

# **The Corporate Governance of Benedictine Abbeys: What can Stock Corporations Learn from Monasteries?**

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## **Abstract**

The corporate governance structure of monasteries is analyzed to derive new insights into solving agency problems of modern corporations. In the long history of monasteries, some abbots and friars lined their own pockets and convents were undisciplined. Monasteries developed special systems to check these excesses and therefore were able to survive for centuries. These features are studied from an economic perspective. Benedictine monasteries in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and German speaking Switzerland have an average lifetime of almost 500 years and only a quarter of them broke up as a result of agency problems. We argue that this is due to an appropriate governance structure relying strongly on the intrinsic motivation of the members and on internal control mechanisms.

Keywords: Corporate Governance, Principal-Agency-Theory, Psychological Economics, Monasteries, Benedictine Order

## WHY ARE MONASTERIES OF INTEREST?

The corporate sector has been plagued by huge scandals relating to excessive manager compensation and fraudulent bookkeeping. Agency theory – the dominant theoretical approach within the corporate governance literature – suggests that external control mechanisms will act on behalf of absentee firm owners by linking the interest of the owners with the interest of the CEOs and thus prevent these scandals (Fama and Jensen 1983; Jensen and Meckling 1976; Jensen and Murphy 1990a; Jensen and Murphy 1990b). These mechanisms are based on the assumption of extrinsically motivated actors, who react to external incentives in a predictable manner, i.e. the concept of the so called *homo oeconomicus* (see Frey 1999). External control mechanisms can take a variety of forms, including the elimination of CEO duality, independent boards of directors, pay-for-performance, or draconic punishments envisaged by the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. However, many of these external incentives have led to new problems, as the advocates of standard economics are ready to concede (Bebchuk and Fried 2004; Jensen et al. 2004; Stefani 2008). For instance, performance-related executive compensation has contributed significantly to a lack of transparency in pay policy and even to a loss of control through incentives to manipulate (Aboody and Kasznik 2000; Efendi et al. 2006; Johnson et al. 2006; Yermack 1997). The draconian sanctions of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act are bound to lead to an explosion in costs without slowing the explosion in salaries and fraudulent bookkeeping (Romano 2005). According to the majority of findings, independent boards have not prevented the fact that managers can expropriate shareholders by also entrenching themselves (Boyd 1994; Conyon and Peck 1998; Core et al. 1999; David et al. 1998; Lambert et al. 1993; Main 1991; Westphal and Zajac 1994).

The weaknesses and failures of actual corporate governance practice suggest that it might be useful to approach these issues from alternate perspectives (Benz and Frey 2007). Recent

literature suggests that external discipline should be complemented by internal behavioral incentives (Davis et al. 1997; Frey and Osterloh 2002; Frey and Osterloh 2006; Osterloh and Frey 2005; Reberlioux 2007; Sundaramurthy and Lewis 2003; Wiseman and Gomez-Mejia 1998). These authors build their arguments on psychological economics (for an overview see Frey and Benz 2004), on motivation psychology (for an overview see Deci and Ryan 2000), on embeddedness theory (Baker 1990; Granovetter 1985) or on prospect theory (Kahneman and Tversky 1979). They challenge agency theory's basic assumptions by proceeding from the ideas of bounded rationality and bounded self-interest (Baker 1990). They depart from a one-sided concentration on 'shareholder primacy' (Reberlioux 2007).

The following four aspects are of major importance:

- Firstly, agency theory argues that CEO duality weakens corporate governance by reducing the effectiveness of board monitoring (Finkelstein & D'Aveni, 1994). Building on motivation psychology advocates of stewardship theory suggest that the joint structure provides unified firm leadership and removes any internal or external ambiguity regarding who is responsible for firm processes and outcomes (Anderson & Anthony, 1986; Donaldson, 1990; Lipton & Lorsch, 1993). Harris & Helfat (1998: 906) document that „In sum, out of 13 studies, 10 find either positive or no effects of duality on firm performance”. Furthermore, studies empirically support that CEO duality does not promote CEO entrenchment since it is negatively related to executive compensations (Westphal & Zajac, 1994; Conyon & Peck, 1998).
- Secondly, standard agency theory advises that shareholders tie the performance to the pay of managers to ensure that managers take optimal actions (Jensen and Meckling 1976). The behavioral agency model (Gomez-Mejia and Wiseman 1997), combining elements of agency theory with behavioral views of decision making under uncertainty, raises questions about the effectiveness of stock option compensation to uniformly encourage managerial risk seeking. Larraza-Kintana et al. (2007) would seem to support the negative

association between CEOs stock options and CEOs risk taking. Relying on motivational psychology Frey & Osterloh (2005) suggest a return to a substantially higher proportion of fixed payment for management activity since variable pay induces people to work for their own benefit rather than the team's output and contributes to the selection of self-serving individuals.

- Thirdly, agency theory recommends independent directors. They are suggested to take their monitoring role seriously and to protect shareholders as owners of the firm (Bebchuk and Fried 2004; Bebchuk et al. 2006; Fleischer et al. 1988). However, most researchers found that a higher proportion of outside directors increase executive pay (Boyd 1994; Conyon and Peck 1998; Core et al. 1999; David et al. 1998; Lambert et al. 1993; Main 1991; Westphal and Zajac 1994). Some authors argue that due to the higher amount of personal relations, insiders or embedded outsiders can control each other and the management more effectively (Baysinger & Hoskisson, 1990; Baysinger *et al.*, 1991). Personal relations foster the creation of trust and prevent fraud (Granovetter 1985).
- Lastly, agency theory strongly supports the conclusion that shareholder wealth maximization should be the definitive criterion for corporate governance in stock corporations (Murphy 1999; Wiseman and Gomez-Mejia 1998). Building on psychological economics Benz & Frey (2007) argue that democratic participation rights are a central element of political constitutions, permitting voters to set in place policies closer to their preferences and reducing the principal-agent problem. Osterloh & Frey (2006) propose the inclusion of workers' representatives on the board for more effective monitoring. Firms gain their competitive advantage through firm-specific knowledge rather than physical investments (Asher et al. 2005; Grandori 2005).

While adding to our understanding of internal behavioral incentives most of these ideas have hardly entered the corporate governance debate until now since compelling empirical evidence is still rare. The control mechanisms presently used to govern modern stock

corporations are strongly associated with Adam Smith's invisible hand, in which buyers, i.e. shareholders, and sellers, or CEOs or employees, are free to move silently through the market, constantly forming and destroying relationships. Under this approach, economic actors act outside a social context and therefore react almost slavishly to external incentives (Granovetter 1985). Such governance does not include internal arrangements, such as voice (Hirschman 1970) expressed as democratic participation rights. Neither do they consider loyalty and trust (Granovetter 1985; Hirschman 1970) expressed in the protection of firm-specific investments, in the image of the CEO as the steward of the firm, or in the belief that rare managerial talents will make efforts for a fixed compensation. However, internal arrangements can guard against trouble and facilitates better control (Baker 1990; Granovetter 1985; Lubatkin et al. 2007; Uzzi 1996).

The efficiency of *internal control mechanisms* has been little studied in the corporate governance literature. Our paper addresses this gap by empirically analyzing how Benedictine monasteries have approached their specific corporate governance problems.

To study the corporate governance of monasteries offers the following advantages: Firstly, monasteries were and are confronted with similar principal agency problems as stock corporations: A core problem being that individuals occupying leading positions tend to accumulate uncontrolled discretion. However, monasteries address agency problems differently from stock corporations. The monastic leaders are disciplined by broad participation rights of its members, internal control mechanisms like the development of value systems and special supervisory concepts,. Secondly, monasteries are experts in internal control mechanisms: Their organizational members are committed to one institution for the rest of their lives. The low degree of exit options is compensated by a larger degree of voice. When members perceive a decrease in quality of their organization, they have the possibility to improve the situation. Furthermore there are hardly any institutions which have implemented and tested normative systems to this degree. Thirdly, Benedictine monasteries

with their more than 1000 year old history have greater experience in solving these agency problems than stock corporations. They offer an extensive set of tools, tested in practice over several decades, to explore the theories mentioned above.

We use a dataset of all Benedictine abbeys<sup>1</sup> in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and German-speaking Switzerland and analyze their corporate governance mechanisms in detail. The following questions are addressed: Are monasteries capable of solving agency problems? If so, how are they doing this and what are the insights for other organizational forms? Our analysis seeks to contribute to the corporate governance literature by providing a set of empirical results to understand the efficiency of internal behavioral incentives and their combination with external control mechanisms. The Benedictine Monasteries are analyzed from an economic perspective enriched by psychological and behavioral aspects. The theoretical foundations are principal agency theory, psychological, behavioral, and political economics as well as embeddedness theory. This constitutes a new approach for analyzing monasteries.

## **ARE MONASTERIES CAPABLE OF SOLVING AGENCY PROBLEMS?**

Asking what stock corporations can learn from Benedictine monasteries, the aim is not to compare and appraise the two institutions as a whole. Stock corporations are for-profit organizations, i.e. economic communities, while monasteries are non-profit organizations, i.e. life partnerships. The objectives of the two organizational forms differ fundamentally. The main objective in stock corporations is financial value added. The main objective in monasteries is to operate as a steward of god (Galbraith and Galbraith 2004; Regula Benedicti 2006). In monasteries economic success is not an aim itself, but a precondition for the search

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<sup>1</sup> This analysis refers to Benedictine abbeys, which are autonomous monasteries within the Benedictine Order. Where no concrete abbeys are mentioned, we use the more common term monastery. This term is broader and also contains affiliated houses.

and glorification of god (Benediktinerkongregation 1986). The product, capital and personal markets developed in altogether different ways<sup>2</sup>. Despite these obvious differences, there exists a whole range of similar problems, making it possible to fruitfully learn from each other.

### **Agency problems in stock corporations and monasteries**

Both organizations have the core problem that persons occupying leading positions tend to accumulate uncontrolled discretion (Berle and Means 1932). In stock corporations managers can expropriate shareholders by entrenching themselves and staying on the job even if they are no longer competent or qualified to run the firm (Shleifer and Vishny 1989). Poor managers resisting to be replaced are a costly manifestation of the agency problem (Jensen and Ruback 1983). Managerial opportunism, whether in the form of expropriation of investors or of misallocation of company funds, reduces the amount of resources that investors are willing to put up *ex ante* to finance the firm (Williamson 1985). In monasteries there is no possibility to distribute wealth (Hansmann 1980), but a strong incentive to make life luxurious and enjoyable. In the long history of monasteries, abbots and whole convents, which enjoyed a life in luxury, were not rare (Helvetia Sacra 1986a, b, c; Kieser 1987). The next section empirically investigates, whether monasteries succeeded in developing efficient corporate governance mechanisms against bad abbots and their accumulation of uncontrolled discretion.

### **Empirical analysis: Did monasteries solve their agency problems?**

An important function of corporate governance is to control and discipline management (Daily et al. 2003). The same goal is shared by the Holy See and the umbrella organizations of the religious orders, where disciplining abbots and their convents is a central task

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<sup>2</sup> For an analysis, the emerging field of religion economics is a good starting position (e.g. Held et al. 2007; Iannaccone 1992, 1998; McCleary and Barro 2006; Miller 2002; Stark and Finke 2000a). There also exist few related economic papers about the Catholic Church or even the monastic organizations (e.g. Ekelund et al. 1996; Ferrero 2002; Schmidtchen and Mayer 1997; Stark and Finke 2000b)

(Schmidtchen and Mayer 1997). There are at least two indications common to firms and monasteries for good corporate governance: the survival rate and the causes of liquidations. A long average lifetime going along with minimal control problems indicates crisis-proof, effective corporate governance mechanisms.

In order to analyze the survival rate of monasteries and their causes of liquidation we have collected data on all Benedictine abbeys ever existing in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and German speaking Switzerland. The sample covers a total of 133 monasteries: 18 in Switzerland, 35 in Baden-Württemberg and 80 in Bavaria (cf. appendix 1). The empirical examination is limited to Benedictines and one language area since the governance of monasteries varies between the various religious orders, different regions and cultural areas. Benedictines are one of the largest orders which has greatly influenced the development of western economics and work ethics (Faust 1997; Kieser 1987). Data for this analysis were obtained from historical chronicles (Germania Benedictina 1970, 1975, 1999; Helvetia Sacra 1986a, b, c) and the Website of the house of Bavarian history ([http://www.datenmatrix.de/projekte/hdbg/kloster/index\\_extern.shtml](http://www.datenmatrix.de/projekte/hdbg/kloster/index_extern.shtml)).

Figure 1 shows the details on the average lifetime of the monasteries in our sample. The first monasteries were established at the beginning of the 8th century. As of 2008, the 133 monasteries average a lifetime of 604 years (cf. appendix 2).

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Figure 1 about here

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The average lifetime is modified in three aspects. The period until 1000 AD is ignored because until then a specific Benedictine monasticism had not evolved (Helvetia Sacra 1986a: 54). Secondly, non-lasting closures are excluded because a monastic community can survive for years without actually having a convent building, the Thirty Years' War, the Helvetik in Switzerland or the Third Reich being prominent periods. Thirdly, abbeys which were completely shut down and then reinstalled are counted as separate organizations. With these



modifications the lifespan is reduced to 463 years, while the number of convents increases to 150 (cf. appendix 3). This is a first indication for efficient corporate governance in Benedictine monasteries.

Table 1 analyzes the reasons of closures. The table lists 119 institutions after the year 1000 AD and disregards short-run closures, which imply 150 foundations. 17% of the monasteries were never closed down; these institutions are still alive today. 4% of the monasteries were voluntarily closed. A large proportion of all monasteries, 53%, broke up due to institutional factors. These monasteries fell victim to secularization or were violently closed during the Reformation. Beside these outstanding events, reasons like a peasants' revolt or plague could also lead to break ups and forced shut-downs. Endogenous factors, e.g. excessive wealth during secularization or a loss of reputation during the Reformation, might have influenced the political climate against the monasteries and thus contributed to the closures. In the end the monastic institutions and their members had little or no influence on the outcome of these incidents. These closures occurred independent of how good the monastic management was. Hence we simply speak of external institutional factors. The massive influence of these forces is also visible in figure 2 showing the number of existing monasteries and collegiate churches over time. As can be seen the Benedictines never recovered from the Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and Secularization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the number of monasteries was slowly on the rise again.

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Table 1 about here

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Focusing on agency problems, 13% of the monasteries broke up due to mismanagement including missing discipline, insolvency or recruiting problems. The analysis of the particular monasteries shows that the three characteristics in most cases occurred together. 7% disappeared due to control failures including hostile takeovers. The changes in governance structures are revealing: 6% of the monasteries studied changed to collegiate churches. To a

large extent, these changes indicate enrichment intentions of the monastic leaders since collegiate churches permit private ownership and further liberties. As shown in Figure 2 governance changes were most prominent when the monasteries were economically weak and discipline failed such as during the wartimes of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the epoch of Reformation. As further shown in Table 1, monasteries unable to survive due to agency problems (40 monasteries or 26%) have a shorter average lifetime (387, 313 and 325 years) than those who had broken down due to external institutional influences or were liquidated voluntarily (568 and 540 years) . The most recent agency problems date back to the years 1763 (change to a collegiate church), 1773 (control failure) and 1862 (mismanagement). Thus, in the last 150 years agency problems were of little importance which is consistent with the development of efficient governance in Benedictine monasteries.

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Figure 2 about here

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The findings on the reasons for closures indicate that at maximum a quarter (26%) of the monasteries studied were unable to survive due to agency problems. The vast majority of monastic houses closed down due to external institutional factors or still exist today. On average monasteries survived 463 years, which suggests that the agency problems in Benedictine monasteries are quite small. These institutions are extremely stable.

In order to substantiate that the Benedictine governance significantly contributes to the stability of monasteries, three aspects are of great importance:<sup>3</sup> (1) The basic governance model was formed very early and has been more or less constant over time; (2) The adherence to a codex prevents the Benedictines from drifting away into other governance structures; (3) The external governance mechanisms of the Benedictine Order contribute to this stability,

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<sup>3</sup> Additionally, in 2007 we interviewed two experts on this subject: Father Nestor Werlen, historian in the Capucine abbey of Brig and Father Dr. Gregor Jäggi, historian in the Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln.

*without* removing autonomy and tradition from the individual monasteries. These three aspects are now discussed in turn.

The cornerstones of the monastic governance can be dated back to the first millennium. Since then the organizational structure has been barely modified and is composed of the following positions: abbot and prior (the “CEOs”), officials (the “executive board”), Convent (the religious community of a monastery, including padres and brothers), Consilium (the “advisory board”), donators (the “financiers”) and employees. Other stable elements of Benedictine governance are the autonomy of the institutions, their non-profit orientation, and the lifelong tenure of the friars to a particular monastery.

There are some discontinuous elements in Benedictine governance. They refer to disputes over the structured routine including the relation between prayer, reading and work, the whole culture of learning, including selection, education and the value system of the Benedictines. There are also disputes over the compensation system, which varied from sparse collective to excessive individual ownership. Nevertheless, the Benedictines have always returned to the ideals set out by holy Benedict and his rule, a book of precepts written for friars living in a community (Regula Benedicti 2006, Eckert 2000). Adherence to a codex kept the monasteries from drifting away into other governance structures and helped them to master difficult times. The external control mechanisms of the Benedictine governance were continuously developed. From total autonomy of a monastery to a friendly exchange and loose connections, followed by the organization in Congregations and Confederation, the external controllers, i.e. umbrella organizations, as well as the legal sequence of courts, show constant refinement and perfection. The Benedictines have developed sophisticated mechanisms of governance, in particular careful visitations from members of the order outside the monastery in question.

The next section examines these governance mechanisms. Agency problems seem to be negligible in today's Benedictine monasteries. This can be attributed to the external control and their interplay with internal control.<sup>4</sup>

## **HOW THE BENEDICTINES SOLVE PRINCIPAL-AGENCY PROBLEMS**

Why do Benedictine monasteries survive so well and do not often fall prey to mismanagement, hostile takeovers or change of governance? This section introduces the specific corporate governance of the Benedictines in detail in order to contrast it with the governance of modern stock corporations.<sup>5</sup> The first paragraph argues that monasteries build on strong internal control through a common value system, careful selection, socialization, participation, and monitoring. The second paragraph points out that the Benedictines supplemented their internal with external arrangements, e.g. periodical monitoring or jurisdiction. Figure 3 gives a graphical overview of the corporate governance of a Benedictine monastery.

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Figure 3 about here

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### **Internal governance mechanisms**

Internal control in the Benedictine monasteries can be divided in two large categories. Firstly, monasteries build on common value systems, on careful selection and rigorous socialization processes. These arrangements can be explained by behavioral economics, embeddedness

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<sup>4</sup> We substantiated this assumption in an interview with arch abbot Benno Malfèr, who for 8 years has been active as the supreme 'visitor' of the Swiss Benedictine Congregation. He cannot remember any trouble concerning mismanagement, control failure, or management enrichment. A media analysis of the Benedictine abbeys in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and German speaking Switzerland containing the last decades also support this appraisal.

<sup>5</sup> Since there is hardly any literature on the corporate governance of monasteries the following sources are used: rule, law and constitutions of abbeys and Congregations, and expert interviews with Guido Muff (prior of the abbey of Engelberg), Reto Krismer (managing director of the abbey Einsiedeln), Wolfgang Gehra (managing director of the abbey Plankstetten), and Benno Malfèr (arch abbot and supreme visitor of the Swiss Benedictine Congregation and abbot of the abbey of Muri Gries).

theory and psychological economics. Secondly, monasteries concede diverse participation rights to their friars and build largely on internal monitoring processes. Participation rights are in line with the recommendations of political economics. These arrangements of internal monitoring processes in monasteries reduce agency problems.

*Embeddedness in common value systems*

While stock corporations establish control and supervisory institutions in order to monitor decision making, monasteries refer to common value systems in order to discuss possible solutions and to arrive at decisions (McGrath 2007). These value systems are far beyond ‘codes of best practice’. The Benedictine value system is based on three cornerstones: the bible, the rule of St. Benedict and the tradition of a particular monastery. Alongside the foundation in the bible, the rule of St. Benedict is the most important influence in the daily life of a monastery. It contains universal rules similar to e.g. the categorical imperative of Kant.. Benedict’s writings resonate in personal as well as economic interactions. The universal character prevents bureaucratic decisions and actions. Only when problems appear, monastic or canon law comes into play.<sup>6</sup>

The emphasis of Benedictines on value systems instead of using control- and supervisory institutions is in line with the assumptions of behavioral economics, in particular fairness-reciprocity theory (Dufwenberg and Kirchsteiger 2004; Falk et al. 2003; Rabin 1993). Individuals mainly react on the basis of their beliefs about the intentions of other persons. From this perspective, common value systems signal friendly intentions and “people feel obligated to respond to positive behavior received with positive behavior in return” (Groves et al. 1992: 480). Control- and supervisory institutions on the other hand are more likely to signal neutral (economic exchange related) or even “unfriendly” intentions in the sense that these might signal distrust or insinuate the selfish nature of the employees (McGregor 1960).

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<sup>6</sup> Interviews in 2007 with Father Guido Muff, Prior in the Abbey of Engelberg and father Gregor Jäggi, Abbey of Einsiedeln.

The empirical literature supports these insights. In a experiment Falk, Fehr and Fischbacher (2003) show for example that fair intentions of proposers are met with more voluntary cooperation from responders than unfair intentions. Further evidence from behavioral economics comes to the same conclusion: fairness beliefs matter (Blount 1995; Cox 2004; Sobel 2005). To ensure that common value systems are suitable in guiding the individual behavior of the members of a monastery the Benedictines build on careful selection and rigorous socialization processes.

**Selection.** A monastic career is connected with a tight selection process in order to test the suitability of candidates. The selection process is more or less identical in every Benedictine monastery. It proceeds in four steps: *Every* candidate, independent of application credentials, has the chance and is welcome to live in a monastery for a few months. Within these months the candidate learns intensely about the value system of Benedictines and has the opportunity to consider his motives before becoming a full member. Thus, instead of pre-selecting employees, monasteries make use of self-selection. The decision to stay is in part handed back to the candidate. One could argue that today selection is less important because only individuals with the right idea decide to engage in a monastic career. However, many aspirants don't fulfill the requirements. One year probation follows. Within this year the novice learns the background of the value system, the Holy Scripture and church law. His suitability is scrutinized by all current friars. Temporary profession is following, lasting three years and containing a monastic apprenticeship or the beginning of studies. The underlying idea is that human beings sometimes change their minds. A profound education only can be a reliable basis for decision-making. Not till then full membership, called solemn profession, is celebrated. Solemn profession implies the unconditional commitment of both parties. In each case the Convent, i.e. the religious community of a monastery, has to give its blessing. (Schweizer Benediktinerkongregation 1986). Following the final oath to obey the Benedictine

way of life the new entrant becomes a full member of the monastic community including broad participation rights.

The selection process of monasteries is in line with the theoretical assumptions of the embeddedness approach (Baker 1990; Granovetter 1985; Lubatkin et al. 2007; Uzzi 1996). Since purposive actions are embedded in ongoing systems of social relations, such systems contain valuable information from ones own past. This happens in collaboration with the individual or through information from a trusted source that has dealt with that person and found him or her trustworthy. In contrast to second-hand information, e.g. certifications or testimonials, this information is cheaper, richer, more detailed and accurate. First-hand information therefore allows the selection of trustworthy individuals.

The embeddedness principle relying on first-hand information has been empirically supported in the field of market transactions. For example Baker (1990) characterizes the stock options market to be a social structure represented by the networks of actors. The empirical analysis demonstrates that actors are subject to bounded rationality and some act opportunistically. These actors must be embedded in networks; otherwise impeded communication among actors results in exacerbated option prices. Uzzi (1996) empirically analyzes the New York apparel economy and shows that firms organized in networks, and thus relying on first-hand information about their trading partners, have higher survival chances than firms which maintain arm's length market relationships, i.e. firms relying on second-hand information about their trading partners. Empirical studies also suggest that CEOs who were promoted internally compared to CEOs hired from outside not only increase the future performance of a firm (Furtado and Rozeff 1987; Rost et al. 2008; Worrell and Davidson 1987; Zajac 1990) but also earn approximately 15.3 percent less (Murphy and Zábajník 2004). Finally, professional service firms like the Boston Consulting Group or McKinsey successfully practice the embeddedness approach as a selection tool in order to find suitable, trustworthy employees. Promotion decisions are fully dependent on first-hand information from numerous individuals

about the behavior of a candidate. Furthermore the appointment as a partner is dependent on the agreement of all partners within an office. However, in contrast to monasteries, professional service firms narrow the pool of potential candidates based on second-hand information, e.g. using the curriculum vitae, certificates, testimonials and volunteering.

**Socialization.** In order to ensure successful living and working together a careful socialization and composition of an organizational identity is crucial. Two rules are essential: Firstly, in reference to the Benedictine values, the dialogue between the friars is fostered, disagreements are addressed and solved. Secondly, a monastic partnership depends on a fulfilling life environment. Regarding the friars' professional lives, the Benedictines understand work as a vocation and not only as a professional activity; work is seen as a development of one's personality. This ethic has its sources in the first millennium, where Benedict saw work as a way for internal peace (Kieser 1987).

The Benedictines make use of equality of treatment in daily life in order to integrate new members. From the very beginning the novice is a part of the community; where he acts within the same structures including daily routine, prayers, and meals. Being an equal member of a life and work community facilitates the establishment of common values (Wenger and Snyder 2000).

The Benedictines also use extensive learning programs, in which their codex and their knowledge are used to shape a common identity and facilitate the development of all members (Reiber 2003). Apart from joint prayers monasteries have implemented other continuous learning institutions, for example daily readings at the communal dinner table. These readings deal with diverse topics like the bible, politics, philosophy or the history of the Benedictines and the respective monastery. Beside education these institutions strengthen the awareness of belonging to something bigger than the particular monastery. The socialization lasts a lifetime and encourages an intrinsic transfer of the overall value system.



According to psychological economics the socialization principles of the Benedictines increase the purpose and the intrinsic motivation of each organizational member and thus the welfare of the whole organization (Deci 1975; Frey and Osterloh 2002). The incomplete contract literature emphasizes that in complex environments, such as organizations, complete contracts cannot be written or enforced (Milgrom and Roberts 1992). Therefore honesty, intrinsic job satisfaction and intrinsic motivation lead to better results from the contracted parties than relying on monitoring or on monetary incentives (Gintis and Khurana 2006; Jensen 2006). Experiments confirm that employees exert more effort if labor contracts are regarded primarily as a “gift exchange” rather than as a disciplinary tool (Akerlof 1982; Irlenbusch and Sliwka 2003). As far as knowledge work is concerned, “management by intrinsic motivation” (Frey and Osterloh 2002; Osterloh et al. 2002) might even become the most important factor in sustaining a competitive advantage.

It is, however, more difficult to “guide” this kind of motivation: Intrinsic motivation cannot be enforced; it can only be encouraged. According to crowding theory (Frey 1997) and self-determination theory (Deci 1980; Deci and Ryan 2000) organizations can encourage intrinsic motivation by creating an intrinsically rewarding job environment (Hackman and Lawler 1971; Hackman and Oldham 1974) and by supporting employees’ feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness (Deci 1980; Deci and Ryan 2000). Monasteries today strive for an intrinsically rewarding job environment. Individuals have the chance to develop skills and find expression on the basis of their interests. They also support the friars’ feelings of competence and belonging, e.g. with emphasizing education or a strong community, described by many friars as a family. As said before, an effort to jointly clarify contentious points in mutual respect and fairness contributes to an intrinsically rewarding job environment. The empirical literature suggests that such surroundings and feelings of competence and relatedness increase intrinsic motivation (Gagné et al. 1997), contextual performance (Brief and Motowidlo 1986; Gagné 2003; Organ 1988; Van Dyne et al. 1994), contributions to the

common good (Fehr and Falk 2002; Frey et al. 1996; Frey and Meier 2004; Gneezy and Rustichini 2000), as well as co-operative learning (Janz and Prasarnphanich 2003). To operate a monastery, Benedictines often induce their members to specialize and thus fostering diversity. Diversity not only facilitates broader decision making (Osterloh and Frey 2006) but also creativity and innovation (Perry-Smith and Shalley 2003). History substantiates that monasteries have contributed to economic progress through numerous innovations; they have produced excellent scientists, and have supported administrative inventions such as the division of labor (Kieser 1987).

### *Members' Voice*

The abbot (the “CEO” of a monastery), carries the main responsibility in spiritual and economic concerns, represents the monastery in external affairs, delegates power and is in charge of the well-being of every friar. Unlike stock corporations, the friars possess substantial participation rights and monitor the management (Schweizer Benediktinerkongregation 1986; St.Otilien Benediktinerkongregation 2004).

**Participation.** The Convent consists of all fathers and brothers with a solemn profession. Every friar has equal rights and may vote in elections. The Convent has four major tasks: Firstly, the Convent is responsible for decision-making in important business affairs, e.g. the acceptance of a novice as a full member or the expansion of a monastery through acquisition. Secondly, the Convent democratically elects the abbot (in the recent past in some abbeys the tenure of an abbot is restricted to 12 years instead of being lifelong) and employee representatives for the “advisory board”, i.e. the Consilium. Thirdly, the Convent evaluates whether a suggested prior (the vice “CEO”) is eligible. However, in order to make sure that the team in charge works in harmony, the prior is selected and nominated by the abbot. Fourthly, members of the Convent have the right to advance requests, to give opinions and to foster the dialogue between the friars (Eckert 2000).

**Monitoring.** Monasteries complement participation processes with internal monitoring processes.. Similar to some stock corporations monasteries have a two-tier board structure, i.e. there is a management board (all executive directors, i.e. the abbot and the officials) and a separate advisory board (some executive and some “non-executive” directors, i.e. the Consilium). In contrast to stock corporations the Consilium is a supervisory board consulting the management team. It only has the power to decide in rare, specific cases. The Consiliums’ main task is to consult with the management. They discuss contentious issues without having the final responsibility for major business decisions. The Consilium exclusively consists of insiders, i.e. elected members of the Convent (employee representatives) and nominated members of the management team (officials) (Schweizer Benediktinerkongregation, 1986). The reliance on insiders stands in sharp contrast to agency theory (Lorsch & MacIver, 1989; Mizruchi, 1983; Zahra & Pearce, 1989) where only outsiders are believed to be independent of the firm management and thus are taken to be able to prevent agency problems (Fleischer, Hazard, & Klipper, 1988; Waldo, 1985).

According to political economics the voice of employees, i.e. relying on inside monitoring and comprehensive participation rights, is important to prevent agency problems. Employees have personal experience with managers and thus are most suitable to select and to control the management (Benz and Frey 2007; Hirschman 1970). Employees invest in firm-specific knowledge (Osterloh and Frey 2006). These investments cannot, or only at high cost, be protected by contracts ex ante when the parties enter into a relationship. As a consequence, employees have no incentive to undertake firm-specific investments if their bargaining position is not protected after they enter into the labor contract (Freeman and Lazear 1996; Zingales 1998). However, the most relevant asset for a company’s sustained competitive advantage is firm-specific knowledge, which needs to be generated, accumulated, transferred, and protected (Foss and Foss 2000; Grandori and Kogut 2002; Penrose 1959). Only democratic election systems create strong competition for the occupation of unfilled positions

(Benz and Frey 2007; Schelker and Eichenberger 2004). Democratic constitutions actively promote the principle of checks and balances. This does not prevent one person or branch from dominating for a period of time, but it ensures that the other persons or branches can reassert themselves in due time (Frey 1983).

The substantial participation rights in monasteries stand in sharp contrast to the principle of hire and fire in many stock corporations: Fathers and brothers have a voice in running the monastery (Auf der Maur 2007), they can discipline the abbot and the management team (the officials) and thus prevent fraudulent behavior. The (lifelong) tenure of friars is compensated by considerable voting rights and co-determination. They provide a strong incentive to invest in firm-specific know-how (Osterloh and Frey 2006).

A large literature emphasizes the importance of these ideas for stock corporations. The advantages of inside control are empirically supported. Contrary to the argument that outside directors are more effective to defend the interests of shareholders, most research finds that a higher proportion of outside directors increases executive pay and with it agency problems (Boyd, 1994; Conyon & Peck 1998; Core, Holthausen, & Larcker, 1999; David & Kochhar & Levitas, 1998; Lambert, Larcker, & Weigelt, 1993; Main, 1991; Westphal & Zajac, 1994). Some authors argue that thanks to a higher extent of firm-specific knowledge insiders can control the management more effectively (Baysinger & Hoskisson, 1990; Baysinger *et al.*, 1991). The idea of democratic institutions and participation rights has been transferred to stock corporations (Hansmann 1990). The case of monasteries suggests that CEO duality does not necessarily weaken corporate governance. Agency theory argues that CEO duality generally promotes CEO entrenchment by reducing the effectiveness of board monitoring (Finkelstein & D'Aveni, 1994). Advocates of stewardship theory argue that the joint structure provides unified firm leadership and removes any internal or external ambiguity with respect to who is responsible for firm processes and outcomes (Anderson & Anthony, 1986; Donaldson, 1990; Lipton & Lorsch, 1993). The empirical evidence is accordingly mixed:

Some empirical studies support that CEO duality is positively related to executive compensations and thus increase agency problems (Beatty & Zajac, 1994; Boyd, 1994; Core, Holthausen, & Larcker, 1999; Fiss, 2006; Gray & Canella, 1997; Sridharan, 1996). Other studies show a negative effect on executive compensations; thus CEO duality weakens agency problems (Westphal & Zajac, 1994; Conyon & Peck, 1998). Benedictine monasteries suggest that a combination of both theories may solve agency problems best: On the one hand the responsibility of the abbot in monasteries is extensive. In fact, he has to act like an “entrepreneur” because he can not shift his responsibility to the board. On the other hand his power is reduced through competitive elections and extensive internal monitoring.

### **External governance mechanisms**

The interplay between internal and external control mechanisms in Benedictine monasteries is of particular interest for stock companies. History shows that the internal control mechanisms of monasteries sometimes fail. For example, in situations where the abbot and the Convent unite to enrich themselves or simply do not care about the economic situation external control is important. The external control is hierarchically organized and consists of jurisdiction and of periodical monitoring. Each monastery is embedded in a hierarchical structure of Congregations, the Benedictine Confederation and the Holy See. The Congregation is the umbrella organization of the monasteries, in most cases within a geographical region. It is responsible for the monitoring of a monastery in its area of accountability. Every Congregation is represented by the abbots and some delegates of the connected houses. These representatives form the Congregational chapter and elect the archabbot as a president. The archabbot is recruited from an associated monastery to guarantee internal know-how. Each Congregation is a part of the Benedictine Confederation. The Confederation is an independent institution and facilitates the exchange of experiences between Congregations among each other and the Holy See, but has no direct influence on the decision process.

**Jurisdiction.** Benedictine monasteries belong to the Catholic Church and its law, and depend on the Holy See. Beside church and constitutional law, the legal norms of the Congregation are binding for a particular monastery. The jurisdiction of the Congregation is the first instance outside the monastery where disputes are settled. The Congregation supervises the election of abbots and organizes the “visitations” of monasteries. They complement this law with their own statutes, the so-called *Consuetudines* (1991).

**Periodical monitoring.** As the legal rules are very general with respect to economic issues, the so-called “visitation” is the most important tool to discipline the convents. Every four to five years delegates of the Congregation visit a community to evaluate the condition of the monastery. The visitation considers not only the economic situation of a house and its fields of activity but also the spirit and the discipline of the community and their members, the personal relationships between friars and holders of positions, and the abuse of authority (Schweizer Benediktinerkongregation 1986). In addition to auditing, the visitors make use of questionnaires and interviews to detect problems and failures. They analyze processes in-depth, ask specific questions and refer to aspects which aren’t noticed as a result of the daily routine. The most important function of visitations is to induce reflection, not to control and to discipline.<sup>7</sup>

The organization of the external control in monasteries corresponds to insights in political economics. In democratic public government there are independent institutions controlling the heads of government and the members of the cabinet - the court of accounts or, in the United States, the General Accounting Office (Benz and Frey 2007). These courts are part of the judicial branch or are sometimes directly elected by the citizens. Empirical evidence indicates that such courts successfully restrain local governments from abusing their power and induce them to act more strongly in the citizens’ interests (Schelker and Eichenberger 2004).

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<sup>7</sup> Interviews 2007 with Reto Krismer, managing director of the abbey of Einsiedeln and archabbot and first ‘visitor’ of the Swiss Congregation Benno Malfèr..

The corporate sector often fails to clearly separate the executives and external auditing functions. In many cases, the auditing firms are paid for advising jobs by the CEO and general management (Economist 2004). Stock corporations can learn from the public sector by strengthening the independence of the auditing process (Benz and Frey 2007). Stock corporations could rely on the democratic mechanism of direct elections for the members of the audit committee and the auditing firm by the shareholders.

The monastic approach suggests that stock corporations could enrich independent auditing processes by visitations. Visitations control the books and the economic situation but also consider firm culture, i.e. the spirit and the discipline of the friars, the personal relationships between friars and holders of positions, and the abuse of authority. In contrast to other forms of external control mechanisms, e.g. the elimination of CEO duality, independent boards of directors, pay-for-performance, or draconic punishments envisaged by the Sarbanes-Oxley Act, this kind of external control does not reduce intrinsic motivation of the management or the employees. Crowding-out of intrinsic motivation only occurs if people perceive an external intervention as controlling and hence as reducing their self-determination (for an overview compare Deci et al. 1999; Frey and Jegen 2001).

## **DISCUSSION: WHAT CAN STOCK CORPORATIONS LEARN?**

Our paper starts with the observation of unsolved agency problems in stock corporations. Such governance disregards internal mechanisms such as voice, and intrinsic motives such as loyalty or trust. These internal arrangements help to avoid problems and facilitate better control. Corporate governance of stock corporations can learn from monasteries, which emphasize these internal mechanisms and demonstrate their operability. Many of these governance mechanisms are in line with new proposals by psychological, behavioral, or political economics and embeddedness theory. In view of current corporate scandals such as the bankruptcies of Enron, Qwest, Global Crossing and WorldCom while their CEOs

collected a salary of over \$100 million on average, (Bratton 2002), monasteries show that alternative models serve to enhance corporate governance. Beside this plea for new directions in solving agency problems, the example of monasteries offers concrete ideas.

There exist hardly any organizations which internalize value systems in this profoundness and perfection. Corporations may refer to their own tradition. Many companies are proud of their “firm culture”. It serves to attract suitable employees, customers, and shareholders and should guide their behavior. Monasteries demonstrate that common values can be fostered if they are an integral part of living and working together. This requires rigorous and credible selection processes and continuous socialization processes. Stock corporations can learn by using a limited probation period for candidates, rather than relying on second-hand information, like grades, testimonials, or multiple-choice aptitude tests. Many companies hire top managers externally. The example of monasteries shows that internal promotions can take advantage of comprehensive information about a candidate’s past behavior. Companies often engage in sporadic “team building” measures such as corporate parties, corporate excursions, or corporate training. Firms can learn from monasteries to socialize, inform and educate their employees with regular and sustainable tools such as lunch seminars or the examination of the own identity. Companies often fill vacancies based on job advertisements and precise job descriptions. The example of monasteries show that work should be better understood as a vocation and a development of one's personality intended to increase work effort and efficiency.

Monasteries are specialists in the accumulation of internal know-how. While tenure of employees within companies is certainly not lifelong, but often quite short, firms should encourage firm-specific investments by giving appropriate incentives to their employees. The monastery approach demonstrates that democratic elections of the CEO, internal monitoring processes, and employee representation in an advisory board foster and protect firm-specific investments by reducing agency problems. Stock corporations could pre-select suitable CEO



candidates by relying on first-hand information from numerous individuals about the behavior of these candidates. Before election, these candidates could – like politicians - present their strategic vision for the firm. Such systems create strong competition for unfilled positions and are based on personal experiences with managers. Further, stock corporations could democratically elect employee representatives for an advisory board. Its main task should be to consult with management, i.e. to discuss contentious issues without having the final responsibility for major business decisions. This kind of inside monitoring and participation rights actively promotes the principle of checks and balances and pays attention to firm-specific knowledge without shifting the responsibility from management to employees.

Finally, stock corporations can learn from monasteries regarding the organization of external control. External control institutions in stock corporations should obtain their independency by counting on shareholder representatives. In contrast to monasteries, which operate as life partnerships and thus are mainly responsible for insiders, the main objective in stock corporations is financial value added for their shareholders. In stock corporations shareholder representatives could supervise the election of the CEO and directly elect the members of the audit committee and the auditing firm. Further, shareholder representatives could monitor a stock corporation by periodical visitations in order to control the firm culture, the personal relationships between employees and management, and the abuse of authority.

When considering what corporations can learn from Benedictine monasteries it has to be kept in mind that the two differ fundamentally. Three limitations of the monastic approach need to be addressed: the tendency to promote groupthink, the danger of dictatorship and the critical subject of life long commitment.

Since monasteries build on strong and uniform value systems individuals not only increase their social identity with the group but groups also become cohesive (Tajfel 1981). The theory of groupthink hypothesizes that cohesive groups are most likely to experience groupthink (Janis 1972; Janis 1982). Groupthink includes the belief in the inherent morality of the group

and stereotypes of out-groups. It leads to the systematic and emotional devaluation of ideas which were not discovered or launched within the own social collective (Turner and Pratkanis 1998). Such a groupthink-phenomenon leads to the Not-invented-here (NIH) syndrome (Katz and Allen 1982) which refers to an actor's negative attitude towards external technologies and innovations. As a result technological opportunities or innovative ideas are only exploited to a suboptimal degree. Further, groupthink promotes the aggressiveness against other groups and can even lead to violence, e.g. in terrorisms (Frey 2004; Frey and Luechinger 2002).

Secondly, social comparison theory hypothesizes that cohesive groups are more susceptible to expert power (Festinger 1954) leading to dictatorship and abuse of power (Coleman 1990). Persons with high capabilities can help to increase the innovativeness of social systems because they avert the constitution of a group consensus (Hauschildt and Schewe 1997; Rost et al. 2007). But there is the possibility of a drawback that the opinion-forming of groups depends on few persons. Such systems have a disposition to over-reliance. Blind trust often ends in the abuse of a dominant position, and thus increases agency problems (Conger and Kanungo 1987).

Thirdly, the life long commitment to a monastery has to be considered. Indeed strong commitment is desirable, but not in such an absolute way as in monastic institutions. While giving voice and developing loyalty, they (consciously or unconsciously) tend to build exit barriers. When exit costs are exorbitant hindering people to leave, negative outcomes like discouragement will occur (Hirschman 1970).

For these reasons stock corporations have to balance the advantages and disadvantages of common value systems and commitment. Value systems should be strong enough to select and socialize appropriate employees and open enough to avoid dogmatism and unbalanced power, i.e. value systems must also honour new and challenging ideas. Stock corporations can prevent group cohesion by promoting the diversity of their employees and their managers. Diversity includes nationality, gender, age, educational, functional or occupational

backgrounds and reduces groupthink and expert power (Flap 1988). Commitment should be fostered, without implementing exit barriers and constraining the employees too much.

Finally, the monastic constitution has some drawbacks and can learn from stock corporations.

Many monastic institutions, which have to face substantial challenges, do so.

While we argue that both institutions can learn from each other, we here highlight the many aspects in which modern corporations can profit from the history-proofed monastic organization of Benedictine abbeys.

## CONCLUSION

The monastery approach demonstrates that stock corporations can prevent agency problems by complementing external discipline by internal behavioral incentives and by utilizing democratic, supportive external control mechanisms. Internal behavioral incentives complement agency theory's conception of the homo oeconomicus by referring to intrinsically motivated actors, who not slavishly react to external incentives. Internal arrangements facilitate a better control through voice in the form of democratic rights of participation and through loyalty and trust expressed in the protection of firm-specific investments. Democratic, supportive external control mechanisms expand agency theory's conception of the homo oeconomicus by referring to self-determined actors, who mainly react to external incentives which are in their interest and do not crowd-out their intrinsic motivation.

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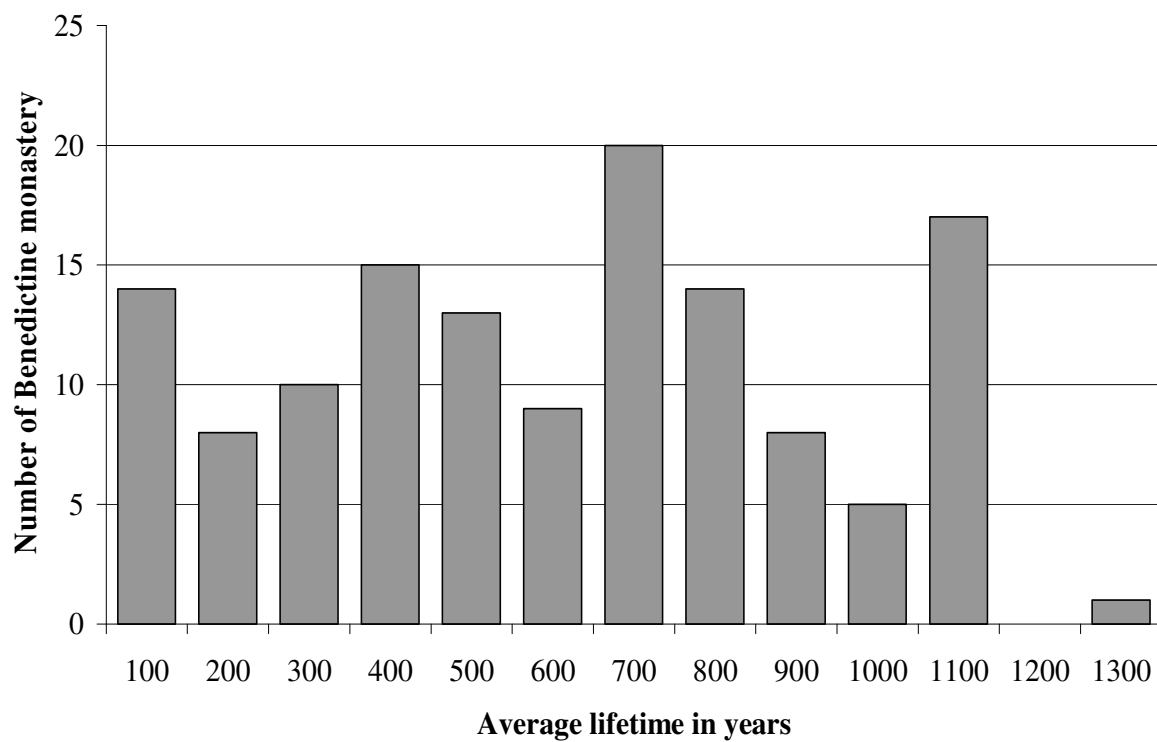
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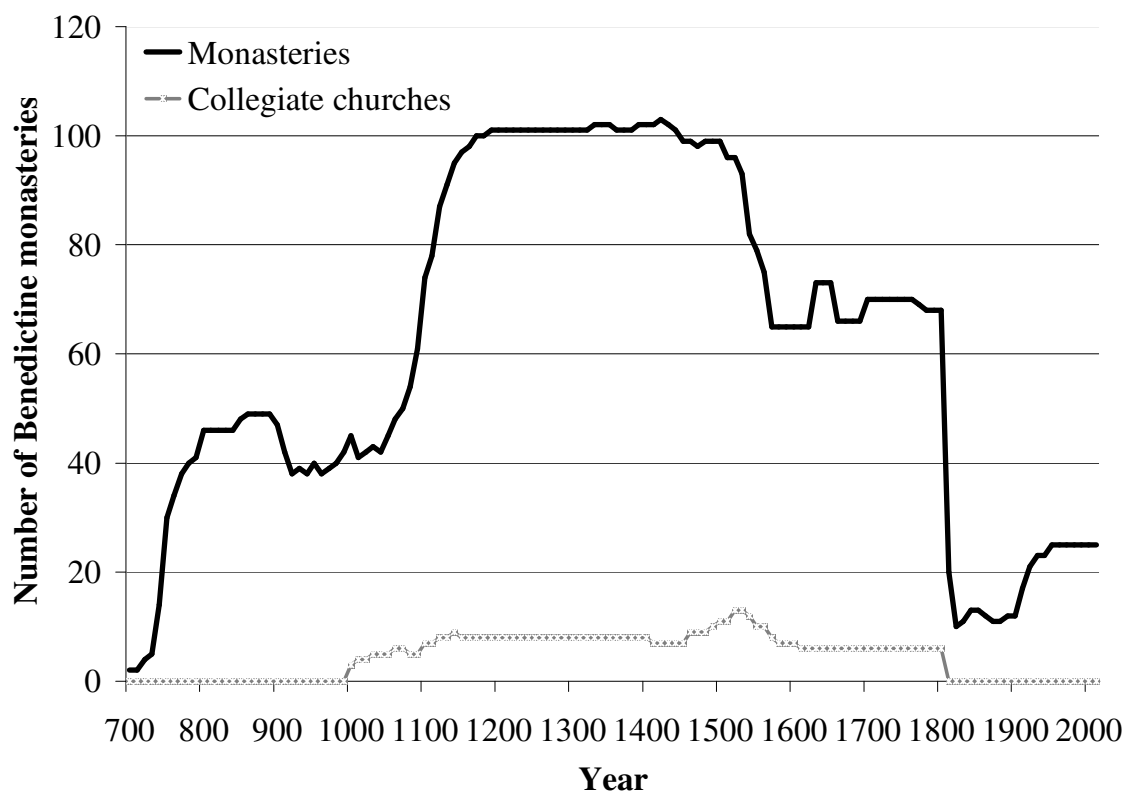
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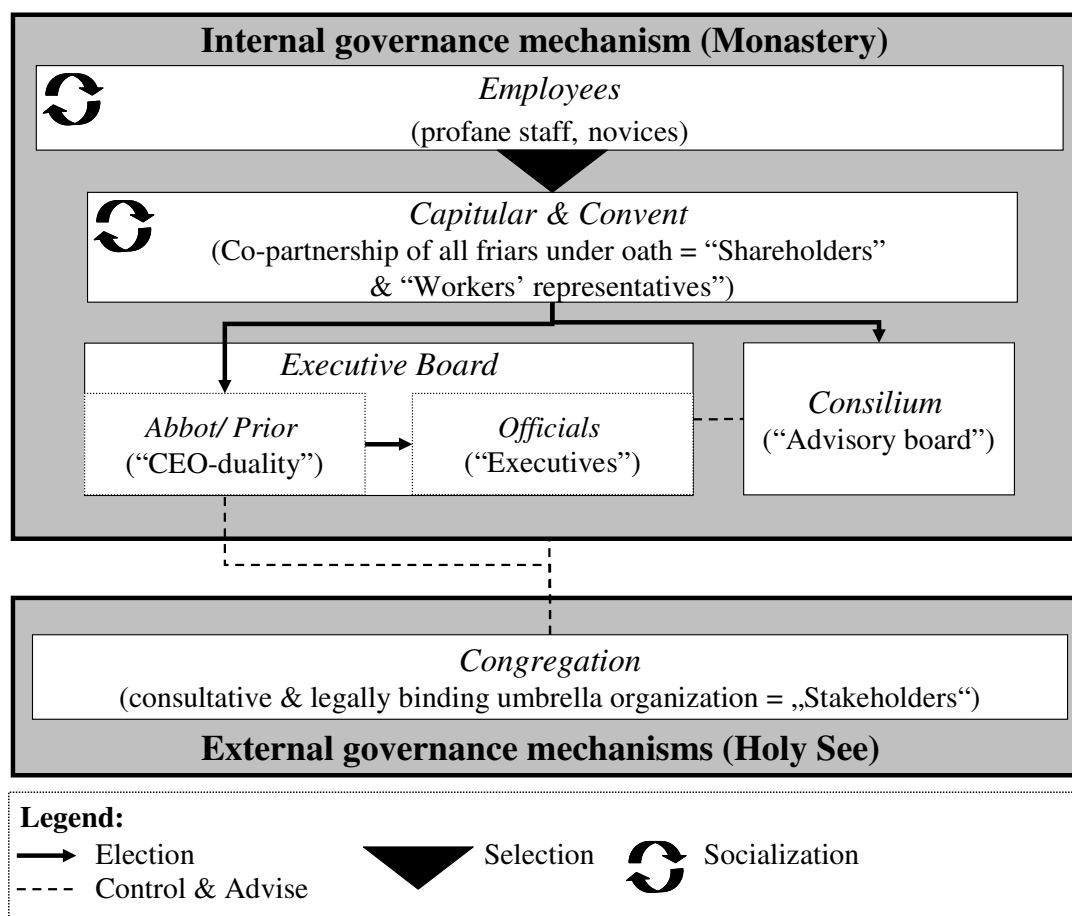
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**FIGURES AND TABLES****Figure 1.** Average lifetime of Benedictine monasteries

**Figure 2.** Absolute number of Benedictine monasteries and collegiate churches over time



**Figure 3.** Corporate governance mechanisms of the Benedictines**Table 1.** Survival and closures of monasteries

Reason for closures	Number of Benedictine Monasteries	in %	Average lifetime in years	Year of the last event
No closure	25	17%	287	-
<b>Non agency problem related closures</b>				
Voluntary closure	6	4%	540	1883
External institutional factors	79	53%	568	1862
	85	57%	-	-
<b>Agency problem related closures</b>				
Mismanagement	20	13%	387	1862
Change into other organizational form	11	6%	313	1763
Control failure	9	7%	325	1773
	40	26%	-	-
<b>Total closures</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>83%</b>	-	-

**Appendix I: All Benedictine abbeys ever in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and German speaking Switzerland, incl. reasons of closings**

Abbey	Year established	Closing	Reason	Year of rebuild	Closing	Reason
Alpirsbach	1095	1535	Reformation 1: T. in Prot. school	1629	1648	Restitution edict
Amorbach	approx. 700	1803	Secularization			
Andechs	1455	approx. 1570	Reformation 2: Running short of novices Custom loses relevance (e.g. pilgrimage)	1588	1803	Secularization
Anhausen	1113	1558	Reformation 1: T. in Prot. chapter	1629	1648	Restitution edict
Ansbach	748	approx. 1000	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1563 <sup>8</sup> )			
Asbach	1139	1803	Secularization			
Attel	1145	1803	Secularization			
Augsburg St. Stephan	1834	--				
Augsburg St. Ulrich and Afra	1012	1537	Reformation 1	1548	1802	Secularization
Auhausen	approx. 1100	1534	Reformation 1			
Aura an der Saale	1113	1564	Mismanagement (plus warlike troubles)			
Bad Wimpfen	1947	--	(Re-foundation of the Abbey of Grüssau, frightened away during second World War)			
Banz	approx. 1060	1568	Reformation 2, neglect	1574	1803	Secularization
Benediktbeuren	approx. 740	1803	Secularization			
Beinwil-Mariastein	approx. 1100	1554	Extinction of the Convent, because of destruction and peasant uprising	1633	--	many times there of spent in exile
Berg im Donaugau	769	approx. 900	Raids by the Hungarians			
Beuron	1868	--				
Biburg	1133	1554	Reformation 2, extinction of the Convent, disciplinary and economic problems			
Blaubeuren	1085	1562	Reformation 1: T. in Prot. school	1630	1648	Restitution edict
Chiemsee	approx. 750	891	Subordination			
Disentis	approx. 750	--	Oldest abbey in this examination, continuously occupied			
Donauwörth	1110	1803	Secularization			
Ebersberg	1013	1590	Mismanagement (Reformation brings few new entrants)			
Echenbrunn	1120	approx. 1445	Extinction of the Convent	approx. 1460	1557	Reformation 1: Destroying
Eichstätt	1166	approx. 1350	Too small income, shortage of novices (1422 pursued as collegiate church)			

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.ansbach.de/cda/showpage.php?SiteID=66&lang=de>, 23.08.2007.

Abbey	Year established	Closing	Reason	Year of rebuild	Closing	Reason
Einsiedeln	934	1798	Helvetik: short term closing of the abbey	1803	--	
Elchingen	approx. 1120	1802	Secularization			
Ellwangen	764	1460	Collegiate chapter (until 1802) <sup>9</sup> , additionally caused through rising costs, plague and blazes			
Engelberg	approx. 1100	--				
Ensdorf	1121	1525	Neglect	1695	1802	Secularization
Erlach	approx. 1100	1528	Reformation 1			
Ettal	1332	1803	Secularization	1907	--	
Ettenheimmünster	approx. 800	1803	Secularization			
Faurndau	approx. 800	approx. 1120	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1536 <sup>10</sup> )			
Feuchtwangen	approx. 800	approx. 1004	Presumable t. in colligate chapter			
Fischingen	approx. 1138	1531	Reformation 1	1540	1848	Political shut down (liberalism)
Frauenzell	1424	1522	Mismanagement, misconduct of the rule	1582	1803	Secularization
Fultenbach	approx. 739	1449	Decline leads to administration by the Augsburg Hochstift (influence of the diocese)	1471	1773	Overextension: forced administration by the abbeys of Neresheim / Ottobeuren <sup>11</sup>
Füssen	approx. 750	1802	Secularization			
Gengenbach	approx. 740	1807	Secularization			
Gottesau	approx. 1080	1527	Assumed to be destroyed in peasant wars	1630	1648	Restitution edict
Heidenheim	752	1537	Reformation, rather 2 <sup>12</sup>			
Herrieden	approx. 790	888	Bishop closes abbey (adoption of the manors)			
Hirsau	approx. 830	approx. 1000	T. in colligate chapter, then closure	1065	1560	Reformation 1: T. in Prot. school
Honau (Schottenkloster)	approx. 730	approx. 1000	Secularization, t. in collegiate chapter (at least until 1398)			
Ilmmünster	approx. 762	1060	T. in collegiate chapter until 1493 <sup>13</sup>			

<sup>9</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/F%C3%BCrstpropstei\\_Ellwangen](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/F%C3%BCrstpropstei_Ellwangen), 23.08.2007.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.la-bw.de/kloester-bw/klostertexte.php?kreis=Lkr.%20Göppingen&bistum=&alle=1&ungeteilt=&art=&orden=&orte=&buchstabe=&nr=55&thema=Geschichte>, 23.08.2007.

<sup>11</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster\\_Fultenbach](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster_Fultenbach), 23.08.2007.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.hahnenkamm.de/heidenheim/kloster/>, 23.08.2007.

<sup>13</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster\\_Ilmm%C3%BCnster](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster_Ilmm%C3%BCnster), 18.09.2007.



Abbey	Year established	Closing	Reason	Year of rebuild	Closing	Reason
Irsee	1186	1802	Secularization			
Isny	1096	1350	Plague	1362	1803	Secularization
Jonschwil	before 900	approx. 950	Supposedly extinction of the noble family			
Kastl	1102	1563	Reformation 2, voluntary pass over (preceding mismanagement)			
Kempten	752	1803	Secularization			
Komburg	1078	1488	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1802)			
Konstanz (Schottenkl.)	approx. 1100	1529	Neglect, abbey loses significance. Closed through the city of Konstanz (fostered through Reformation)			
Luzern	approx. 740	approx. 820	Crisis of the nobility	850	approx. 1000	Downgraded to a dependent house (Murbach), background unknown
Lorch	approx. 1100	1563	Reformation more likely 1	1630	1648	Restitution edict
Mallersdorf	1109	1803	Secularization (16. cent.: major troubles, partial dependence)			
Marienberg	approx. 1090	1808	Secularization	1816	--	
Memmingen	1167	1435	Extinction → Downgrade to dependent house	1483	1498	Voluntary takeover through Augustinians due to extinction
Metten	766	approx. 910	Raid by the Hungarians	1157 1840 1695	1803 -- 1803	Secularization
Michelfeld	1119	1556	Reformation 1	1695	1803	Secularization
Michelsberg	1015	1803	Secularization			
Mönchröden	approx. 1147	1525	Reformation 1 (preceding plundering by peasants)			
Mönchsdeggingen	approx. 950	1802	Secularization			
Moosburg	8 cent.	1027	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1598 <sup>14</sup> )			
Mosbach	approx. 770	approx. 1010	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1556)			
Münchaurach	approx. 1126	1525	Destroyed in peasants' revolt			
München St. Bonifaz	1850	--				
Münchsmünster	approx. 750	approx. 910	Raids of the Hungarian	approx. 1130	1554	Extinction during Reformation (2)
Münchsteinach	1133	1529	Reformation 1			
Münsterschwarzach	815	1803	Secularization	1914 1945	1941 --	Shut down 3. Reich
Muri	1065	1841	Political closing (liberalism)	1846	--	Asylum and restart in Gries

<sup>14</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benutzer:Schnatz/Liste\\_der\\_Benediktinerkl%C3%B6ster](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benutzer:Schnatz/Liste_der_Benediktinerkl%C3%B6ster), 23.08.2007.

Abbey	Year established	Closing	Reason	Year of rebuild	Closing	Reason
Murrhardt	approx. 800	1552	Reformation more likely 1 <sup>15</sup> , Prot. school	1634	1648	Restitution edict
Neresheim	1120	1802	Secularization	1920	--	
Neuburg	1928	--				
Neustadt am Main	768	1803	Secularization			
Niederaltaich	741	1803	Secularization	1930	--	
Nürnberg (Schottenkl.)	approx. 1140	1525	Reformation 2: Voluntary passes over			
Oberaltaich	approx. 1100	1803	Secularization			
Ochsenhausen	1392	1803	Secularization			
Odenheim	approx. 1110	1503	T. into chapter of knights (until 1803 <sup>16</sup> )			
Ottobeuren	approx. 764	1802	Secularization partially avoided: Soon t. in a priory (dependent house)	1920	--	Monastery never completely deserted
Petershausen	993	1530	Reformation 1: Turnout and destruction	1556	1802	Secularization
Pfäfers (Pfaffenmünster)	approx. 750	1838	French Revolution leads to economic misery, additionally identity crises about direction and calling of the abbey insufficient information)			
Plankstetten	1129	1806	Secularization	1917	--	
Prüfening	1109	1803	Secularization			
Prüll	approx. 997	1485	Encumbrance leads to takeover (Carthusians)			
Regensburg St.Emmeram	before 739	1812	Secularization			
Regensburg St. Jakob (Schottenkloster)	1089	1862	Reduction of members leads to t. in priory and finally to closing			
Reichenau	approx. 724	1540	Hostile incorporation in the diocese of Konstanz (bishop chapter) and Downgrading in priory (until 1799)			
Reichenbach	1118	1556	Reformation, more likely 2 (voluntary: abbot)	1695	1803	Secularization
Rheinau	approx. 780	1799	Helvetik: The French close the abbey after the battle of Zurich	1803	1862	Political closing (liberalism)
Rohr	1946	--				
Rott am Inn	approx. 1083	1803	Secularization			
Schaffhausen	approx. 1060	1524	Reformation 2, t. in collegiate chapter (until 1529)			
Schäftlarn	762	approx. 930	unknown	1910	--	
Scheyern <sup>17</sup>	1095	1803	Secularization	1842	--	

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.murrhardt.de/index.php3?ber=m2&topic=geschichte\\_kloster2](http://www.murrhardt.de/index.php3?ber=m2&topic=geschichte_kloster2), 23.08.2007

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.odna.de/frames/start-frame.htm>, 23.08.2007

<sup>17</sup> In Bavaria King Ludwig 1. deserves extraordinary merits. After secularization many abbeys could resurrect due to his support.

Abbey	Year established	Closing	Reason	Year of rebuild	Closing	Reason
Schienen	approx. 800	909	Incorporation in the abbey of Reichenau (1215-1757 Propstei), inexplicit if hostile.			
Schlehdorf	approx. 740	approx. 1100	Probably t. in collegiate chapter (from 1140 collegiate chapter of the Augustinians) <sup>18</sup>			
Schliersee	approx. 779	approx. 900	unclear, later collegiate chapter (1141 - 1803)			
Schuttern	approx. 750	1806	Secularization			
Schwarzach	pres. 749	approx. 1000	unclear	1124	1588	Encumbrance, internal discord, external pressure
	1590	1803	Secularization			
Schweiklberg	1914	1941	Shut down 3. Reich	1945	--	
Seeon	994	1803	Secularization			
Sinsheim	approx. 1095	1496	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1565 (Reformation))			
Staffelsee	approx. 738	810	unclear			
St. Blasien	approx. 1000	1806	Secularization			
Stein am Rhein	approx. 970	1581	Voluntary incorporation in the abbey of Petershausen			
St. Gall	719	1805	Lack of adaptability, monastery insists on exceptional position under constitutional law → political closing			
St. Georgen	1083	1806	Secularization (Reformation: 1566 turnout and rebuild in Villingen)			
St. Johann	approx. 1100	1555	Hostile takeover through the abbey of St. Gall. Downgrade into priory			
St. Ottilien	1893	1941	Shut down 3. Reich	1945	--	
St. Peter im Schwarzwald	1093	1806	Secularization			
St. Trudpert	pres. 9 cent.	1806	Secularization			
St. Veit bei Neumarkt	1121	1802	Secularization			
Tegernbach	approx. 750	approx. 900	unclear			
Tegernsee	approx. 750	1803	Secularization			
Theres	approx. 1045	1802	Secularization			
Thierhaupten	approx. 750	approx. 900	Raids by the Hungarians.	1028	1452	Economical and moral impoverishment: Administrators bridge over
	approx 1500	1803	Secularization			
Trub	1139	1528	Reformation			
Vornbach	1094	1803	Secularization			
Wagenhusen	1119	1417	Hostile incorporation in the abbey of Schaffhausen			

<sup>18</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster\\_Schlehdorf](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kloster_Schlehdorf), 23.08.2007.

Abbey	Year established	Closing	Reason	Year of rebuild	Closing	Reason
Weihenstephan	1021	1803	Secularization			
Weingarten	approx. 740 <sup>19</sup> 1946	1802 --	Secularization	1922	1940	Shut down 3. Reich
Weissenhohe	1053	1554	Reformation more likely 2 because of encumbrance, bad discipline and recruiting problems	1695	1803	Secularization
Weltenburg	7 cent. 1128	approx. 900 1803	Raids of the Hungarian Secularization, from 1842 priory	approx. 1000 1913	1123 --	Hostile takeover Augustinians
Wessobrunn	approx. 750	approx. 900	Raids of the Hungarian	1065	1323	Encumbrance, short term incorporation into the Cistercian Abbey of Stams
Wiblingen	after 1323 1093	1803 1806	Secularization Secularization			
Wiesensteig	861	approx. 1100	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1803)			
Wülzburg	approx. 1050	1523	T. in collegiate chapter (until 1537 Reformation)			
Würzburg St. Burkard	748	10 cent.	unclear	983	1464	T. in chapter of knights (until 1803) <sup>20</sup>
Würzburg (Schottenkl.)	1134 1595	1497 1763	Running dry of novices T. in priory	1504	1547	Running dry a second time
Würzburg St. Stephan	approx. 1057	1803	Secularization			
Zwiefalten	1091	1802	Secularization			

### Legend

Reformation 1: Forced closing

Reformation 2: Indirect closing (voluntary passes over due to changed mentality, declining convents, weakening of the community)

Prot.: Protestant

T.: Transformation

<sup>19</sup> Founded in Altomünster, transfer in 1056

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.wuerzburg.de/tourismus/sehenswertes/31,1737.html>, 23.08.2007.

**Appendix II: Average lifetime of the abbeys**

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Year established</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>
Alpirsbach	1095	1535	1629	1648					459
Amorbach	700	1803							1103
Andechs	1455	1570	1588	1803					330
Anhausen	1113	1558	1629	1648					464
Ansbach	748	1000							252
Asbach	1139	1803							664
Attel	1145	1803							658
Augsburg St.Stephan	1834	2007							173
Augsburg St.Ulrich und Afra	1012	1537	1548	1802					779
Auhausen	1100	1534							434
Aura an der Saale	1113	1564							451
Bad Wimpfen	1947	2007							60
Banz	1060	1568	1574	1803					737
Benediktbeuren	740	1803							1063
Beinwil-Mariastein	1100	1554	1633	2007					828
Berg im Donaugau	769	900							131
Beuron	1868	2007							139
Biburg	1133	1554							421
Blaubeuren	1085	1562	1630	1648					495
Chiemsee	750	891							141
Disentis	750	2007							1257
Donauwörth	1110	1803							693
Ebersberg	1013	1590							577
Echenbrunn	1120	1445	1460	1557					422
Eichstätt	1166	1350							184
Einsiedeln	934	1798	1803	2007					1068
Elchingen	1120	1802							682
Ellwangen	764	1460							696

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Year established</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>
Engelberg	1100	2007							907
Ensdorf	1121	1525	1695	1802					511
Erlach	1100	1528							428
Ettal	1332	1803	1907	2007					571
Ettenheimmünster	800	1803							1003
Faurndau	800	1120							320
Feuchtwangen	800	1004							204
Fischingen	1138	1531	1540	1848					701
Frauenzell	1424	1522	1582	1803					319
Fultenbach	739	1449	1471	1773					1012
Füssen	750	1802							1052
Gengenbach	740	1807							1067
Gottesau	1080	1527	1630	1648					465
Heidenheim	752	1537							785
Herrieden	790	888							98
Hirsau	830	1000	1065	1560	1630	1648			683
Honau	730	1000							270
Immünster	762	1060							298
Irsee	1186	1802							616
Isny	1096	1350	1362	1803					695
Jonschwil	850	950							100
Kastl	1102	1563							461
Kempten	752	1803							1051
Komburg	1078	1488							410
Konstanz (Schott.)	1100	1529							429
Luzern	740	820	850	1000					230
Lorch	1100	1563	1630	1648					481
Mallersdorf	1109	1803							694
Marienberg	1090	1808	1816	2007					909
Memmingen	1167	1435	1483	1498					283
Metten	766	950	1157	1803	1840	2007			997
Michelfeld	1119	1556	1695	1803					545

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Year established</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>
Michelsberg	1015	1803							788
Mönchröden	1147	1525							378
Mönchsdeggingen	950	1802							852
Moosburg	750	1027							277
Mosbach	770	1010							240
Münchaurach	1126	1525							399
München St.Bonifaz	1850	2007							157
Münchsmünster	750	950	1130	1554					624
Münchsteinach	1133	1529							396
Münsterschwarzach	815	1803	1914	1941	1945	2007			1077
Muri	1065	1841	1846	2007					937
Murrhardt	800	1552	1634	1648					766
Neresheim	1120	1802	1920	2007					769
Neuburg	1928	2007							79
Neustadt am Main	768	1803							1035
Niederaltaich	741	1803	1930	2007					1139
Nürnberg Schottenkloster	1140	1525							385
Oberaltaich	1100	1803							703
Ochsenhausen	1392	1803							411
Odenheim	1110	1503							393
Ottobeuren	764	1802	1920	2007					1125
Petershausen	993	1530	1556	1802					783
Pfäfers	750	1838							1088
Plankstetten	1129	1806	1917	2007					767
Prüfening	1109	1803							694
Prüll	997	1485							488
Regensburg St.Emmeram	739	1812							1073
Regensburg St. Jakob	1089	1862							773
Reichenau	724	1540							816
Reichenbach	1118	1556	1659	1803					582
Rheinau	780	1799	1803	1862					1078
Rohr	1946	2007							61

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Year established</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>
Rott am Inn	1083	1803							720
Schaffhausen	1060	1524							464
Schäftlarn	762	930	1910	2007					265
Scheyern	1095	1803	1842	2007					873
Schienen	800	909							109
Schlehdorf	740	1100							360
Schliersee	779	900							121
Schuttern	750	1806							1056
Schwarzach	749	1000	1124	1588	1590	1803			928
Schweiklberg	1914	1941	1945	2007					89
Seeon	994	1803							809
Sinsheim	1095	1496							401
Staffelsee	738	810							72
St. Blasien	1000	1806							806
Stein am Rhein	970	1581							611
St. Gall	719	1805							1086
St. Georgen	1083	1806							723
St. Johann	1100	1555							455
St. Ottilien	1893	1941	1945	2007					110
St. Peter im Schwarzwald	1093	1806							713
St. Trudpert	850	1806							956
St. Veit bei Neumarkt	1121	1802							681
Tegernbach	750	900							150
Tegernsee	750	1803							1053
Theres	1045	1802							757
Thierhaupten	750	900	1028	1452	1500	1803			877
Trub	1139	1528							389
Vornbach	1094	1803							709
Wagenhusen	1119	1417							298
Weihenstephan	1021	1803							782
Weingarten	740	1802	1922	1940	1946	2007			1141
Weissenhohe	1053	1554	1695	1803					609



<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Year established</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Re-foundation</b>	<b>Closing or existence by today</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>
Weltenburg	700	900	1000	1123	1128	1803	1913	2007	1092
Wessobrunn	750	900	1065	1323	1340	1803			871
Wiblingen	1093	1806							713
Wiesensteig	861	1100							239
Wülzburg	1050	1523							473
Würzburg St. Burkard 748	748	900	983	1464					633
W. Schottenkloster	1134	1497	1504	1547	1595	1763			574
W. St. Stephan	1057	1803							746
Zwiefalten	1091	1802							711

**Appendix III: Average lifetime of the abbeys, ignoring the period until 1000 AD and momentary closings and re-foundations.  
Re-installations after complete shut downs, counted as separate organizations. Systematization of the reasons of closing.**

Abbey	Year established	Closing or existence by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Lifetime 1. Period	Lifetime 2. Period	Lifetime 3. Period	Reason of closing
Alpirsbach	1095	1535					440	0	0	1
Amorbach	1000	1803					803	0	0	1
Andechs	1455	1570	1588	1803			115	215	0	3 1
Anhausen	1113	1558					445	0	0	1
Asbach	1139	1803					664	0	0	1
Attel	1145	1803					658	0	0	1
Augsburg St.Stephan	1834	2007					173	0	0	2
Augsburg St.Ulrich and Afra	1012	1537	1548	1802			525	254	0	1 1
Auhausen	1100	1534					434	0	0	1
Aura an der Saale	1113	1564					451	0	0	3
Bad Wimpfen	1947	2007					60	0	0	2
Banz	1060	1568	1574	1803			508	229	0	3 1
Benediktbeuren	1000	1803					803	0	0	1
Beinwil-Mariastein	1100	1554	1633	2007			454	374	0	1 2
Beuron	1868	2007					139	0	0	2
Biburg	1133	1554					421	0	0	3
Blaubeuren	1085	1562					477	0	0	1
Disentis	1000	2007					1007	0	0	2
Donauwörth	1110	1803					693	0	0	1
Ebersberg	1013	1590					577	0	0	3
Echenbrunn	1120	1445	1460	1557			325	97	0	3 1
Eichstätt	1166	1350					184	0	0	3
Einsiedeln	1000	2007					1007	0	0	2
Elchingen	1120	1802					682	0	0	1
Ellwangen	1000	1460					460	0	0	4
Engelberg	1100	2007					907	0	0	2
Ensdorf	1121	1525	1695	1802			404	107	0	3 1

Abbey	Year established	Closing or existence by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Lifetime 1. Period	Lifetime 2. Period	Lifetime 3. Period	Reason of closing
Erlach	1100	1528					428	0	0	1
Ettal	1332	1803	1907	2007			471	100	0	1 2
Ettenheimmünster	1000	1803					803	0	0	1
Faurndau	1000	1120					120	0	0	4
Fischingen	1138	1531	1540	1848			393	308	0	1 1
Frauenzell	1424	1522	1582	1803			98	221	0	3 1
Fultenbach	1000	1449	1471	1773			449	302	0	5 5
Füssen	1000	1802					802	0	0	1
Gengenbach	1000	1807					807	0	0	1
Gottesau	1080	1527					447	0	0	1
Heidenheim	1000	1537					537	0	0	6
Hirsau	1065	1560					495	0	0	1
Ilmmünster	1000	1060					60	0	0	4
Irsee	1186	1802					616	0	0	1
Isny	1096	1350	1362	1803			254	441	0	1 1
Kastl	1102	1563					461	0	0	6
Kempten	1000	1803					803	0	0	1
Komburg	1078	1488					410	0	0	4
Konstanz (Schott.)	1100	1529					429	0	0	3
Lorch	1100	1563					463	0	0	1
Mallersdorf	1109	1803					694	0	0	1
Marienberg	1090	2007					917	0	0	2
Memmingen	1167	1435	1483	1498			268	15	0	3 5
Metten	1157	1803	1840	2007			646	167	0	1 2
Michelfeld	1119	1556	1695	1803			437	108	0	1 1
Michelsberg	1015	1803					788	0	0	1
Mönchröden	1147	1525					378	0	0	1
Mönchsdeggingen	1000	1802					802	0	0	1
Münchaurach	1126	1525					399	0	0	1
München St.Bonifaz	1850	2007					157	0	0	2
Münchsmünster	1130	1554					424	0	0	3
Münchsteinach	1133	1529					396	0	0	1

Abbey	Year established	Closing or existence by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Lifetime 1. Period	Lifetime 2. Period	Lifetime 3. Period	Reason of closing
Münsterschwarzach	1000	1803	1914	2007			803	93	0	1 2
Muri	1065	2007					942	0	0	2
Murrhardt	1000	1552					552	0	0	1
Neresheim	1120	1802	1920	2007			682	87	0	1 2
Neuburg	1928	2007					79	0	0	2
Neustadt am Main	1000	1803					803	0	0	1
Niederaltaich	1000	1803	1930	2007			803	77	0	1 2
Nürnberg										
Schottenkloster	1140	1525					385	0	0	6
Oberaltaich	1100	1803					703	0	0	1
Ochsenhausen	1392	1803					411	0	0	1
Odenheim	1110	1503					393	0	0	4
Ottobeuren	1000	1802	1920	2007			802	87	0	1 2
Petershausen	993	1530	1556	1802			537	246	0	1 1
Pfäfers	1000	1838					838	0	0	6 (1)
Plankstetten	1129	1806	1917	2007			677	90	0	1 2
Prüfening	1109	1803					694	0	0	1
Prüll	1000	1485					485	0	0	5 (2)
Regensburg										
St.Emmeram	1000	1812					812	0	0	1
Regensburg St. Jakob	1089	1862					773	0	0	3
Reichenau	1000	1540					540	0	0	5
Reichenbach	1118	1556	1659	1803			438	144	0	6 1
Rheinau	1000	1862					862	0	0	1
Rohr	1946	2007					61	0	0	2
Rott am Inn	1083	1803					720	0	0	1
Schaffhausen	1060	1524					464	0	0	4
Schäftlarn	1910	2007					97	0	0	2
Scheyern	1095	1803	1842	2007			708	165	0	1 2
Schlehdorf	1000	1100					100	0	0	4
Schuttern	1000	1806					806	0	0	1
Schwarzach	1124	1588	1590	1803			464	213	0	3 1
Schweiklberg	1914	2007					93	0	0	2

Abbey	Year established	Closing or existence by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Re-foundation	C. or e. by today	Lifetime 1. Period	Lifetime 2. Period	Lifetime 3. Period	Reason of closing		
Seeon	1000	1803					803	0	0	1		
Sinsheim	1095	1496					401	0	0	4		
St. Blasien	1000	1806					806	0	0	1		
Stein am Rhein	1000	1581					581	0	0	6 (3)		
St. Gall	1000	1805					805	0	0	3		
St. Georgen	1083	1806					723	0	0	1		
St. Johann	1100	1555					455	0	0	5		
St. Ottilien	1893	2007					114	0	0	2		
St. Peter im Schwarzwald	1093	1806					713	0	0	1		
St. Trudpert	1000	1806					806	0	0	1		
St. Veit bei Neumarkt	1121	1802					681	0	0	1		
Tegernsee	1000	1803					803	0	0	1		
Theres	1045	1802					757	0	0	1		
Thierhaupten	1028	1452	1500	1803			424	303	0	3	1	
Trub	1139	1528					389	0	0	1		
Vornbach	1094	1803					709	0	0	1		
Wagenhusen	1119	1417					298	0	0	5		
Weihenstephan	1021	1803					782	0	0	1		
Weingarten	1000	1802	1922	2007			802	85	0	1	2	
Weissenhohe	1053	1554	1695	1803			501	108	0	3	1	
Weltenburg	1000	1123	1128	1803	1913	2007	123	675	94	5	1	2
Wessobrunn	1065	1323	1340	1803			258	463	0	5	1	
Wiblingen	1093	1806					713	0	0	1		
Wiesensteig	1000	1100					100	0	0	4		
Wülzburg	1050	1523					473	0	0	4		
Würzburg St. Burkard	1000	1464					464	0	0	4		
W. Schottenkloster	1134	1497	1504	1547	1595	1763	363	43	168	3	3	4
W. St. Stephan	1057	1803					746	0	0	1		
Zwiefalten	1091	1802					711	0	0	1		

Legend: 1 = External institutional factors, 2 = No closing, 3 = Mismanagement, 4 = Change into other organizational form, 5 = Control failure, 6 = Voluntary closing

**Appendix IV: Average lifetime of the collegiate chapters (years)**

	<b>Year established</b>	<b>Closing</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>
Ansbach	1000	1563	563
Ellwangen	1460	1802	342
Faurndau	1120	1536	416
Hirsau	1000	1065	65
Honau	1000	1398	398
Illmünster	1060	1493	433
Komburg	1488	1802	314
Moosburg	1027	1598	571
Mosbach	1010	1556	546
Odenheim	1503	1803	300
Schaffhausen	1524	1529	5
Schlehdorf	1100	1140	40
Schliersee	1141	1803	662
Sinsheim	1496	1565	69
Wiesensteig	1100	1803	703
Wülzburg	1523	1537	14
Würzburg St.Burkard	1464	1803	339