Diane J. Reilly

The Cistercian Reform and the Art of the Book in Twelfth-Century France

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 2018 by Amsterdam University Press Ltd.

Published 2025 by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

ISBN: 9789462985940 (hbk)
ISBN: 9781041187431 (pbk)
ISBN: 9781003705536 (ebk)
NUR 684

Cover illustration: Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 170, fol. 32r
Source: Art Resource

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

DOI: 10.5117/9789462985940

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Taylor & Francis Verlag GmbH, Kaufingerstraße 24, 80331 München, Germany

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Abbreviations

Biblia sacra	*Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Bonifatius Fischer et al., 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).
Can	chant reference number from Debra Lacoste (Project Manager and Principal Researcher) and Jan Koláček (Web Developer). Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant – Inventories of Chant Sources. Available from <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>.
"Night Office Lectionary"	Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Cistercian Night Office Lectionary in the Twelfth Century," ed. Diane Reilly, *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 66, (2015): 71-186.
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 207 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1844-1855).
Primitive Cistercian Breviary	*The Primitive Cistercian Breviary* (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Lat. Oct. 402*) *with Variants from the "Bernardine" Cistercian Breviary*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell, Spicilegium Friburgense; Texts Concerning the History of Cistercian Life 44 (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2007).
SBO	*Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds. Jean Leclercq, Henri Rochais, and Charles H. Talbot, 3 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993-2000).
SC	*Sources chrétiennes* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1941-).
Vulgate Bible	*The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, 6 vols., ed. Swift Edgar and Angela Kinney, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 1, 4, 5, 8, 13, 17, 21 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010-2013).

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Acknowledgments

In the time since I began to study the early Cistercians I have incurred innumerable debts to scholars and institutions as well as to family and friends. My first forays into the world of the Cistercians took place during the term of a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at the University of Toronto. My colleagues that year, Anne-Laurance Caudano, Dan Hobbins, Kostis Kourelis, Vasileios Marinis, John Ott, Sharon Salvadori, and Janet Sorrentino, as well as the Institute's faculty and staff, provided invaluable feedback during the earliest stages of my work. My field work in France in the fall of 2009 was supported by a travel grant from the College Arts and Humanities Institute at Indiana University. I am grateful to the librarians at the municipal libraries of Laon (Laurence Richard), Arras (Pascal Rideau), Cambrai (Annie Fournier), Reims (Matthieu Gerbault), Douai (Jean Vilbas), and especially to the entire staff of the Bibliothèque municipale of Dijon, whose helpfulness and cheer made my many visits there so productive.

I thank the organizers, participants and audiences of the events at which I presented earlier stages of this work, including Susan Boynton, organizer of "Performing and Presenting the Word: Medieval Bibles in Context" at Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and the Museum of Biblical Art (2007), Glenn Peers, at the University of Texas at Austin (2007), Steven Vanderputten in Ghent, who organized "Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication" (2008), and "The Beginnings of Cistercian Abbeys" (2010), Robert Maxwell, at the University of Pennsylvania (2011), Kati Ihnat and Emma Hornby, at The Old Hispanic Office Project, organizers of "Senses of the Liturgy: Medieval Ritual Interpretation and Practice," University of Bristol (2013), and Tjamke Snijders, organizer of a session at the International Medieval Institute at Leeds (2015). Parts of this study were also presented at The International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo (2008 and 2014) and The Medieval Academy of America at Yale (2010). I am grateful to David Bell, who unearthed and shared with me Brother Chrysogonus Waddell's typescript of his study of the early Cistercian Night Office lectionary, and to Terryl Kinder, who then shepherded it through to publication. This would be a completely different study without their contributions. Conversations with Susan Boynton, Mette Birkdal Bruun, Tova Leigh Choate, Isabelle Cochelin, Jay Diehl, Margot Fassler, Jeffrey Hamburger, Brian Patrick Maguire, Lauren Mancia, Martha Newman, and Steve Vanderputten, among many others, gave me inspiration and food for

thought. I can take credit for the numerous mistakes that likely remain, however.

My institutional home, Indiana University, has supported my work at every stage. The College Arts and Humanities Institute funded time to finish a first draft with a course release, while the Institute for Advanced Study provided a course release for revisions and funding for photograph permissions and indexing. My colleagues both in the Department of Art History and the Medieval Studies Institute have provided moral and intellectual support. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Julia Grella O'Connell, who copy-edited the draft, Shannon Cunningham, my editor at Amsterdam University Press, Eyal Poleg, and Claire Monagle, editor of Knowledge Communities, who both provided insightful critiques of the entire manuscript, and Lindsey Hansen, who organized photographs and permissions and prepared the index. Finally, my family, parents Rae and Peter Reilly and Carol Lawrence, sister Karen, husband Giles Knox and son Ian endured the Cistercians for over a decade. I am grateful for their support and patience.

Diane J. Reilly
June 2018

Introduction

> Then Ezra, the priest, brought the law before the multitude of men and women and all those that could understand in the first day of the seventh month. And he read it plainly in the street that was before the water gate from the morning until midday before the men and women and all those that could understand, and the ears of all the people were attentive to the book (2 Ezra 8: 2-3).[1]

The practice of reading Scripture aloud to the congregation of the faithful has its roots in the Old Testament. Long before Christian monasteries codified the practice of continuously reading aloud from the Bible as a component of their routine observances, second-century Christians were described by Tertullian and Justin Martyr as listening to readings from Scripture and singing psalmody as part of their Eucharistic celebrations.[2] By the time of the beginnings of communal monasticism, the systematic reading of Scripture surrounded by psalmody and prayers at regular hours was common to most religious houses, though the content of these services could vary widely. In western Europe, The Rule of St. Benedict codified the round of readings from Scripture, Patristics and homilies, introducing to western monasticism what was, for a time, the almost universal paired expectations that all monks would hear the entire Bible and discourses on Scripture in the course of a single year, and that members of the same community would share the same listener experience.[3]

Those who stood together in the choir and heard the same lections and prayers, and themselves sang the same memorized Psalms, canticles, and chants, and sat together listening to the weekly reader in the refectory

1 *Vulgate Bible* IIB:1568-1571. *Adtulit ergo Ezra, sacerdos, legem coram multitudine virorum et mulierum cunctisque qui poterant intellegere in die prima mensis septimi. Et legit in eo aperte in platea quae erat ante portam aquarum de mane usqua ad mediam diem in conspectu* virorum *et mulierum et sapientium, et aures omnis populi erant erectae ad librum*. *Biblia sacra* I:664. In his commentary on the liturgy, the ninth-century ecclesiastical leader Amalarius of Metz opined, "Let us accept that Ezra was a lector in the Old Testament; he will teach us how we ought to read." Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, ed. and trans. Eric Knibbs, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 35 , 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014) I:407.

2 Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Apostolic Tradition," in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, eds. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 32-75 at 50.

3 Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Cistercian Studies 238 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), xiv-xv.

DOI: 10.5117/9789462985940-1

as well as during Chapter and at Collation, built an exactly comparable repertoire of words and interpretations specific to the monastic cursus of that house.[4] Their internalization of that body of text varied only according to each individual's power of memory and the personal experiences he or she brought into the choir. We can differentiate the group defined by this shared experience from what Brian Stock calls the "textual community," i.e. a group sharing access to the same written texts by way of an intermediary who interpreted those texts for it.[5] In one of Stock's examples, Bernard of Clairvaux's powerful elucidation of the Song of Songs created a commonality of understanding among the Cistercians, linking them as a community at the same time that Bernard mapped out a means of interiorizing the text for their spiritual benefit.[6] While this unifying force within a specific "literate culture" certainly existed,[7] it was overlapped by the oral and aural experience of text that was even more specific and localized. As with the "emotional communities" posited by Barbara Rosenwein,[8] individuals may not have recognized themselves as members of the community built by this shared oral experience and the internalized body of texts that resulted, although they certainly were able to identify when the oral reading and chant practices of another house differed from those in their own, and frequently critiqued

4 For an introduction to the opportunities for public reading in a Benedictine context, see Teresa Webber, "Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, c. 1000-1300" (London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture, 18 February, 2010, revised edition 2013, Institute of English Studies Online Publication, School of Advanced Studies, University of London), http://events.sas.ac.uk/ies/publications/1009. I have previously shown how even among monasteries that claimed to be administratively linked, the readings the monks heard could differ. Diane J. Reilly, "The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo librorum ad legendum*: a reassessment of monastic Bible reading and Cluniac customary instructions," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny/Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes clunisiennes au moyen âge*, eds. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 163-189.

5 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 90.

6 Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, 405.

7 Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, 91.

8 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). I will avoid using the term "oral community" because it could be understood in scholarly contexts to describe communities that identified themselves through a shared language of communication, or that were primarily oral. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982), 74. The Cîteaux choir could potentially be understood as a locus of "secondary orality," according to Ong's formulation, 136, because there written texts were mediated by oral delivery.

the differences.[9] This book examines the effects of the phenomenon of a shared repertoire of text-based experiences on the surviving texts and images created during the first years of the Cistercian movement.

The Love of Learning and the Desire for God

Since the publication in 1957 of Jean Leclercq's seminal study of Western monasticism in the central Middle Ages, monastic reading and learning have been intimately linked in the minds of scholars who seek to parse the actions and outlook of twelfth-century monks. As Leclercq described, "In general, monks did not acquire their religious formation in a school, under a scholastic, by means of the *quaestio*, but individually, under the guidance of an abbot, a spiritual father, through the reading of the Bible and the Fathers, within the liturgical framework of the monastic life. Hence, there arose a type of Christian culture with marked characteristics: a disinterested culture which was 'contemplative' in bent."[10] While most scholars have happily echoed Leclercq's thesis that the monastic context fostered a specifically monastic educational repertoire, "reading of the Bible and the Fathers," they have often ignored the qualifier that immediately followed: "within the liturgical framework of the monastic life." Leclercq's own statements about whether the liturgical cursus in which every Benedictine monk participated was part and parcel of this learning process are contradictory. Leclercq repeats, "The liturgy … is the medium through which the Bible and the patristic tradition are received,"[11] and "it was the liturgy itself which formed the usual and ordinary commentary on Holy Scripture and the Fathers," but he also describes the primary purpose of the liturgy as to glorify God.[12] Rumination on the texts from which the liturgy was built in order to achieve understanding, he implies, occurred when a monk had comparative leisure to dwell on passages uninterrupted, to read them aloud to himself in a low tone, prompting a "repeated mastication of the divine words."[13] But was this by necessity a solitary activity, with words muttered in an undertone? Or

9 For examples of this from the Cistercian reform, see Bede K. Lackner, "The Liturgy of Early Cîteaux," in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan*, Cistercian Studies 13 (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 1-34 at 17-20.

10 Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi, 3rd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 2.

11 Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 71, also 236.

12 Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 237.

13 Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 72-73.

could the words be sung out in a choir or read aloud in a refectory? How were the monks edified by what they heard?

When the first Cistercians set about furnishing their monastic life with texts, both those they copied for choir use and those they drafted anew, they answered this question with the choices they made. The manuscripts they copied, confined to "the Bible and the patristic tradition" identified by Leclercq as the core of liturgical learning, are replete with images that both echo the lections and chants they had heard communally, and affirm the importance of hearing, speaking, and ingesting the Word. The size of most of these manuscripts indicates that they were intended for communal use, meaning that they were destined to be read aloud in a communal space, and the markings within many of them confirm that this was indeed how they were employed. The care that went into correcting the text of the Bible and perfecting the form and the words of the liturgy signals a profound concern for what the monks heard and sang as a group. The words and images chosen for emphasis by these early Cistercians also reveal that the monks had become preoccupied with the themes of hearing and speaking, or singing, the words of Scripture and the liturgy, and the sensation of taste they inspired. As Leclercq pointed out, use of the metaphor of eating and digestion to describe the monastic way of reading was already widespread.[14] Once Bernard of Clairvaux had left Cîteaux for Clairvaux, he wrote movingly about experiencing the Divine through hearing and savoring the Word. The earliest Cistercians left no similar explanation for why their texts and imagery reveal such a focus on the importance of experiencing Scripture though the senses.[15] Instead, we can deduce from the evidence provided by their energetic reform of their communal liturgy, and the texts and images that resulted, that they believed this was the best way to learn and the most direct route to the Divine.

The earliest days of the new order coincided with the widespread, Continental emergence of what is sometimes called affective piety, usually described as a desire for a heightened sensation of God's presence and an emotional response to the experience of God, achieved through solitary

14 Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 73.

15 Indeed, the lack of any writing by the earliest Cistercians that qualifies as straightforwardly spiritual or theological has led many scholars to discuss early Cistercian spiritual theology beginning with the monastery's third decade. See, recently, Bernard McGinn, "The spiritual teaching of the early Cistercians," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 218-232.

prayer and meditation.[16] Two of the miniatures painted in the early Cîteaux scriptorium, as we will see in Chapter 3, highlight the tender relationship between Mary and Jesus that is often associated with this movement's quest for emotional connections with the members of the Holy Family. Many other illuminations seem to make a more allusive reference to the senses through which the Cîteaux monks gained their spiritual experiences: hearing, speaking, and tasting the Word.

By the later Middle Ages, at least according to the emphasis of scholars, individuals had assumed enough control over their own spiritual lives that this private prayer activity was largely self-directed. Already the devotional literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries focused on private prayer and contemplation as the means to a more intimate experience of spirituality. Anselm of Canterbury's *Orationes sive meditationes*, written almost contemporaneously with the foundation of Cîteaux for Anselm's brother monks and most famously sent to pious laywomen like Adelaide, daughter of William the Conqueror, and Matilda of Tuscany for their private use, exhibit that impulse.[17]

The early proponents of affective spirituality, who were often the spiritual advisors of monks and nuns, encouraged them to understand that while their individual *lectio divina* was an opportunity for solitary meditations on the Divine, communal liturgical practice in the form of the Office could also be meditative, and a vehicle for similar spiritual experiences. Rachel Fulton Brown and Susan Boynton have already disproved the once common assumption that liturgical practices were by nature hollow, mechanical exercises that satisfied society's demands for observances while the real work of contemplation took place in private and was necessarily spontaneous in character.[18] As Fulton Brown revealed in her study of the Admont

16 The earliest synthetic scholarly treatment of this development is Richard Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 226-228, while a succinct introduction can be found in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, eds. Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 695-696. For more recent critiques of the commonly received chronology, see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 61, and Scott DeGregorio, "Affective Spirituality: Theory and Practice in Bede and Alfred the Great," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 129-139 at 130.

17 Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 91-112. Southern claimed (102) that with St. Anselm's compositions the "environment of prayer has shifted decisively from the church to the chamber, and from communal effort to severe and lonely introspection."

18 Rachel Fulton, "Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice," *Speculum* 81 (2006): 700-783 at 702-705 and 713, and Susan Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 896-931, esp. 897.

Stiftbibliothek's copy of the *Orationes*, MS 289, prayers were intended to elicit spiritual experiences even when liturgically programmed.[19] Sermons written by and for monks, including by Bernard of Clairvaux, reveal that the communal spaces of the monastery were also the locus of pious meditation, even when done in unison with others. Describing the communal psalmody of the Clairvaux monks, Bernard advised, "But the soul that is sincere and wise will not fail to chew the psalm with the teeth, as it were, of the mind, because if he swallows it in a lump, without proper mastication, the palate will be cheated of the delicious flavor, *sweeter even than honey that drips from the comb* [Ps. 18:11]."[20]

Bernard's description of speaking, or singing, as analogous to tasting evokes the concept that the spiritual experience could be accessed through bodily sensation. Before Bernard wrote, within Cîteaux, his brethren appear from the images and texts that they left behind to have consciously embraced the idea that the senses would allow them to engage Scripture in a more profound way, and that this experience brought them closer to God. This belief saturated the imagery they produced and the choices they made in what to sing and hear, and drove them to revise their liturgy and Scripture to make what they therefore "tasted" more perfect.[21]

This apparent focus on the sense of hearing, and the spiritual sense of taste it inspired, as an avenue to spiritual experience runs counter to traditional interpretations of early Cistercian spirituality, which, in line with patristic teachings, advocated the denial of the senses in favor of asceticism that allowed inner, spiritual knowledge.[22] Scholars generally acknowledge that although medieval writers before the twelfth century used the metaphorical vocabulary of the senses to explain encounters with God, much as patristic

19 Fulton, "Praying with Anselm," 705 and 732.

20 Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 7:5, *On the Song of Songs* I, trans. Kilian Walsh, Cistercian Fathers Series 4 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 41-42. *Tantum illum terere non negligat fidelis et prudens anima quibusdam dentibus intelligentiae suae, ne si forte integrum glutiat, et non mansum, frustretur palatum sapore* desiderabili, et dulciori super mel et favum [Ps. 18:11]. *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* I (1-35), *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1, eds. Jean Leclercq, Henri Rochais and Charles H. Talbot (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), repr. *Sermons sur le Cantique* I (Sermons 1-15), SC 414 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1996), 164.

21 Rachel Fulton Brown already observed, based the contents of surviving eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts, that there appears to be a correlation between the desire for more meaningful prayer and an impulse to reform the liturgy. Fulton, "Praying with Anselm," 714-715.

22 Jean-Baptiste Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne primitive: mythe ou réalité?* Studia et Documenta 3 (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1986), 224-249 and Gordon Rudy, *Mystical Language of Sensation in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1-10. See Rudy's critique of scholarly attempts to identify medieval "experiences" of God, however, 10-12.

authors had, this was not an endorsement of the corporeal senses, which were to be overcome. Bernard, on the other hand, seemed to waver between two poles. In writing like the passage quoted above, he drew on the language of the senses so forcefully that the reader could almost taste the dripping honey of Scripture.[23] In other places, he seemed to revile the bodily senses, with the exception of hearing.

> The wisdom that is good and true, as holy Job experienced it, *is drawn out of secret places* [Job 28:18]. Why then seek it from without, in your bodily senses? Taste resides in the palate, but wisdom in the heart. Do not look for wisdom with your eyes of flesh, *because flesh and blood will not reveal it* to you, *but the Spirit* [Mt 16:17]. Do not look for it in what the mouth tastes, for *it is not found in the land of those who live for pleasure* [Job 28: 13] … Only the hearing that catches the word possesses the truth.[24]

In this Bernard may have echoed Origen, who also made special exceptions for the senses of sight and hearing, because they enabled an encounter with the Bible, and through it, the Logos.[25] As Gordon Rudy points out, Bernard elevates the sense of hearing even above that of sight as the primary spiritual sense. Describing the bride encountering her beloved in the Song of Songs, Bernard writes, "Hearing leads to sight, *faith comes from what is heard* [Rom 10:17] … Accordingly she sees him coming after hearing his voice; even the Holy Spirit maintains here the order which the prophet thus described: *Hear O daughter, and see* [Ps. 44:11]."[26] The first half of Sermon 28 on the Song of Songs is an extended meditation on hearing in which Bernard returns again

23 Rudy, *Mystical Language*, 45-65.

24 Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 28:8. *On the Song of Songs* II, trans. Kilian Walsh, Cistercian Fathers Series 7 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1983), 94-95. *Bona et vera* sapientia trahitur de occultis [Job 28:18], *ut sapit beatus Iob. Quid foris eam quaeris in corporis sensu? Sapor in palate, in corde est sapientia. Ne quaeras sapientiam in oculo carnis, quia* caro et sanguis non revelat *eam*, sed spiritus [Mt 16:17]. *Non in gustu oris:* nec *enim* invenitur in terra suaviter viventium [Job 28: 13] … *Solus habet auditus verum, qui percipit verbum*. *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1, repr. *Sermons sur le Cantique* II (16-32), SC 431 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998), 360.

25 Rudy, *Mystical Language*, 3-4. Rudy specifies that Bernard believed that exegesis allowed one to know the incarnate Christ rather than the "eternal Logos" (46-47).

26 Rudy, *Mystical Language*, 55-56, and Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 53:2. *On the Song of Songs III*, trans. Kilian Walsh and Irene M. Edmonds, Cistercian Fathers Series 31 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979), 59-60. *Auditus ducit ad visum:* fides ex auditu … [Rom 10:17] *Videt itaque venientem, quem loquentem audierat, observante etiam hic ordinem illum Spirito Sancto, qui apud Prophetam descriptus eta:* Audi filia, et vide [Ps. 44:11]. *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* II (36-86), *SBO* 2, repr. *Sermons sur le Cantique* IV (Sermons 51-68), SC 472 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2003), 80.

and again to its power to impart truth: "The hearing succeeded where the sight failed. Appearances deceived the eye, but truth poured itself into the ear," and "Hence the Prophet says: *You will give to my hearing joy and gladness* [Ps 50:10] for the beatific vision is the reward of faithful hearing. We merit the beatific vision by our constancy in listening."[27] His language regarding touch and taste instead seems metaphorical and symbolic. As Rudy explains, "Grace is the touch of the Bridegroom's embrace [SC 51.5-6], an 'oil of unction' granted by the Holy Spirit [SC 14.6, SC 8.2]. This 'anointing' is a 'touch' and an 'experience' that brings the elect to God through virtue and makes them just such that they taste God's sweetness [*Sent*. 2:23] … Bernard asserts that he longs for this touch and to taste this food, which he knows indirectly, by its odor only [SC 14.6]."[28] Bernard composed the *Sermons* and *Sentences* in the decades after he left Cîteaux, yet his understanding of the role of these senses in spiritual life aligns remarkably closely with the imagery we find in the manuscripts he certainly saw. Was he inspired by the manuscripts themselves? Or by the reform philosophy that gave rise to them?

The first decades of the monastery of Cîteaux provide a unique window into the invention of a monastic *ordo* and its tools according to the values of a movement's founders. We are especially lucky that so many of the manuscripts the monks made right after the monastery was founded survive. One of the founding monks, Stephen Harding, described his editorial activities and reform of the liturgy in texts that survive. The newly reformed Cistercian breviary and lectionary are preserved, and another early Cistercian, Bernard of Clairvaux, recalled his early monastic experiences in his theological works. Other monasteries may have followed the same process and subscribed to the same beliefs, and certainly at other Benedictine houses similar aural experiences shaped the working textual repertoire of their inhabitants and the literary and artistic works they produced. Yet because of these accidents of survival, only Cîteaux serves as such a revealing time capsule of the artistic and textual patrimony of a newly founded community of monks as Western Europe stood on the brink of scholasticism, the rise

27 Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 28:5. *On the Song of Songs* II, 91-92. *Auditus invenit quod non visus. Oculum species fefellit, auri veritas se infudit … Unde Propheta:* Auditui meo, *inquit*, dabis gaudium et laetitiam [Ps 50:10], *quod fidelis tribributio auditionis beata visio sit, et beatae meritum visionis fidelis auditio*. *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1, repr. SC 431, 354-356.

28 Rudy, *Mystical Language*, 58. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 51:5-6, *On the Song of Songs III*, 44-45. Sermon 14:6, *On the Song of Songs I*, 102-103. I could not locate in Sermon 8.2 the passage referenced by Rudy. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Parables* (trans. Michael Casey) *and the Sentences* (trans. Francis R. Swietek), Cistercian Fathers Series 55 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2000), 147.

of the cathedral school, and the explosion of mysticism. The luxuriously decorated manuscripts in particular visualize the monks' desires. A first step, then, is to describe when and by whom these manuscripts were made.

Early Cîteaux

In 1098, Robert, abbot of Molesme, and a group of likeminded companions departed from Molesme in search of greater solitude, as well as the opportunity to build a community in which they could practice a more rigorous form of Benedictine monasticism. The abbey that they founded, originally called the New Monastery and later known by the name of its immediate surroundings, Cîteaux in eastern Burgundy, was at first home to just a few monks – a number soon reduced by the return of Robert and many of the original migrants to Molesme.[29] In addition to building necessary structures and following the prescribed Benedictine round of Offices and Masses, Robert's successors as abbot, first Alberic and then Stephen Harding, oversaw the establishment of a scriptorium where the remaining monks set about copying some of the most striking illuminated manuscripts of early twelfth-century France, many of which are today preserved in the Bibliothèque municipale of Dijon.[30]

Although the scriptorium at Cîteaux continued to copy and decorate manuscripts throughout the twelfth century, those made in the first decades after the monastery was founded have traditionally been set apart based on the style of their decoration and the fact that they have figural imagery, which by the middle of the century, and perhaps earlier, had been replaced in the Cîteaux scriptorium by the aniconic "Monochrome" style.[31] From the inception of the scriptorium, its style evolved rapidly. In the first manuscript

29 Recent synopses of the early history of the Cistercians and its scholarship include Martha G. Newman, "Foundation and Twelfth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 25-37 and Emilia Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe 1090-1500* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013): 13-42.

30 Scholars have universally agreed that the manuscripts assuredly copied at Cîteaux were written and illustrated by Cistercian monks, rather than by itinerant lay artists or visiting monks, because, as will become clear below, the same hands can be recognized in manuscripts completed over the course of several decades.

31 The division of the manuscripts produced by the scriptorium in the twelfth century into groups based on style was originally made by Charles Oursel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Dijon* (Dijon: Le Venot, 1926), and further refined by Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne*, 186-204 and Yolanta Zaluska, *L'enluminure et le*

that can definitively be identified as a product of the scriptorium, the first volume of the giant "Stephen Harding" Bible now split in two, the artists appear to have copied the tendril initials found in manuscripts they had imported from the north of France (Plate 1, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 12, fol. 3v, p. I).[32] Very quickly, however, the artists abandoned this derivative style and began to create elongated figures using a lively pen-drawn technique, embedding them in foliate initials or filling partial columns or whole pages. Illuminations in this "First Style" were filled in with colorful paint that defines sweeping drapery folds articulated with color modeling, all on rich blue backgrounds. Eleven manuscripts survive in this style, including the original second volume of the Stephen Harding Bible; a four-volume copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* (Plate 2, Dijon BM MS 173, fol. 29r, p. II), and a suite of other Patristic works, all copied in large format, many with lavish painted decoration.[33]

At some unidentified point, but probably within the first two decades, while many of the same scribes and some of the same artists still worked in the scriptorium, the dominant artistic mode changed once again, this time to an elegant Byzantinizing style which featured figures with severe gazes, clad in voluminous drapery lent depth by the nested folds sometimes called "damp folds" (Figure 1, Dijon BM MS 641, fol. 21v). While the balance of the content of the illuminations shifted away from scenes of violent struggle and hybrid animals and towards the standing authors, dedication scenes and narrative images that had already appeared in the earlier manuscripts, the content of the texts remained very similar. As with the manuscripts decorated in the "First Style," the seventeen surviving "Second Style" manuscripts are restricted to Patristic texts and a sanctoral lectionary.[34]

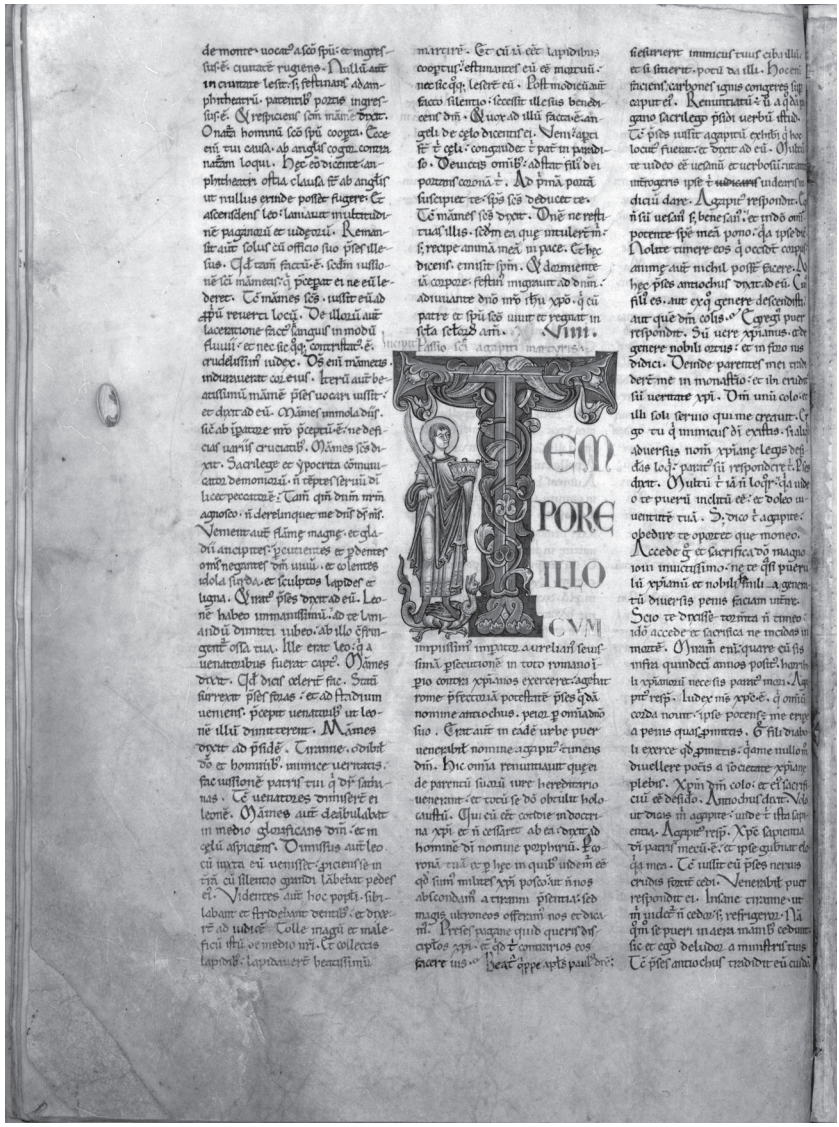
scriptorium de Cîteaux au XIIe siècle, Studia et Documenta 4 (Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses, 1989).

32 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MSS 12-13, Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne*, 190-191 and Zaluska, *L'enluminure*, 74-75.

33 Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne*, 195-198, Zaluska, *L'enluminure*, 75-111. See also Angiola Maria Romanini, "Il 'Maestro dei Moralia' e le origini di Cîteaux," *Storia dell'arte* 32/34 (1978): 221-245. Alessia Trivellone, "'Styles' ou enlumineurs dans le *scriptorium* de Cîteaux? Pour une relecture des premières miniatures cisterciennes," *Cahiers de Saint Michel-de-Cuxa* 43 (2012): 83-93 at 87-90, suggests that the miniatures in Dijon BM MSS 14, 15, 168, 169, 170, 173, 143, 145, 147 and 135 were all carried out by a single artist, however differences in facial details and the handling of paint between the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job* (MSS 168, 169, 170, 173) and Jerome's Epistles (MS 135) in particular make it unlikely that all miniatures in all of these manuscripts were carried out by the same artist.

34 Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne*, 196-204, Zaluska, *L'enluminure*, 113-147, Trivellone, "'Styles' ou enlunineurs," 91-92, and Antonio Vannugli, "Il 'secondo maestro' di Cîteaux e la sua attività in Borgogna," *Arte medievale* 2nd ser. 3 (1989), 2: 51-72.

Figure 1 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 641, fol. 21v



Between the manuscripts imported by the first monks and those they copied and decorated in the first decades of the monastery's existence, these surviving books, in a manner consistent with what is known about subsequent twelfth-century Cistercian libraries, portray a library that was conservative in nature. The first texts to be copied and collected were those that were required for reading in the choir and refectory according to

Benedict's instructions, and for at least the next century these texts formed the preponderance of the library collection, here and in other Cistercian houses.[35] Missing from Cîteaux, however, are all the liturgical books that would also have been necessary for monastic worship, leaving us with only a partial picture of what the first books to be routinely handled by the monks at the New Monastery might have looked like.

While the scholarly work of identifying the surviving corpus of manuscripts and describing styles and hands, begun by Charles Oursel in the 1920s and continued by Jean-Baptiste Auberger, Yolanta Zaluska, Antonio Vannugli, and Angiola Maria Romanini in the 1970s and 1980s, has been underway for almost a century, analysis of the meaning of the illuminations found in the manuscripts has been piecemeal. Two approaches have predominated. In the first, the illuminations are used as a foil for Bernard of Clairvaux's well-known antipathy to imagery, particularly hybrids.[36] Zaluska suggested that in his first years at Cîteaux, Bernard reacted so negatively to the Cistercian manuscripts he encountered that the style employed in the scriptorium for several works took on a simplicity that foreshadowed the "Monochrome" style.[37] Auberger contrasted the early illuminations from Cîteaux with those from Clairvaux in order to argue for two divergent schools of thought among the early Cistercians, one followed by Stephen and his companions and the other by Bernard and the later arrivals.[38] Scholarship in this vein thus portrays the early workshop at Cîteaux as a dead end, interesting for its vibrancy but unconnected to the larger goals of the Cistercian movement as it developed over the course of the twelfth century. This outlook is similar to that espoused by scholars who see Bernard's repudiation of the earliest Cistercian reform of the liturgy as a

35 See Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 1: 199-202; the summation of scholarship on English Cistercian libraries in *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. David Bell, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3 (London: The British Library, 1992), xxiii-xxvi; the French library collections catalogued by Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques cisterciennes dans la France médiévale: Répertoire des Abbayes d'hommes* (Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991); and Nigel F. Palmer's discussion of Cistercian book use in *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher: Die mittelalterliche Bibliotheksgeschichte von Kloster Eberbah im Rheingau unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der in Oxford und London aufbewahrten Handschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998), 153-170.

36 Diane J. Reilly, "Bernard of Clairvaux and Christian Art," in *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 279-304 at 284-287.

37 Zaluska, *L'enluminure*, 81.

38 Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne*, 222-223.