



Diane J. Reilly

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

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations	9
Acknowledgments	11
Introduction	13
The Love of Learning and the Desire for God	15
Early Cîteaux	21
Voice and Memory at Cîteaux	28
Meditations on the Song of Songs	32
The Plan of Action	34
After Early Cîteaux	37
1 The Joy of Psalmody	39
The Night Office	40
Reconstructing Advent at Cîteaux	44
The Advent Cursus at the New Monastery	47
2 Jerome's Legacy at Twelfth-Century Cîteaux	59
Cîteaux and Jerome	62
Stephen as a New Jerome	64
Jerome in the Liturgy	70
Picturing Jerome at Cîteaux	74
Jerome's Letters	80
3 The Virgin and the Abbot	95
And There Shall Come Forth a Rod Out of Jesse	96
The Jesse Tree	99
Christ as Priest	111
Jesus' Prefigurations	120
The Virgo Lactans	125
Bernard of Clairvaux, the Virgin, and the Legacy of Cîteaux's Art and Liturgy	130

4 Fruitful Words in the Stephen Harding Bible	141
Biting, Chewing, and Swallowing: Eating the Word	143
Were All Twelfth-Century Animals Hungry for Scripture?	154
The Meaning of Ornament in the Cîteaux Scriptorium	159
Lips, Tongues, and Ears: Picturing the Spoken Word	165
Fruitful Words in the Refectory	167
Herod's Downfall and the Sin of Gluttony	176
Heresy, Orthodoxy, and Sung Scripture	181
Conclusion: Beyond Sound	189
Appendices	195
Bibliography	205
Index	219

List of Figures and Plates

Figures

Figure 1	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 641, fol. 21v © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	23
Figure 2	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14, fol. 60r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	33
Figure 3	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 15, fol. 3v. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	75
Figure 4	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 131, fol. 3r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	77
Figure 5	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 132, fol. 1r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	78
Figure 6	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 641, fol. 66r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	79
Figure 7	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 135, fol. 107v. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	85
Figure 8	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 135, fol. 152r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	90
Figure 9	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 135, fol. 183v. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	91
Figure 10	London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 3, fol. 198r. © Lambeth Palace Library	103

Figure 11	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 2, fol. 148r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	104
Figure 12	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 2, fol. 406r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	106
Figure 13	London, British Library MS Cotton Titus D.XXVII, fol. 75v. © The British Library Board	109
Figure 14	London, British Library MS Harley 603, fol. 1r. © The British Library Board	110
Figure 15	London, British Library MS Cotton Nero D.IV, fol. 93v. © The British Library Board	147
Figure 16	Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS 9, fol. 50v. © The University of Manchester	148
Figure 17	London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 3, fol. 258v. © Lambeth Palace Library	151
Figure 18	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 30, fol. 10v. © Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon	158
Figure 19	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale MS 11, fol. 11v. © Bibliothèque municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer	172
Figure 20	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale MS 11, fol. 62r. © Bibliothèque municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer	173

Plates

All Plates copyright Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon unless otherwise noted

Plate 1	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 12, fol. 3v.	I
Plate 2	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 173, fol. 29r.	II
Plate 3	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 135, fol. 163r.	III
Plate 4	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 135, fol. 2v.	IV
Plate 5	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 135, fol. 182r.	V
Plate 6	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 129, fol. 4v.	VI
Plate 7	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 129, fol. 5r.	VII
Plate 8	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 129, fol. 5r, detail.	VIII
Plate 9	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 641, fol. 40v.	IX
Plate 10	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 15, fol. 29v.	X
Plate 11	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14, fol. 14r.	XI
Plate 12	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 170, fol. 32r.	XII
Plate 13	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 15, fol. 56v. © Art Resource	XIII
Plate 14	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14, fol. 128v.	XIV
Plate 15	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14, fol. 136v.	XV
Plate 16	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 15, fol. 41r.	XVI

Abbreviations

<i>Biblia sacra</i>	<i>Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem</i> , 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, <i>Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses</i> 66, (2015): 71-186.
PL	<i>Patrologia cursus completus series Latina</i> , ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 207 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1844-1855).
<i>Primitive Cistercian Breviary</i>	<i>The Primitive Cistercian Breviary (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Lat. Oct. 402) with Variants from the “Bernardine” Cistercian Breviary</i> , ed. Chrysogonus Waddell, Spicilegium Friburgense; Texts Concerning the History of Cistercian Life 44 (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2007).
SBO	<i>Sancti Bernardi Opera</i> , eds. Jean Leclercq, Henri Rochais, and Charles H. Talbot, 3 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993-2000).
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1941-).
<i>Vulgate Bible</i>	<i>The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation</i> , 6 vols., ed. Swift Edgar and Angela Kinney, <i>Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library</i> 1, 4, 5, 8, 13, 17, 21 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010-2013).

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Diane J. Reilly

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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 usque 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.

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 Ruminating 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 through 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 palato, 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 suavis 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 Spiritu Sancto, qui apud Prophetam descriptus est: 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 tributio 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 Jamrozak, *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 Auberge, *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 enlumineurs,” 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 Eberbach 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.

signal that it had failed, rather than as an affirmation that Bernard agreed that close attention to the form and content of the liturgy was essential for the spiritual lives of reformed monks.³⁹

Another approach examines discrete images or groups of images to understand them as tools for a specific spiritual goal or visual reflections of a current concern. Scholars sometimes extract a single miniature from an early Cîteaux manuscript in order to analyze its place in the chronological development of a motif or theme or its connection to historical events.⁴⁰ Examples of this approach include Margot Fassler's study of the twelfth-century development of the Tree of Jesse iconography, which includes two versions from Cîteaux (see Chapter 2, below),⁴¹ and Walter Cahn's interpretation of the Stephen Harding Bible's Gospel of John initial (Dijon BM MS 15, fol. 56v), which situates it in the context of the twelfth-century emergence of heresy (discussed in Chapter 3).⁴² Both are useful studies in their own right but do little to inform us about how the artworks were shaped by their Cistercian context. Similarly, Zaluska's study of the scriptorium as a whole included iconographic analysis of many miniatures, particularly those from the Bible of Stephen Harding, with a particular emphasis on identifying sources of motifs.⁴³ She did not draw extensive connections either among the illuminations or between the illuminations and their early Cistercian context.

Only recently have entire manuscripts or groups of manuscripts been studied as evidence for the early Cistercian experience. The most substantial of these studies is Conrad Rudolph's work on the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job* (Dijon BM MSS 168, 169, 170, and 173). The remit he assigned himself was to explain the perplexingly violent and charmingly domestic scenes found in

39 Chrysogonus Waddell, who proclaimed that "the whole chant reform associated with St. Bernard's name had been a terrible mistake," agreed that even Bernard praised the motivations that had driven the earliest Cistercians to attempt their reform. "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphonary: Reflections on Two Cistercian Chant Reforms," in *The Cistercian Spirit: A Symposium in Memory of Thomas Merton* (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1970), 190-223 at 193-195.

40 See Alessia Trivellone's critique of this approach in "La Bible de Étienne Harding et les origines de Cîteaux: perspectives de recherche," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 13 (2009): 1-14 at 3.

41 Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75 (2000): 389-434 at 425 and 428.

42 Walter Cahn, "A Defense of the Trinity in the Cîteaux Bible," *Marsyas* 11 (1962-1964): 58-62. Others have revisited this initial, including most recently Alessia Trivellone, *L'hérétique imagine. Hétérodoxie et iconographie dans l'Occident médiéval, de l'époque carolingienne à l'Inquisition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 174-188.

43 Zaluska, *l'enluminure*, 75-111, 134-142.

the manuscript in terms of monastic spiritual expression. In his interpretation, the imagery of violent spiritual struggle found in the *Moralia* was both traditionally Benedictine in its emphasis, and a precursor to Bernard of Clairvaux's own use of this theme in his written work.⁴⁴ The miniatures were also directly related to the text they accompanied. While one can quibble with details of his interpretation (as I do in Chapter 3, below), in general Rudolph's approach to the *Moralia in Job* is sound and convincing. Yet it cannot be extended easily to other products of the scriptorium and, in fact, Rudolph in some cases dismisses the possibility that miniatures in other Cîteaux manuscripts express the same spiritual theme. Rudolph's study, like mine, connects the miniatures he studies to "Cistercian self-conception at a decisive moment in the history of the Order,"⁴⁵ but although he uses several topical Cistercian texts, he identifies this spiritual theme in only one set of artworks. He links the scriptorium's effort to copy and illustrate the text of the *Moralia* explicitly with the Cistercian order's focus on reading and meditation, but sees the resulting manuscript as one monk's idiosyncratic spiritual exercise.⁴⁶

Most recently, Alessia Trivellone has written a suite of articles dealing with the early Cîteaux manuscripts as a group and in particular with the Bible of Stephen Harding (Dijon BM MSS 12-15).⁴⁷ Trivellone draws many connections between the iconography of the Cîteaux manuscripts, particularly the Stephen Harding Bible, and recognized Church and social movements of the twelfth century. These include disapproval in some monastic circles of the dialectical method; efforts to hold royalty to account as protectors

44 Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 6-7.

45 Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, 14.

46 Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, 86.

47 Alessia Trivellone, "La Bible d'Étienne," 1-14; "Triomphe d'Esther, ambiguïté d'Assuérus. Église et royauté à Cîteaux, sous l'abbatit d'Étienne Harding," *Revue Mabillon* 21 (2010): 79-104; "Cîteaux et l'église militante: ecclésiologie et altérité à travers les enluminures des manuscrits réalisés sous Étienne Harding (1108-1133)," *Revue Historique* 2011/4 (n. 660): 713-745, "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; "Le corps dans les miniatures de Cîteaux, entre 'naturalisme' et discours moralisant," *Auvergne Sciences* (2014): 129-144; "Images et exégèse monastique dans la Bible d'Étienne Harding," in *L'exégèse monastique au moyen âge (XIe-XIVe siècle)*, eds. Gilbert Dahan and Annie Noblesse-Rocher, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 51 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), 85-111; and "Culte des saints et construction identitaire à Cîteaux: Les images de Jérôme dans les manuscrits réalisés sous l'abbatit d'Étienne Harding," in *Normes et hagiographie dans l'Occident latin (VIe-XVIe siècle)*, eds. Marie-Céline Isaïa and Thomas Granier, *Hagiologia* 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 215-234.

of the Church, and to defend it from persecution by its enemies; the rise of anti-Judaism; a monastic preference for the four-fold method of scriptural exegesis; rejection of the sins of lust and gluttony; and support for female monasticism. While in many cases Trivellone does succeed in framing the early Cîteaux imagery within these general trends, at almost no point does she link a specific motivation for an iconographical choice to Cistercian evidence from the period in which the manuscript in question was illuminated. Trivellone most often relies on records from a decade, or many decades, after the manuscripts were produced,⁴⁸ or tentative reconstructions of the early experiences of Stephen Harding from before he arrived at Molesme.⁴⁹

The earliest goals of the members of this tiny community are difficult to reconstruct, as in the first years they were more concerned with the process of setting up the New Monastery than with chronicling their efforts. Scholars now agree that the first surviving descriptions that the Cistercians themselves wrote about their aims are hopelessly compromised as primary-source documents of the attitudes of the original founding monks;⁵⁰ copied and revised decades after the monks left Molesme and founded the New Monastery, they constitute a recasting of early Cistercian history from the viewpoint of an established movement. Scholars also debate whether the first founders of Cîteaux envisioned their movement as a coherent “order,” and when such an order began to take shape.⁵¹ This question is important to understanding how and when uniformity of practice was enforced among

48 For instance, Trivellone (“Triomphe d’Esther”) suggests that depictions of the biblical rulers Ahasuerus, Solomon, David, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, and Herod in the Stephen Harding Bible set up a somewhat ambiguous dichotomy of good and bad kings based on each king’s willingness to defend or persecute the “church,” and connects this to Stephen Harding’s Anglo-Saxon origins and his argument, articulated in a letter from 1129, that Louis VI had infringed on the rights of the Church. This is one conceivable explanation for the choice to illustrate these rulers in the Bible, but it is not supported by any contemporary witness aside from the images themselves. I will address her other hypotheses where relevant in the following chapters.

49 The most striking example of this is her assertion that the Gospel of John initial in the Stephen Harding Bible (Dijon BM MS 15, fol. 56v) demonstrates Stephen’s personal antipathy to the dialectical method, which he must have encountered on his undocumented European wanderings following his departure from the Abbey of Sherborne and prior to his profession at Molesme. Alessia Trivellone, *L’hérétique imagine*, 174-188, reprised in “La Bible d’Étienne Harding,” 8-9, “Cîteaux et l’église militante,” 732-736, and “Images et exégèse monastique,” 92.

50 See the analysis of the distinction between the monastery’s earliest founders and those who arrived subsequently, described as the “principal founders” in the foundation documents, by Conrad Rudolph, “The ‘Principal Founders’ and the Early Artistic Legislation of Cîteaux,” in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* 3, Cistercian Studies 89 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 1-33.

51 Jamrozziak, *The Cistercian Order*, 19-25.

the houses later described as “Cistercian,” but impacts very little upon our understanding of the artworks created by the first monks at the New Monastery.

Unlike the later documents that purport to describe the order’s early history, descriptions of discrete efforts to reform individual texts and practices, such as the Bible and the hymnbook, survive from the monastery’s first decades and offer insights into what role these texts were intended to play in the lives of the New Monastery’s monks. The contents of the surviving manuscripts, including many of the images that embellish them, the tonic accents, and the characteristically Cistercian punctuation that litter the pages,⁵² as well as the texts that described efforts to assemble and edit staples of monastic reading such as the Bible, antiphonal, and hymnbook, all provide clues that during the abbacies of Alberic and Stephen Harding the New Monastery’s occupants were preoccupied with what they said and heard in the course of their observances.

Voice and Memory at Cîteaux

The context in which the reading took place and the structure of the service confirm that, as Leclercq suggested, choir lections were considered both prayer and lesson: the lections read in the choir were surrounded by and paired with prayers and chants that formed an interpretive frame. Scripture lections, read either in the choir or in Chapter, were often followed by homilies that explained their content.⁵³ While Patristic and Carolingian sermons may appear to take the form of an “implied dialogue” addressed to an “imaginary audience,”⁵⁴ the ubiquity of homilies in the Night Office lectionaries that structured the readings in monasteries, and the homiliaries produced to assemble these readings, testify to the fact that oral exegesis

52 See Nigel Palmer, “*Simul cantemus, simul pausemus*: Zur mittelalterlichen Zisterzienserpunktion,” in *Lesevorgänge: Prozesse des Erkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften*, ed. Martina Backes and Eckart Conrad Lutz (Zürich: Chronos, 2009), 483-570, and Leonard Boyle, “*Vox Paginae*: An Oral Dimension of Texts,” *Conferenze* 16 (Rome: Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia Storia et Storia dell’Arte in Roma, 1999). See also Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 15-16, on the various ways in which neumes and superlinear markings were intended to function.

53 For an introduction to Chapter readings, see Webber, “Reading in the Refectory,” 8-9; for choir reading, see below, Chapter 1.

54 Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, xvi.

on Scripture was one of the centerpieces of the monastic cursus.⁵⁵ The foundation of Cîteaux and subsequent development of the Cistercian order coincided with the growth of urban universities and the individual (and comparably silent) study of texts.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the evidence that remains from early Cîteaux points to a form of education that relied more heavily on oral performance and aural experience than on solitary reading.⁵⁷ In this respect, as in others, the abbey was not innovative, but, rather, quintessentially Benedictine.⁵⁸ The biggest change was that at Cîteaux the monks ceased to educate boys, and so the students were adults.

The surviving manuscripts from the first decades of the New Monastery appear to have provided the texts for the components of choir and refectory reading which could neither routinely be memorized, nor were sung using complex melodies. With the exception of an early Psalter (Dijon BM MS 30, from Saint-Vaast in Arras), all the manuscripts from Cîteaux itself that would have recorded the shorter and more easily memorized chants and prayers are lost. The comprehensive reform of the chant repertoire not long after Stephen's death also creates stumbling blocks for those who seek to identify musical symbolism such as contrafacts – the practice of using melodic quotations which, when sung, could cue memories of other, related feasts.⁵⁹ The words of the memorized chants and their distribution throughout the office, on the other hand, can be reconstructed, and it is clear that Stephen and his contemporaries were just as concerned with chant texts as with the lections provided by the preserved manuscripts. It is with the impact of these words on the Cîteaux manuscripts, rather than with the music to which they were set, that I am most concerned.

55 Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon," in *The Sermon*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, fasc. 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 271-323, esp. 281.

56 Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform 1098-1180* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), esp. 37-41, explores in detail the contrast between Cistercian monasteries and urban schools.

57 Diane J. Reilly, "Education, Liturgy and Practice in Early Cîteaux," in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. Steven Vanderputten, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 85-114.

58 Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England*, *The Middle Ages Series* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 11-13, points out that Archbishop Leidrad, who founded song schools in Lyon, argued as early as the eighth century that his students learned to sing and read lections as a step towards spiritual understanding.

59 The classic study of this second reform is Claire Maître, *La réforme cistercienne du plain-chant: Étude d'un traité théorique*, Cîteaux: *Studia et Documenta* 6 (Brecht: Commentarii cistercienses, 1995).

As in other Benedictine monasteries, memorization allowed the Cîteaux monks to participate in the service in unison. Before individual missals and breviaries became ubiquitous in the thirteenth century and beyond, memorization of the chants and prayers that formed the predictable backbone of the choir observance was a practical necessity. All the same, it would be a mistake to regard the practice of memorizing a large body of chants, and the rush to create manuscripts for communal lection reading, as merely expedient choices.⁶⁰ In the twelfth century, the memorization of vast quantities of text was considered a necessary stage in the process of internalization of and meditation upon its content.⁶¹ The chants that monks memorized were often either excerpted directly from Scripture or echoed it closely. In singing the chants, monks recalled to mind the words they had already digested, singing them for others to hear rather than murmuring them quietly as in individual reading. Along with the Psalms, then, the Cîteaux monks had, so to speak, a vast repertoire of Scripture excerpts at their mental fingertips, and participated in using them to frame the lections from the Bible and Patristics which were read or sung aloud. These combinations of texts, which were created when they were sung and heard in the choir, but otherwise at this time existed only piecemeal in the books from which a cantor drew to construct the service, found a visual outlet in the manuscripts that were decorated in the Cîteaux scriptorium nearby.

Recent scholarship on manuscripts intended for monastic use has linked choir practice and what we see in the manuscripts that survive. For instance, Michael Curschmann revealed how the twelfth-century artist who illuminated a copy of Anselm's *Orationes sive meditationes* for the nunnery at Admont not only drew inspiration from the liturgy in designing the imagery, but even added (or instructed a scribe to add) musical neumes above the tituli inscribed in the rotuli that wind through each illumination.⁶² Because the manuscript has not been firmly localized, Curschmann mined

60 Jean Leclercq suggested that communal reading of Patristic texts was motivated primarily by economic necessity in "Textes et manuscrits cisterciens dans des bibliothèques des États-Unis," *Traditio* 17 (1961): 163-183 at 174. See Anna Maria Busse Berger's argument against the presumption that memorization of chant became the norm simply because the monks lacked enough manuscripts in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), especially 47-50.

61 Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), especially 156-188.

62 Admont, Stiftsbibliothek 289. Michael Curschmann, "Integrating Anselm: pictures and the liturgy in a twelfth-century manuscript of the 'Orationes sive meditationes,'" in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 295-312.

references to the liturgy from the surviving corpus of medieval chants as a whole, rather than from a cursus specific to any one house. Nonetheless, like the Cîteaux manuscripts, the Admont Anselm demonstrates the power of what Curschman calls “liturgical memory” to shape a manuscript’s visual program, even when the manuscript itself wasn’t intended to provide texts for the services its miniatures echoed. Remarkably, although the manuscript is embellished with images of monks, nuns, canons and canonesses communally at prayer, the petite dimensions of the book reveal that it could not have been used by more than two nuns simultaneously, differentiating it from the monumental early Cîteaux volumes.⁶³

In contrast, the thirteenth-century Gradual of Gisela von Kerssenbrock was probably intended to be used in the choir. Like the Admont Anselm, the illuminations in this Mass chant book bristle with rotuli that quote directly from the liturgy, in this case often borrowing from the chants that surround the image. The tituli also echo the biblical lections read in the choir and refectory, and were, as Judith Oliver points out, “composed from memory, based on the scribe’s intimate knowledge of liturgical texts,”⁶⁴ even though by the time this manuscript was made the nuns often relied on a choirbook such as this in addition to memorizing many of the chants.⁶⁵ Unlike with Curschmann’s study of the Admont Anselm, Oliver was able to reconstruct references to the Mass liturgy specific to Gisela’s house, the Cistercian nunnery of Rulle, using the gradual itself. For those apparently inspired by the Office she turned to more general sources. The assembly of texts and images formed “visual sermons” that commented on the feast being celebrated when the nuns opened the gradual to each image.⁶⁶ These two manuscripts, both made for the use of nuns, affirm the importance of the spoken and sung word by picturing it as just that, in the form of speech scrolls.

The illustrations of a fourteenth-century gradual from Paradies bei Soest also teem with inscriptions in bandaroles and speech scrolls. Taken primarily from the Divine Office, Gospel and Epistle lections, and patristic and later exegesis, the texts serve as a commentary on the liturgy, and “represent an unprecedented and unparalleled attempt to articulate the underlying symbolic

63 Curschmann, “Integrating Anselm,” 308. Dorothy M. Shepard, “Conventual use of St. Anselm’s Prayers and Meditations,” *Rutgers Art Review* 9-10 (1988-1989): 1-16, agreed that the dimensions of the manuscript indicated it was intended only for individual use.

64 Judith H. Oliver, *Singing with Angels: Liturgy, Music and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kerssenbrock* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 74-91, quote at 82.

65 Oliver notes that many of the chants in the gradual are abbreviated to the incipit alone, meaning the nuns would have had to recall the rest (Oliver, *Singing with Angels*, 28).

66 Oliver, *Singing with Angels*, 91.

structure of the liturgy," according to the team of scholars who have studied it most recently.⁶⁷ While in this Dominican gradual the exegesis likely studied by the nuns has crept into the imagery adjoining the liturgy, in the Cîteaux manuscripts the influence has moved in the other direction: echos of the liturgy have infused the illuminations found in the exegetical manuscripts.

Meditations on the Song of Songs

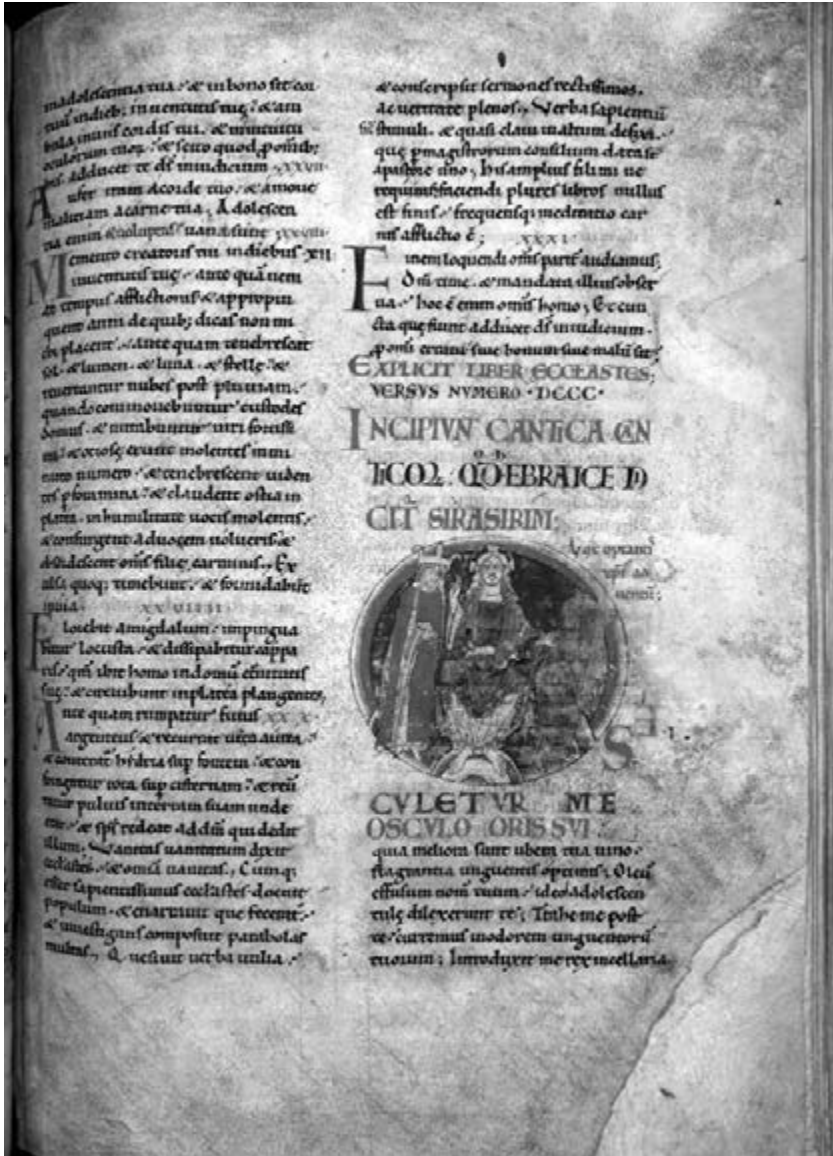
I first became interested in the phenomenon of the visual echo of texts that were read aloud at Cîteaux when I sought to explain an image used to illuminate the biblical Song of Songs in the eleventh-century Saint-Vaast Bible, and to contextualize it among French Bibles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶⁸ Years of work with Romanesque Bible manuscripts had accustomed me to their variety. Each Bible manuscript was assembled according to the means and needs of its scriptorium and the use for which it was intended, meaning that the models from which these Bibles were copied and the order in which their component parts were compiled could vary dramatically. The Song of Songs, a difficult text filled with passages that can be understood as erotic, was emblematic of this. Although the Scripture of the Song of Songs remains relatively constant from one manuscript to the next, rubrics inserted into the text to identify the speakers of its first-person dialogue differ depending upon which of the rubric sets in circulation was adopted by the scribe. These rubrics identify characters such as *Christus* and *Ecclesia*, or, less specifically, a *Sponsus* and a *Sponsa*, as the speakers. As Chrysogonus Waddell pointed out in his examination of the Song of Songs illumination in the Stephen Harding Bible (Figure 2, Dijon BM MS 14, fol. 60r), a set of reading directions found in a twelfth-century manuscript from the Cistercian abbey of Vauclair (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 471, fol. 101v) instructed the weekly refectory reader to read these rubrics aloud along with the main text, ensuring that the primary means for the monks' experience of the Scripture text was in this emended state.⁶⁹

67 Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek D 11. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Eva Schlottheuber, Susan Marti and Margot E. Fassler, *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning at Paradise bei Soest, 1300-1425. Inscription and Illumination in the Choir Books of a North German Dominican Convent*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016), I: 736.

68 Arras, Médiathèque MS 559, vol. 2, fol. 141v. Diane J. Reilly, "Picturing the Monastic Drama: Romanesque Illustrations of the Song of Songs," *Word & Image* 17 (2001): 389-400.

69 Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Song of Songs in the Stephen Harding Bible," *Liturgy* 18 (1984): 27-67.

Figure 2 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14, fol. 60r



The Stephen Harding Bible's rubrics are a variant on a standard and popular set already in circulation by the ninth century, in which a scribe's earlier intervention removed some rubrics and replaced others, with the result that the first four verses of the book's text became an explicit comparison between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. This comparison is depicted

in the Stephen Harding Bible's illumination, suggesting that the artist either designed his illustration to echo what he had heard in the refectory, or that he read ahead into the manuscript's text before he started to draw. Which of these two situations occurred, however, is impossible to say, and the interesting afterlife of this image only complicates things further. Bernard of Clairvaux arrived at Cîteaux by 1113 and, already well educated, would have participated in choir services and the obligatory refectory reading between his arrival and his subsequent departure, in 1115, to become the founding abbot of Clairvaux. Bernard's fourteenth sermon on the Song of Songs commences with the explanation *De iudicio Ecclesia vel Synagogae exhibitio*, in which he dwells on Christ's rejection of *Synagoga* and mercy towards *Ecclesia* as he explains the book's first three verses. Oddly, Bernard does not address the fourth verse, the one to which the *Synagoga* label was attached in the Bible, in this sermon, and when he did so in other sermons, he chose a different interpretation: he identified the speaker of the verse as the repentant sinner or the mystical bride. Nonetheless, it seems more than coincidence that the very theme suggested by the miniature and the text as it would have been heard found its way into Bernard's own exegesis.⁷⁰

The Plan of Action

In this study I seek to identify tangible links between what was heard at Cîteaux, what was painted, and how the earliest Cistercian monks thought about communal reading and singing. Although the impetus behind the monks', artists', and editors' choices may have been a desire for a heightened spiritual experience, I am less concerned with the outcome of that experience than I am with the means they used to achieve it. In Chapter 1 I begin by setting out what is known about what the monks heard in the choir and refectory. Using the Matins Office for Advent as a starting point, I explain the chant and lection components of the service, and how they can be reconstructed from the surviving evidence. The choice of Advent was guided in large part by the

70 Reilly, "Bernard of Clairvaux," 300-302. *On the Song of Songs I*, 97-98. Chrysogonus Waddell noted several instances in which Bernard expected his listeners to connect the words in his sermons to the lections, Psalms, and chants heard in the Office, by echoing words and phrases or imitating the rhetorical style of a reading. "The Liturgical Dimension of Twelfth-Century Cistercian Preaching," in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 335-349 at 342-344.

existence of Margot Fassler's *The Virgin of Chartres*,⁷¹ a foundational study of the Office at Chartres Cathedral, its historical context, and the mirroring of Office components composed specifically for Chartres in artworks created both there and elsewhere. Fassler's masterful analysis provides a model for this type of detailed excavation of chants and lections, and indicates how the Office can be used both to illuminate the understanding the singers brought to what they saw, and to suggest how they chose to visualize their beliefs in art. Fassler's thorough explanation of the Advent celebration at Chartres allows one to compare that service with Advent at Cîteaux, throwing into sharp relief the differences in practice between the two communities, as well as the differences in the texts utilized by each community reflected in their respective artworks, as will be revealed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Fassler contextualizes the Office chants and their related images within the political and theological currents of tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century Chartres and its region as a means of understanding how they were used to create history. In contrast, I focus more narrowly on the Cîteaux monks' choice of chants and lections (in particular those made by Abbot Stephen Harding, who led the charge to edit Scripture and rework chants), and what these choices tell us about how the community interpreted its own efforts. Cîteaux's Advent chants and lections suggest a subtle emphasis on voice and speech – that is, on mouths and ears. While this may have been intentional, it may also have been the serendipitous result of a juxtaposition of chants and lections chosen with some other theme in mind. Chapter 2 connects the monastery's focus on the quality of what was heard in the choir and refectory to the community's clear preoccupation with St. Jerome. Jerome's edition of the Bible, his commentaries on the Bible, and his explanations of his translation and editorial principles appear to have guided Stephen and his monks in their own scriptorium practices, and they commemorated their debt to him, as far as can be determined by the surviving manuscripts, by depicting him more frequently than any other Patristic author in the manuscripts they created.

In Chapter 3 I return to the season of Advent and add to it the feasts of Christmas and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and trace the influence of the Matins Offices celebrated on these days upon the depictions of the Virgin found in Second Style manuscripts illuminated in the scriptorium's early decades. The Cîteaux artists created two unique depictions of the newly popular iconography of the Jesse Tree, a symbolic visual fusion of Mary,

71 Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

a selection of virtues, Old Testament prefigurations or ancestors, and the vine that springs from the “root” of King David’s father, Jesse. The Cîteaux Jesse Trees depart dramatically from the near-contemporary versions found at Chartres, Saint-Denis and elsewhere, which, as Fassler has shown, echo the focus on the Virgin’s genealogy found in texts composed by Fulbert of Chartres. At Cîteaux, the artists instead created Trinitarian images that lauded Christ’s priesthood, and depicted the first *virgo lactans* found in Western Europe, painting it immediately above the text of the very sermon penned by Fulbert of Chartres for the Nativity of the Virgin which probably inspired the genealogical Jesse Trees so popular elsewhere. These choices reflect the contents of Cîteaux’s Advent and Christmas Offices, and especially the readings and chants assigned to the Ember days, which appear to have echoed in the minds of the artists even when they encountered a text composed for a different feast. As with the Stephen Harding Bible’s Song of Songs illumination, either these miniatures or the chants and lections that inspired them seem to have had special meaning for Bernard of Clairvaux. In sermons composed many years later, Bernard recalled and pondered these same unusual themes when confronting the Scripture passages to which they were related.

Emma Dillon has explored the blossoming of references to sound in thirteenth-century prayerbooks, when “a noisy orchestra of fantastical and outrageous sonorities transformed the soundscape of prayer,” as reflections of “contexts vibrating with sound.”⁷² Visual ruminations on the importance of the oral appear likewise in the early Cîteaux manuscripts, though they take a very different form from the cacophony of instrumentalists, shouting humans, and barking animals populating the margins of the prayerbooks that Dillon describes. In Chapter 4 I explain the many ways in which the Cîteaux artists expressed a preoccupation with biting, chewing, and swallowing, and the connection of their images with the oral transmission of Scripture. Painted initials from the scriptorium’s first decades repeat the theme of chewing the Scripture, either with human and animal heads biting berries, fruit, and greens that spring from the actual letters that compose the text, or with Evangelist symbols and their ilk consuming books. Biting animal heads were ubiquitous in manuscript illumination of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; what separates the Cîteaux biting creatures from their brethren elsewhere is the connection between what they do and eat and the words of the adjacent text. While Conrad Rudolph has dismissed the Stephen Harding Bible’s biting, hacking, and

72 Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*, The New Cultural History of Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 186, 190, and 175-242 more generally.

harvesting initials (in contrast to those in the near-contemporary *Moralia in Job* from the same scriptorium) as unrelated to the texts they introduce,⁷³ I find many links between the themes in the text and the hungry chewing and speaking inhabitants of the monastery's initials.

Other miniatures from the scriptorium express the power of the spoken word, the “performative utterance,” as the animating force in God's actions. For instance, in the initial prefacing the Book of Luke in the Stephen Harding Bible, two Gospel moments in which God's will is enacted through the voice of an angel, the Annunciations to Zachariah and Mary, are juxtaposed and contrasted with the suicide of Herod, shown here as the ultimate result of the sin of gluttony. This would have been an object lesson for the monks who heard these sections of Scripture read in the refectory. In a similar vein is the historiated initial prefacing the Book of John, one of the most discussed miniatures from early Cîteaux, which brings together many of the themes woven throughout the scriptorium's corpus: The seated, tonsured monk at the center of the initial holds a heretical statement written on a rotulus; his eyes, ears, and mouth are pierced by the claws of the evangelist symbol, the eagle, who grasps a rotulus inscribed with the first words of the Gospel of John, *In principio erat verbum*, countering the heresy offered by the monk. This interpretation is already well known in scholarship, where the seated figure is often misidentified as the heretic Arius.⁷⁴ As with the Jesse Tree images and the initial prefacing the Book of Luke, the key to understanding the eagle's violent attack and the true identity of the seated figure is found in the Cîteaux Office. The first words of the Book of John echoed throughout the Christmas season, repeated in chants and lections that argued vigorously against heresy. The monks themselves sang these words, heard them, digested them, and pondered them, using all the sense organs touched in the image by the eagle's claws.

In the conclusion, I briefly visit other avenues that could be explored in order to understand the role of the senses in the creation of art and text at Cîteaux, though this generally remains beyond the remit of the present study.

After Early Cîteaux

Cîteaux's artistic passion for oral and aural themes appears to have had little impact on the manuscripts decorated at its first daughter houses.

73 Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, especially 23-24.

74 Zaluska, *L'enluminure*, 110, and Chapter 3.

Cistercian monasteries soon ceased altogether to include figural imagery in their artwork, likely in response to legislation favoring aniconic imagery.⁷⁵ As far as we can tell from what little survives, only the scriptorium at La Ferté-sur-Grosne, founded as a daughter of Cîteaux in 1112 or 1113, produced manuscripts sporting complex figurative initials. La Ferté's three-volume *Moralia in Job* (Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibliothèque municipale MSS 7, 8, 9) was likely copied from Cîteaux's example of the *Moralia in Job* sometime around 1134, and was illuminated using a style related to Cîteaux's Second Style, but its miniatures are predominantly devoted to scenes of Job and his interlocutors.⁷⁶ At Cîteaux itself, artists switched to the austere Monochrome Style, with letters made using only one color, though often elaborated with spirals, palmettes, and leaf forms lent three-dimensionality by painted combs and hatching.

The isolation of the early Cîteaux manuscripts within the Cistercian movement makes it difficult to trace the artistic impact of Cîteaux's early thematic focus. Cîteaux's daughter houses were founded by migrants from Cîteaux, indoctrinated to follow strictly the practices already in place at the mother house, meaning that these monks likely heard and sang the same words, and that many had seen the manuscripts from which those words were read in choir and refectory. Even the chants and lections they adopted were winnowed from the preexisting Benedictine repertoire, so that in large part these were similar to what other Benedictine monks heard, although rearranged to create new emphases, and set to new music. For this reason, it would not be surprising to find similar visual references to oral and aural experiences and the power of the spoken word in art from other scriptoria. At the inception of Cîteaux, while the monks there contemplated what their new movement should be and how their corporate life should be lived, they no doubt had little time to discuss whether pictures of chewing heads encapsulated their most profound ideals; for a group of artists, however, the process of distinguishing the New Monastery from other monasteries, whether consciously or unconsciously, shaped a unique body of art.

75 Rudolph, "The 'Principle Founders,'" investigates the many conflicting datings assigned to this legislation.

76 Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne*, 205-211, Zaluska, *Lenluminure*, 260, and Martine Portelli, "Les manuscrits du XIIe siècle produits par l'abbaye de la Ferté-sur-Grosne, première fille de Cîteaux," *Scriptorium* 57 (2003): 89-94.