishes.
32. To be very prudent in proposing the difficulties that one encounters in confession, such that no one will know who is being mentioned. The Company should pay unparalleled attention to this point, and to mortify the overly large pleasure that one has in passing on something novel. We will propose no difficulty concerning the cases we encounter without the advice of the superior.
33. No one will start to visit the sick or become involved in reconciliations without the order of the superior.

ORDER OF DAY

1. To rise at 4:00, and make the sign of the cross and say *benedicta sit sancta atque individua trinitas nunc et semper, et per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Sancta Dei genetrix sit nobis auxiliatrix. Amen.*
2. To spend a half hour in dressing, making the bed and satisfying our necessities. Never to leave the room without being completely clothed.

clear that the text refers only to the popular mission. Besides, he often mentioned the motives for doing so.

⁶⁰ This term could be taken literally for houses, like Saint Lazare and Saint Méen, that had monastic cloister walks, but in general it refers to a courtyard surrounded by buildings.

3. During this time, to maintain silence, to walk without making noise, to perform our actions in a tranquil and recollected spirit, remembering that soon we will have to enter into meditation.
4. To spend an hour in meditation in the designated place, and afterwards, to say Prime, Terce, Sext and None in common.
5. To celebrate or hear Holy Mass in turn.
6. When returning to our room, to kneel, and to do this every time we enter or leave the room, to offer to Jesus Christ what we are about to do [*desiring that it be*] to accomplish the will of God and to advance in his love.
7. To read a chapter of New Testament, with head uncovered and kneeling, with three acts: 1) to adore the truths contained therein; 2) to enter into the sentiments with which our Lord pronounced them; 3) to resolve to practice the advice given there; and then to work at study or another exercise assigned us by the superior.
8. Immediately before dinner to make a particular examination concerning the virtue that we have decided to acquire or the vice that we wish to root out.
9. To dine at 11:00, and afterward to spend an hour in recreation in the form of conversation, happily and modestly.
10. After recreation, to return to our room and work at study, as during the morning.
11. At 2:00, to say Vespers and Compline in common, and then to spend a quarter of an hour in spiritual reading.
12. At 5:00 to say Matins and Lauds.
13. At 6:30, the particular examen, supper and recreation.
14. At 8:15, to make a general examen with the ordinary prayers and the reading of the topic for meditation for the following morning.
15. At 9:00, to go to bed, recommending ourselves to the Most Holy Trinity, to the Blessed Virgin, so that our first and last thoughts [of the day] may be addressed to God and to his holy Mother.
16. We will observe the same schedule on the missions, except that we will go at 6:00 to the church and leave at 11:00, and return at 2:00 and leave at 5:00; we will say Vespers and Compline at 1:00 and Matins and Lauds at 5:00.

VII. Organization

A brief analysis of the rules will show, I believe, some development within the rules themselves. I can imagine that the founder sat down and put his ideas on paper at various stages. The rules have a certain inner relation to each other, but it is not always easy to perceive how they developed.

Rules 1 to 6 deal with the purpose of the Congregation and the virtues of poverty, stability, obedience and chastity. He nowhere makes mention of vows. These rules are the briefest in expression but the most general.

Rules 7 to 10 treat of relations with those outside the house, and govern travel, the use of a companion and eating outside the house. Rule 10 deals with letter writing.

Rules 11 to 16 are about spiritual practices: annual retreat, communication, chapter of faults, confession and admonitions.

Rules 17 to 25, forming the longest section, discuss community life in various aspects, both positive and negative. Rule 25, the Friday meal, may belong either in this section or in the following.

Rules 26 to 30 are heterogeneous and might well belong elsewhere in the text. Nevertheless they found their way here, probably since they were developments or afterthoughts: gratuity of missions, management of finances, eating between meals, speaking with externs, and walking in the garden.

Rules 31 to 33 deal with missions and are the longest and most developed in the sense of including motives and theological observations. These are the most like the final articles that compose the Primitive Common Rules.

VIII. Conclusion

It is hoped that this presentation of the recovered Primitive Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission will offer some more context to the official Common Rules that the entire Congregation treasures. The Common Rules of 1658 are mentioned in several places in the present Constitutions and Statutes⁶¹ and are printed in the same volume. The analysis of the Primitive Common Rules shows us that Vincent de Paul worked on them over many years and developed his ideas based on every-day experiences.⁶²

⁶¹ *Introduction*, C. 4, C. 34, S. 17.

⁶² See, for example, letter 496, 14 November 1640; letter 639, 30 January 1642 (where "common rules" as an expression first occurs).

Toward the end of his life, while he and Louise de Marillac were developing the Common Rules of the Daughters of Charity, we can see that their rules were longer, richer and more theologically developed than his initial composition for his confreres, in other words, he, Louise and others must have sought to give them more substance. Finally, with the publication of the Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission in 1658, we see him at the height of his spiritual and theological reflection on the life of a Missioner. This development from original insight through experience to theological reflection and prayer is what has made the Common Rules the spiritual classic that they are.