SEVERITY AND EARLY ENGLISH CISTERCIAN ARCHITECTURE

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ABSTRACT

It is generally agreed that Cistercian architecture of the twelfth century is plain and simple. Many writers attribute this severity wholly to the influence of St. Bernard, without considering the political, social and economic conditions that prevailed during the early years of the Cistercian order's history. In this paper, a wider approach is taken; from a study of early Cistercian architecture in England it is suggested that the simplicity was the product of several factors, rather than the decree of one man.

The paper begins with a brief resume of the events leading to the foundation of the Cistercian order and of its early development. The impact of St. Bernard on the order was considerable. Without him it is doubtful if the order would have expanded or, indeed, survived.

In England, the movement was faced with many problems. The land was inadequate to support a community that wished to live entirely on its own agricultural production. As the order expanded, the acquisition of extra land became an ever present problem, thus involving the Cistercians in the secular world they had vowed to leave. They took to producing cash crops, such as wool and adopted other financial practices contrary to their rules. The Cistercian ideal had proved unattainable in the England of the time.

Early French Cistercian buildings reflect the essential simplicity of the architecture. Although the early churches share the same characteristic features, absolute uniformity was not required. Little decoration was added before the fourteenth century.

There is no example of Cistercian architecture left intact in England. However examination of the ruins that remain do reveal the severity of the earliest constructions. As these were extended more decoration and higher quality stonework is evident.

English Cistercian architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reflects the development of the order in England during those years. As the order deviated from its rules, so its architecture became more elaborate. Because of this we may conclude that simplicity in English Cistercian architecture was the result of factors other than strict legislation.

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INTRODUCTION

Numerous writers have stated that the Cistercian order has an inherent interest to the English speaking world in that it is the only major religious order which can be deemed the product of an Anglo-Saxon mind. Though Robert of Molesme is considered the founder of the order, and St. Bernard is credited with providing it with a brilliance which attracted so many recruits in the twelfth century, English writers continually point to the fact that the legislative body which guided the order was the result of the ideas of the English monk, Stephen Harding. Yet, for all their pride in this fact, it is apparent that many English-speaking writers have shown a lack of perception when it comes to understanding the basic spirit of the order. This is especially true with regard to a comprehension of Cistercian artistic production. It is the aim of this paper, therefore, to attempt to provide a better understanding of a particular form of Cistercian art within the confines of a single country. The artistic form is church architecture, possibly the most socially oriented art, and the country is England.

A study of English Cistercian architecture may also be useful at this time because the last detailed analyses of this matter were published near the turn of the century. Since that time much new material within the field of art history has been brought forward and approaches

to the subject have changed considerably.

The main question I wish to pursue in this paper relates to the purism and severity that is supposed to be the essence of all Cistercian architecture. The question is not who determined what form Cistercian architecture should take, but rather what caused Cistercian architecture to take the shape it did. That I should have selected England for the study was merely a matter of interest on my part. Essentially, the problem is one of causation. I have already decided to accept the current notion that early Cistercian architecture was plain and simple. I do not, however, accept the notion that this was the result of the aesthetic prejudices of one man, namely St. Bernard; this unquestionably is an over-simplification of the matter. Rather I wish to show that purism in the early stages of the order's existence was the result of certain inter-relationships of religious, social, and aesthetic factors.

It would appear that much of the critical writing regarding the subject of Cistercian art has taken a rather obsolete historical approach. We have, in effect, "old style" history, the history of great men. This approach lends itself to a dramatic emphasis upon the achievements of powerful individuals. In this case, our grand individual is St. Bernard, who is continually presented as the man who "made" Cistercian art what it is. That of course is due to his influential position both within his own order and in Europe generally. This approach is an offshoot of the idealist and romantic schools of thought which were predominant in the 19th century, and which maintained what now appears to us as an exaggerated view of the importance of the individual. Within the framework of art history it is clear why this approach should be

manifest. This romantic view led art historians to disregard the social and economic position of artists and merely maintain a view of their own creativity without regard to influential factors.

In the realm of medieval architecture we are led to a form of constructivist history. It is constructivist essentially because it creates a view of the past, not on the basis of empirical evidence, but rather on the basis of an individual historian's creative processes. If we view history in this fashion it is clear that we are maintaining a rather skeptical approach to the subject. I would certainly hold that a purely visual analysis of architecture will not in the end lead to any absolute knowledge regarding the primary motivations for forms; but it is a basic lack of documentation which has led us to adopt such techniques in architectural analysis. Without written documentation concerning much artistic material we are left to speculate on such things as meaning and style. By the very nature of speculation we cannot expect to gain absolutes in knowledge. We are left with generalizations, and our own creations. There is nothing to determine that such creations may not be correct. In certain instances they may be. At the same time, however, our ability to determine the correctness of particular arguments is limited. In the end we must be faced with accumulations of data which will either lead us to a better understanding of particular events or draw us away from the comprehension that we desire.

Within the realm of speculative analysis there are numerous ways one may approach the problem of investigating medieval architecture. Two methods immediately come to mind. On one hand we may attempt to discover root causes of various styles and architectural forms, while on the other we may place the study purely within the realm of social history.

In other words, the latter form attempts to place the investigation within the context of the societies in which the art form appeared. It must be understood that from my point of view both fields bear their own particular validity, but in this paper the latter approach is the one which comes closest to presenting a clearer understanding of the social element involved. We must, in the final analysis, create priorities which will govern our approach.

In viewing the Cistercians we must never lose sight of the fact that the order was a manifestation of the so-called 12th century Renaissance. If we assess the architecture from a similar point of view we may in the end be led to a more successful understanding of its form. Undoubtedly we see that a final conclusive assessment is unlikely. However, we are, through our reasoning processes, able to gain a fairly accurate idea of motivating forces behind certain actions in history. Although one should guard against wide generalizations, I think that such a view of the architectural production of the Cistercians may be applied on the basis of our present knowledge of the order in its early years.

From the above remarks, the scope of this paper emerges clearly. I have restricted myself to a discussion of a limited number of houses, principally those whose remains are fairly extensive. These are Fountains, Rievaulx, Kirkstall, Furness, and a few comments on a number of other houses in England. The idea here is to get some picture of the order's architectural work in its early years. Of course this is a very difficult matter, and in many instances we are left to speculation because of the very nature of the destruction of the houses. But even though this is so, we can gain a fairly accurate idea of the motivating factors, by viewing the order within the context of 12th century civilization.

It has become apparent to me that such a task requires a more extensive historical background than that found in most papers on the subject. The second chapter is restricted to giving a brief résumé of the order's history and a presentation of its ideals. This is necessary because it is unlikely that a fundamental comprehension of the order's artistic work can be gained without it. The third chapter is concerned with the history of the Cistercians in England. In this discussion I have narrowed the presentation primarily to the first two centuries of the order's existence. It will be noted here that greater emphasis is placed upon economic factors, as I believe them to be the essential factors in any assessment of the order's architectural work. This is so because architecture, by its very nature, is not one of the "free" arts. Leon Battista Alberti classified buildings into those which "perform a function", those which "service the organization of the city", and those "devoted to the beauty of temples". Cistercian architecture in its early phase may be classed with those performing a function. Cistercian buildings were designed specifically to accommodate the Benedictine liturgy. By the very fact that they were "use" oriented their peculiar designs were governed by practical considerations. Unlike the other arts, architecture is dependent upon basic considerations of use and cost; and while most arts are not bound by the necessities of commissions, architecture has always had to respond to the most constricting economic exigencies.

The fourth chapter aims to present a general view of Cistercian architecture and shows that its nature follows the assessment of the historical development of the order provided in the previous chapter. So far it has been simpler to divorce pure historical data from artistic considerations. Here, unification of the two is essential.

Following the general discussion of Cistercian architecture I will turn to a view of English Cistercian architecture in the final chapter. It will be deduced from this assessment that the architectural purity which is so often attributed to Cistercian architecture is in fact a limited visual manifestation of Cistercian history. Poverty, wealth, and decline of the order can be traced in the development of the architecture. Though this is a generalization of considerable magnitude it does provide us with a historical approximation--a slight glimpse into Cistercian history.

CHAPTER II

As stated previously, the Cistercian order had its genesis in the dynamic era of the eleventh and twelfth century Renaissance.[1] This was not an isolated development initiated by a few disgruntled monks reacting against what they thought to be malpractices, but rather, part of an overall pattern of reform and rejuvenation within the Church. A brief look at Church history in general and the monastic movement in particular will serve as a framework for introducing the Cistercian order.

An important fact of Church history becomes apparent from the middle of the eleventh century. It is, of course, the increasing independence of the papacy and its development along monarchical lines. As Henri Pirenne has pointed out, the Church, though suffering temporarily after the Carolingian Empire lost its predominate position, had gained for itself greater liberty.[2] Because it moved in a more spiritual direction, the Church rejected any form of tutelage or secular meddling in its affairs. With the election of Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII in 1073, we see a more concerted conflict arising between Church and State with respect to the appointment of church officials.[3] In effect, what Gregory did was to indicate to all that it was the Church's responsibility to appoint or depose its own officials. This move among others was strongly opposed by the German church, while in France it was blocked by King Philip I, for

whom the traffic in bishoprics was too lucrative to surrender without a struggle. This led to a more direct policy on the part of Gregory, who at the Synod of 1075 forced the suspension of a number of German bishops and saw to the publication of an investiture decree.[4] We should remember that one aspect of investiture, the formal installation into an office of ecclesiastical officials by laymen, had certain serious effects which were bound to bring on a conflict between the temporal and spiritual authorities. Among other problems, the one which caused greatest scandal was that of simony. To Gregory it seemed intolerable that a layman should invest a churchman with the symbols of office. The Gregorian programme demanded for its success an increasing degree of centralization in the government of the Church; the bonds between Rome and the local churches were to be drawn closer.[5] The result of Gregory's decree was a bitter struggle between the papacy and Henry IV. This struggle was ended by Henry IV, who entered Rome in 1084 and placed Clement III on the papal throne. Though Gregory died in the following year and was not able to see the results of his reform, he was, in fact, successful to a degree.

The success that the Church gained manifested itself in the ability to take the appointment of bishops out of the hands of the Emperor. But this it did at a price -- the appointment of ecclesiastical officials now came under the influence of local princes. Pirenne states that,

"... the Empire suffered thereby; the Papacy gained in prestige; but the discipline of the Church was not improved; on the contrary. Every election was bound to be a conflict of influences, and while there was no longer simony on the part of the Emperor there was still pressure and intimidation on the part of magnates. The true solution would have been that of Pascal II, according to which the bishops would have abandoned their fiefs; but to this the Emperor would not give his consent, for the vast territorial wealth of the Church would have passed into the hands of the princes."6

In the last resort, the quarrel of the investitures ended in the triumph

of feudalism over the Church. In seeking to liberate the clergy from secular influences the Church had made it more than ever subordinate to them.

Though for many years there was a tendency to feel that the Gregorian reform was a direct outgrowth of the Cluniac movement, there has been a shift in recent years to discount this.[7] We may in fact see Church life at this time to be the product of a complex cultural and intellectual revolution which drew upon a number of differing sources: Cluniac reform, Italian asceticism, new administrative and legal concepts, and a general desire to make Rome predominant in world affairs.[8]

Although the Gregorian reform may have initally gained its inspiration from the actions of certain monastic groups, it gradually began to move away from asceticism to a more worldly approach. Tellenbach states that "... while it was still admitted that flight from the world was truly admirable the papal publicists of the early twelfth century tended increasingly to maintain that the primary aim of the Church, and therefore of its leader, was to enter the world, organize it, and lead it to salvation."[9]

It is in the light of this struggle, then, that we see a rather paradoxical situation in which the leadership of the Church tends toward a legalistic and administrative position, while the Christian community experiences a profound acceleration of pietism which manifests itself in the foundation of new monastic orders. Likewise, it would appear that though the monastic movements of the early twelfth century tried to escape the world, the Church leadership by its action kept them in most instances from succeeding.

Just as Gregory had attempted to adopt what he considered an

ancient practice, so also did the monastic movements which formed themselves in the eleventh and twelfth centuries attempt to "clothe themselves in the sanctifying garb of ancient practice."[10] We see a definite reaction to various forms of decadence within the Church of the eleventh century in the foundation of new monastic orders. Indeed, the revival of monasticism in the eleventh century recalls the attempts of early Christians who sought ascetic and holy lives by fleeing to the desert.[11] This form of life had Biblical precedence under the theme of following the historical Christ, and thus sharing in the hardships, dangers, and penalties that loyalty to Him exacts. In the Epistles of St. Paul, asceticism is described essentially by the image of the spiritual athlete who consciously and consistently disciplines himself in an effort to live in the spirit of Christ, and in accomplishing this fact, attains not only his salvation, but also that of his community.[12]

In the Gospels, following Christ does not mean merely imitating what He does, but actually sharing His experiences. In other words those who are called by Christ are required to sacrifice their feelings and former lives, give absolute priority to the work of the Kingdom of God, and be driven by a single purpose. To follow Christ is, in effect, a coming to life.[13]

It would be well at this point to view some of the monastic groups which formed part of the religious revival of the eleventh century.[14] In effect we see two areas of revival, one in Italy and the other in France. In Italy the drive which began in 1000 was more or less dissipated by 1100, and we see a return to more ancient forms of monasticism which for the most part remained rather limited ventures. In France, on the other hand, the drive to reform began around 1050 and although starting in a similar

fashion to that in Italy, was pushed into another course by the construction of constitutional frameworks. Indeed, the constitution created in France tended to become the basis for supranational organizations.

The new orders in Italy were founded by men who had left the old monastic way of life in search of a more severe form of asceticism. The best known of these groups were Fonte Avallena, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa. The first two owed their existence to St. Romuald of Ravenna (c. 950-1027), the third to St. John Gaulbert of Florence (990-1073). Both Fonte Avallena and Camaldoli were foundations of hermits while Vallombrosa adopted a severe form of the Benedictine Rule. Vallombrosa had a particular importance since it anticipated the French houses of Tiron, Savigny, and Citeaux. The notable thing about these Italian foundations is that they were limited to very few adherents and therefore never grew to any great extent.

In France we find a different situation developing in the middle of the eleventh century. On one hand we see the establishment of a hermitage near Grande Chartreux by Bruno of Rheims. The constitution of this group was not drawn up until about the first third of the twelfth century by Guigues du Chatel. The essential points in the constitution of the Carthusians, as the order came to be known, were isolation from worldly affairs and complete poverty. One similarity that Chartreux had with its Italian counterparts was its limitation in size, but this was due to a desire for such a limitation rather than the result of particular circumstances.

Knowles points to two essential problems facing monastic reformers at the end of the eleventh century.[15] The first of these was the correct interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, while the second was the

formulation of constitutional mechanisms designed to create standard
observances among various houses.

A solution to these problems was attempted by a French group
in the eastern part of the Duchy of Burgundy in a location known as
Citeaux.[16] The house at Citeaux was founded by Robert, the former abbot
and founder of the Benedictine house at Molesme. Robert's action was
the result of an inner conflict at Molesme in which we see two opposing
factions. One is led by Robert, his prior Alberic, and an Englishman by
the name of Stephen Harding. These men moved for a more strenuous obser-
vance of the Benedictine Rule which they felt was not being properly fol-
lowed in that house. The other group wished to maintain the observances
within the community as they were. According to W.A. Parker Mason, a
committee was formed to examine the Rule of St. Benedict and report on
it.[17] The report indicated that the Rule was not being kept as closely
as it should be; in other words, to the letter. Accordingly, the com-
mittee decided that the Rule was being broken in three areas: St. Benedict
had ordered manual labor, which was being avoided; tithes were accepted
when in fact there was nothing in the Rule allowing for this; and final-
ly, there was unnecessary luxury in dress and house.[18]

This report apparently was not received with kindness by the
majority of the community, and so at length, the reformers determined
to secede, which they did on the 21st of March, 1098. It was at this
time that the new community of Citeaux was born.

Although Robert may be considered the first abbot of Citeaux,
his length of office was cut short by his recall to Molesme in 1099.
He was followed in the post by Alberic who maintained the position until
1109. Following him was Stephen (1109-1134). These three men may be deemed

the most important individuals in framing the constitutions and early direction of the Cistercian order.[19] In determining the achievement of these first fathers we should consider two things: their changes to the internal life of the monastery; and the creation of a new form of monastic constitutional apparatus.[20]

Although there is at present some controversy concerning the legislative documents of the Cistercian order, we may safely say that the framework of the foundation was formed by the following works: the "*Exordium Cisterciensis Cenobii*" (also known as the "*Exordium Parvum*") (see Appendix A), the "*Carta Caritatis*" (see Appendix B), and the "*Instituta Capituli Generalis*".[21] The *Exordium Parvum* is an account of the foundation of the Abbey and a presentation of the order's first ideals. The *Carta Caritatis* is the document which established the constitution of the Cistercian order, and the so-called *Instituta* are the disciplinary decrees made from time to time by the abbots of the order in their annual General Chapter.

Although for many years the *Carta Caritatis* was considered to have been written by Stephen Harding around 1114 and approved by Pope Calixtus II in 1119, it is now known to be a composite document drawn up over many years. Knowles has outlined the following development for the charter.[22] The introduction and the first three clauses were possibly written by Stephen Harding when the first of Citeaux' daughter houses, La Ferté, was founded in 1113. These sections indicated that no material gains were to be exacted by Citeaux, but that the mother house retained responsibility for the care of the souls of any of its offspring. The charter further indicated that the Benedictine Rule was to be followed to the letter in all houses and that all customs should be identical.

The next stage of the document's development came about 1114 with the foundation of Pontigny. We find now that the charter aimed to maintain a form of central direction, but at the same time attempted to ensure the autonomy of individual houses. That the rules of the order were to be maintained was provided for by yearly visitations from mother houses to daughter houses and also by a yearly General Chapter to be held at Citeaux.[23]

The difference between the Cistercian and Cluniac foundations was that the former had no head to which the rest of the order was accountable, while the latter had an Archabbot who was responsible for governing the entire order. Although Citeaux was the site of the General Chapter she claimed no more power and only a little more prestige than the other houses.

The *Exordium Parvum* presents us with a clear picture of the departure from Molesme. It has been pointed out numerous times that the early Cistercians had no desire to form a new order, but rather wished to reform certain observances within the order as laid down in the Benedictine Rule.[24] At the outset, there is no indication that the monks of Citeaux attempted to criticize the Cluniac form of monasticism; rather, they merely noted that the latter group no longer followed the primitive Rule of St. Benedict. As Knowles states, "the Rule of St. Benedict had become submerged under customs, some of which were legitimate interpretations while others were easy going modifications, forming a jungle from which neither the individual monk nor the abbot of good will could escape."[25]

In assessing the difference between Citeaux and Cluny, Knowles draws our attention to two factors.[26] On one hand the early monks of Citeaux laid down a solid constitutional programme designed to regulate most areas of monastic life. On the other they had to decide what form of economic organization to adopt. This latter consideration was of

utmost importance if they were to free themselves of the abuses they were criticizing in the older orders.

At the outset the founding fathers could see clearly that as long as a monastery was in some way tied to the secular world it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to rise above that world to attain a high level of asceticism. Considering this factor, they resolved to ensure that all of their houses were established in locations far from the habitation of man.[27]

With respect to their livelihood, they hoped to survive purely on the basis of their own personal labour.[28] At this point they determined not to follow in the steps of the older orders, in that they rejected the acquisition of serfs, manors, mills, churches, collections and tithes.[29] In order to by-pass this problem the Cistercians created their own internal work force with the introduction into their monasteries of the "Conversi" or lay brothers.[30] These men were normally uneducated peasants who committed themselves to do manual labour and business transactions for the house to which they had pledged themselves. Once they had been accepted as lay brothers they could never rise above their ranks to become monks. Although the lay brothers were not an invention of the Cistercians, their adoption by that order was of major importance in the ultimate development of the order.[31] One must consider that on the basis of the normal Benedictine day consisting of prayer, study and work, it became obvious that too little time was left for work to enable a monastic house to become sulf-sufficient. Also, the time allotted for this function was again shortened by the physical act of going to and from the place of employment. This problem might have been solved in part by hiring lay workers, but the expense in the early years would have been prohibitive.

Another factor entered the decision for the adoption of lay brothers. Initially the founding fathers had desired to resist acquiring lands which were actually outside of the monastery precincts.[32] Indeed, this aim was included in the Papal Bull of Paschall giving protection to the new order.[33] In Mason's words, the Bull stated that, "they were to have no lands beyond the actual monastic precincts, no granges, serfs, mills, or other possessions, such as a seigneur would have, and these sites were to be situated in unfrequented places."[34] If they were to reject all the lands outside the monastery precinct, how were they to live? It was obvious after some consideration that there was little likelihood that a monastic house could consolidate all its land holdings into one monolithic unit. Likewise, the early Cistercians probably felt that it would be a bad policy to reject grants merely because they didn't border on their initial holdings. Besides, they could point to the Rule and note that they would have difficulties in according the hospitality required of them with respect to travellers, beggers, widows, and poor people.[35] With this in mind, it was decided that they would necessarily have to obtain and operate granges.[36] But it was impossible for the monks to do this themselves; thus the conversi came to play their part. Their function was to manage all lands too far from the monastery to allow a return to the required religious services during the day.

Though the conversi proved to be the main factor in the growth and development of the order in the early years, they had a tendency in later times to cause much disruption and they generally had a detrimental effect on the overall morale of the Cistercians.[37]

Closely aligned to the fundamental economic consideration of the order was the rejection of all sources of wealth and luxury, both

domestic and ecclesiastical. Indications of this attitude are found in

the *Exordium Parvum* where we see that the fathers had rejected all that

was not contained within the Benedictine Rule. These included fur gar-

ments, linen, combs, fine foods and the like. Furthermore, the following

statement of the *Exordium Parvum* was to have far-reaching implications

within a very short time of the initial foundation:

"And because they did not find in the Rule or in the life of St. Benedict
that the master had possessed churches or altars, or offerings, or burial
grounds, or tithes of other men, neither ovens, nor mills, nor distant
manors, nor peasants, nor that women ever came into his monastery, nor that
he buried the dead there, except in the case of his own sister, they re-
nounced all these things, saying that when St. Benedict said 'that the
monk should make himself a stranger to the activities of the world' he
bore clear witness to the fact that these things should no longer have any
place in the activities or in the hearts of monks, who ought to conform
themselves to the etymological origin of their name by fleeing from them."[38]

From the stated ideals of the order we see the development of a

paradoxical situation. As Donnelly points out, the early austerity caused

an influx of donations, some of which were explicitly forbidden by the

order's rules.[39] Indeed, in the second half of the twelfth century we

see numerous criticisms of the Cistercians for their supposed avarice

and expansionist policies.[40] By 1191 this situation had been clearly

recognized by the order itself when legislation prohibiting further ac-

quisitions was passed at the General Chapter.[41]

We see early infringements of the rules in eastern Europe where

expansionist tendencies were forced on the order by nobles who wished to

have their lands developed.[42] In some instances the labour power of the

lay brothers was inadequate to handle the load. A solution to this prob-

lem was the leasing and renting of lands. Donnelly gives the example of

Lubiasz (1175) which in its foundation charter indicates that peasants were

given land and that material resources of the monastery included churches,

villae, and rents.[43] Between 1203 and 1239 it has been estimated that the abbey acquired about 950,000 acres of land.[44] A natural outcome of the control of such a large area of land was the employment of sharecropping and leasing systems, both being infringements of the rules.

We see, then, that by involving themselves in an expansionist programme the Cistercians soon faced severe external criticism. By looking at the problem of tithes we are able to understand how this came about. Although the Cistercians forbade the acceptance of tithes, they also did not have to pay them. This privilege was granted to them by Innocent II who exempted them from payment on lands which they cultivated.[45] Undoubtedly this privilege was given to them as a result of hardships faced in the earlier days. This was a justified move in view of the order's desire not to collect revenues in the traditional fashion. Certainly if they had cut themselves away from those revenues and had been forced to pay tithes on the land that they held, the order would undoubtedly have been in worse financial condition than it was in its first days. The essential problem caused by exemption from tithes was friction with former tithe owners -- that is, bishops and clerics who were faced with dwindling revenues as Cistercian land holdings increased.

This situation lasted until 1215 when at the Fourth Lateran Council, Innocent III revoked the privilege and forced the Cistercians to pay tithes on lands acquired after the date that the Council was held.

Because of this action the Cistercian economic system changed drastically.[46] Instead of acquiring further lands and staffing them with lay brothers, the Cistercians now began widespread leasing, gave up their original policy of exclusive agrarianism, and became landlords. Coincidental with the secularization of land was the decline in the number of

lay brothers. As Graves indicates, the relation between the number of con-
versi and the secularization of land is not totally clear. The reduction
may have been a concerted effort on the part of the order to simplify
discipline by reducing the numbers of lay brothers; conversely, the num-
bers may have declined as a result of lessening requirements as land was
leased.[47] To these reasons for the decline, Donnelly adds agricultural and
urban opportunities outside of religion.[48]

When surveying the first one hundred years of the order's his-
tory it becomes quite obvious that the ideals laid down in the *Exordium
Parvum* were almost impossible to maintain. By the end of the twelfth cen-
tury the prohibitions against acquisitions of revenues from churches,
manors, serfs, rents, and other like things were being broken regularly.
In effect the economic structure of the Cistercian order from the begin-
ning of the thirteenth century onward differed little from those of the
older congregations.[49]

From these basic economic considerations we may now turn to St.
Bernard, who was unquestionably the most notable of all Cistercians.[50]
Practically all of the accounts of the early years of the order indicate
that if Bernard had not arrived at Citeaux with about thirty of his com-
panions the new foundation would have died for lack of new recruits.[51]
This situation, however, was altered completely with Bernard's arrival
in 1112. As indicated above the initial course that the Cistercians were
to take resulted from the actions and ideas of Robert, Alberic, and
Stephen. Under Bernard, however, this direction was modified and finally
redesignated. St. Bernard's position as the savior of the Cistercian
order may be questioned, since the new direction and degree of popular-
ization which he brought to the order may be considered one of the causes

for its eventual decline as a spiritual force.

It is interesting to note that new foundations were established only after the arrival of St. Bernard. One wonders whether the Cistercians might not have remained as limited in size as the Carthusians in their early unwillingness to compromise the rule that they had set for themselves. St. Bernard must be seen as the order's most effective publicist. Although there is little or nothing to indicate that he would have been less strict in his observances of the rule, he possibly saw monasticism as the most effective vehicle for salvation. And if it was the most effective method of obtaining salvation it was therefore the duty of monks to promote the monastic way of life within society at large.

It is due mainly to this attitude that we see a rather strange situation develop. From the elitist position that certain monastic groups took, the Cistercians, after their initial years, found themselves adopting what might be called a liberal-democratic approach to this form of life in as much as it was expected that any man could attain perfection within the cloister. This included choir monks and lay brothers. By perfection was meant the true union of God and man through contemplation. Bernard, as well as other monastic personalities, clearly understood that the union of man's soul to God was literally impossible in that conditions for such a state were very difficult to attain. It would be within the cloister that this state could best be met. Bernard's ascetic development clearly rests with the Rule of St. Benedict, but a merely literal observance of that rule is not sufficient.[52] As Knowles sees it, monastic life manifests itself "not (with) the natural perfection of a life in a human society, but the supernatural perfection of a life of abnegation of self and imitation of Christ; with exception they presuppose at least the external,

material observance of the three great abnegations to which Christ called--
that of property, that of marriage and that of the individual's liberty of
action."[53] Gilson feels that Bernard saw the cloister, "the school where
charity is taught", as the antechamber of paradise.[54] Again, it is pre-
sented as a paradise, but not the paradise.[55]

Within the cloister the principal activity would necessarily be
devotion and contemplation. Butler indicates that, "the first stage in
rising to contemplation is 'recollection', the act whereby the soul 're-
collects' itself, and detaches itself from human affairs, in order to con-
template God."[56] Butler goes on to say that contemplation "spurns the
use of things of the senses, so far as human frailty permits, in order to
soar up to contemplation."[57] For Bernard, as for Augustine and Gregory,
a condition for contemplation is the banishment from the mind of all
phantasmata of corporeal images and of all sense perceptions.[58]

In effect we may with a certain degree of accuracy see the Cis-
tercian cloister as a workshop for contemplation. Viewed in this manner,
it is completely understandable why Cistercian monastic architecture
should take the form that it did. As long as the driving force within
Cistercian monasticism maintained that its aim was to be asceticism in
this form, we can rationally understand the motive force for simplicity
in worldly life. The moment asceticism as such became dissipated we begin
to see secular encroachments upon the monastic culture.

Bernard's position within the order may be viewed in a number of
ways. First, his greatest impact must inevitably be traced to his ability
to excite certain spiritual energies in men, and it is characteristic that
after his death the movements with which he was associated lost much of
their momentum. By his personality he shifted the leadership of the order

from Citeaux to Clairvaux. With this act he determined for all times the relative position of the mother house with its offspring.

It was Bernard who was responsible for carrying the Cistercians into the mainstream of medieval politics. Noteworthy instances are Bernard's role in the papal schism created by the simultaneous elections of Anacletus and Innocent II in 1130, and also his part in calling the Second Crusade in 1146. Bruno Scott James makes an interesting point when he claims that the Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, William of Champeaux, was instrumental in thrusting Bernard into the public arena by spreading the latter's fame throughout France.[59] From the moment that William installed him as abbot of Clairvaux in 1115 Bernard seems to have been directed into activities completely divorced from those of the monk. Certainly Bernard's letters reflect this.[60] Bernard seems to have restricted his activities to problems peculiar to the Church and not with matters of a secular nature,[61] that is as far as the Church itself was able to remove itself from secular life. Yet, it is interesting to note that by the very nature of Bernard's actions, he was in fact bringing problems to his own order. For example, as a reward for Bernard's activities in overthrowing the anti-pope Anacletus, the Cistercians gained exemption from payment of tithes.[62] As was already mentioned, this was later to result in bitter conflict with secular authorities.

On the question of the role that the Church was to play in the world Bernard made his point clearly in his treatise entitled *De Consideratione* which was written (between 1149-53) for the edification of Eugenius III, a former Cistercian.[63] In effect what Bernard does here is to counter much of the work of Gregory VII in stating that although the papacy can claim the right to direct the activities of man in the secular world,

it would be wise to remain outside of this sphere and retain its spiritual purity.

It is at times difficult to see how this desire for separation of state and church works when we view Bernard's political involvements. Certainly in looking at his relationship with Abbot Suger of St. Denis, we realize immediately his talent for gaining proper perspective in the political field. Erwin Panofsky sees the relationship between these two men as an impasse.[64] On one hand we have Bernard who holds the good will of the Papacy, while on the other, there is Suger who is in a similar position with the French crown. Both undoubtedly realized that any enmity between themselves would prove disadvantageous to their respective interests. Bernard's relationship with Suger is noteworthy, however, since in most instances he demands a perfect separation between spiritual and secular affairs.

But, conflicts and external politics aside, we must never lose sight of the fact that Bernard was a monk above all else. This is clearly shown in several of Bernard's treatises, such as "The Steps of Humility", and "On Loving God", where we find the purely ascetic side of his mind.[65] Yet, in comparing the various facets of his mind we are presented with a man of complicated character. One moment he is the strict mystic, while the next he is the politician par excellence.

The greatness of St. Bernard can be attested to by the rapid expansion of the order during his lifetime. In this period no fewer than sixty-eight daughter houses were founded.[66] The filiation of Clairvaux had 164 houses in 1153, and by the end of the century there were no fewer than 263.[67] Clearly the attempt of the General Chapter of 1152 to place a check on the excessive multiplication of foundations was not success-

ful.[68] The eventual slowing of the order's growth seems to coincide more or less with the gradual decline in the performance of the Rule after Bernard's death. Certainly the subsequent decadence of the order was hastened, at least indirectly, by the number of its houses, for how could the successors of St. Bernard at Clairvaux visit annually seventy daughter-houses, between Portugal and Sweden, England and Sicily? Rather the task was more than any abbot, however willing and able, could carry out.

CHAPTER III

Thus far I have been concerned with two essential determining factors in the formation of a Cistercian architectural style, the early history of the Cistercian order generally, and its ideals. In this chapter I intend to discuss the characteristic features of early English Cistercian history and will attempt to point out some of the difficulties associated with the order's ability to maintain the pristine ideals of the founding fathers. By gaining a better understanding of the order's history within English society at large we should be able to see more clearly its position vis-à-vis English Cistercian architecture. At the outset I must say that the historical data available indicate that the English Cistercians were unable to follow a course similar to that of their French counterparts.[1]

Indeed, in connection with this point, we may refer to St. Bernard's significant dictum which became the ideal towards which the Cistercians and other monastic orders gravitated. St. Bernard had recommended to his novices that they leave their bodies at the monastery gates and bring nothing inside but their minds.[2] This ideal of renouncing secular culture proved a difficult, if not impossible, task for eventually even the Cistercians were unable to wholly extricate themselves from the social, political and economic environment in which they were lodged.[3]

A particular difficulty which made monastic autonomy impossible to achieve in England was a result of the peculiar nature of English feudalism. The extent to which the ideals of monasticism and the external realities of the social world became contradictory is indicated by B.D. Hill who writes that,

"The constitutions of the Cistercian order as they were formulated in the early twelfth century expressed ideals that looked backward to a time in the early Middle Ages when it might have been possible for a monastery to isolate itself entirely from the world around it. The twelfth century, however, was a time of dynamic growth and rapid social change. The political and social forces at work were inherently in conflict with the Cistercian ideals. Professed to ideals of severe asceticism, and simultaneously pressured by the demands of the world, the White Monks yielded to the world, and yielding they failed their own profession."4

The greatest problem for the order in England appears to have been the economic and political instability which plagued the entire island during the reign of King Stephen (1135-54).[5] Because of this instability the very essence of the monastic vocation was infected with secular concerns. It is the interrelationship between monasticism and the secular world that I will deal with in this chapter.

It is not without some degree of amazement that we look upon the rapid growth of the Cistercian order in England (see Appendix C).[6] From the time of the first foundation, Waverly (1128), to 1150 the order grew to forty-nine houses excluding thirteen Savigniac houses absorbed into the order in 1147.[7] According to Knowles the order numbered approximately six thousand exclusive of lay brothers.[8]

Modern historians have noted that the sudden expansion of monasticism in England coincided with the anarchy of Stephen's reign.[9] In fact the phenomenon did not escape the eyes of contemporaries either. According to the Augustinian canon, William of Newburgh, more religious houses were established during this era than had been founded in the previous one

hundred years.[10] The fact is that the Cistercians underwent their most

rapid growth in the twelfth century during a time of civil war and anarchy,

a period when central authority was weak and baronial power strong.

It seems conceivable that the Papacy welcomed the situation

that developed during Stephen's reign because it created an excellent

opportunity for the former to increase its influence in England. Cer-

tainly it would appear that the period between 1135 and 1154 were years

when Papal influence was at its highest, for after that time English

monarchs did their best to reassert a degree of control over the Church;

a state which they considered absolutely necessary. In a sense Stephen's

reign is the only period when the English church could claim to be more or

less free of abuses that Gregory VII wished to rid from the Church as a

whole. For the most part, the English church was subjected to a high degree

of secular interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Although, as Maurice

Powicke points out, serious scholars have long refused to accept Mait-

land's notion that the Church was "Anglican before, and has been Catholic

since the Reformation", the image still appears in the affirmative. In-

deed, it appears this way by the very nature of the Church's subordination

to the secular power.

It seems likely that Stephen would have acted similarly to

William and Henry I regarding the Church if he felt that he could have

accomplished it. The fact is, he couldn't. His long struggle with Henry

Murdac over the Bishopric of York is evidence of that.[11] As long as

Stephen would not allow Henry to take his seat at York, the Papacy would

not recognize the right of his heirs to the English throne.

The problems for the Church of England were of a continuing

nature. Certainly the most dramatic turn of events came during the reign

of the next monarch, Henry II. Again, it is a question of secular inter-
ference in Church affairs. The main characters in this action are the
King himself and Thomas à Becket, and on this point no more will be said
because the matter has already been considerably dealt with.[12] Clearly,
the end of the confrontation comes only with the direct action of Henry VIII
in 1537.

But this is a digression with a direct purpose. The intention
here has been to set down a few reasons for the phenomenal growth of
monasticism during the reign of Stephen and also to show that the English
Church could not escape secular interference. Let us now look at a few
of the traditional motives for founding abbeys.

Most students of the Cistercian movement have considered Chris-
tian piety to have been the chief, sometimes the only, motive of the
great barons who founded and endowed Cistercian monasteries. This has
been true of much of the research on the subject from Miss Alice Cooke's
work in 1893 down to David Knowles' study. For example, Poole attributes
the development of the Cistercians to the latent desire for puritanism in
the English character. As he says: "The Cistercian system reflects the
spirit of puritanism, and it was this element (for puritanism was always
perhaps latent in the English character) which gave to the movement its
special appeal in England."[13] Sayles traces the rapid multiplication of
the Cistercian abbeys entirely to the influence of St. Bernard.[14] David
Knowles sees the expansion in the twelfth century issuing from the Grego-
rian Reform.[15] Hill, although accepting the validity of these ideas,
feels they are of only partial value, in that they do not ask certain
essential social and political questions. He goes on to say that: "The
English barons also built monasteries with a definite desire for, and the

sure expectation of, material gain."[16] Becoming more specific, Hill
claims that the barons of Stephen's reign were clearly interested in prof-
iting from the expanding trade in wool and saw that through the Cistercians,
whose monasteries cost the lords virtually nothing in the way of an initial
outlay and whose internal workforce in the form of the lay brothers would
provide cheap labour, would in the end probably help to increase the
donor's flocks and the quality of the sheep's wool.[17]

These have been the traditional explanations for the founda-
tion of religious houses. But there was another motive. The rapid expan-
sion of the monastic and canonical orders in England contributed beyond
measure to the increase of papal influence. Indeed, the monasteries were
always inclined to an association with the Papacy, with which many con-
tracted a special and immediate relationship, and almost all found it use-
ful to seek regular confirmation of their privileges and possessions by the
highest ecclesiastical authority. However, this point must not be inter-
preted as a cynical attempt on the part of the Papacy to undermine the
authority of the English crown. In practical terms, the opportunity pre-
sented itself and the Church took advantage of it. Likewise it was a nat-
ural result of the civil war that the ecclesiastical corporations should
look to the Head of the Church for the protection which the secular ruler
was no longer able to ensure. From a strictly religious point of view,
monasticism was an integral form of promoting basic reforms within the
Church. Reforming bishops had particularly concentrated their efforts to
oppose clerical marriage and the control of churches by laymen, but with
little result. The parish clergy continued to marry, and what was more
important, to hand on their holdings to their sons, treating their churches
as property to be willed like any other possession. Lay patronage helped

to make this situation possible, and there resulted the heavy pressure of lay ownership, with the holding of Church property, even tithes, by laymen. Connected to this of course, was the problem of the patron forcing his own candidates upon the Church as a right stemming from his grant. The substitution of monastic for lay patrons during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was therefore a considerable step in advance, and the bishops as a whole appeared to have encouraged such transfers. It was during this period that hundreds of parish churches throughout England passed into the hands of the monasteries.[18] From the point of view of immediate gains there seems little doubt that the advantages were considerable since it cannot be denied that it had the effect of making the monasteries still more important in the life of the Church, increasing both their influence and their revenues. The extension of their influence also meant an extension of papal authority. But though augmenting its power may have given the Church immediate gains, there appears little doubt that it later worked against it. This was especially true after Stephen's reign when life in England had regained a modicum of stability and when Church holdings had increased to a very great extent.

So far I have been concerned with the conditions which made it possible for the expansion of monasticism in England. It seems fairly evident at this time that the Cistercians would not have gained the footing in England that they did if the political situation in the country in the middle years of the twelfth century had been different. This leads us to further questions which relate to the donors of Cistercian houses and also to their locations. Further to this, we will view their economic condition.

On the question of donors, Hill leads us to believe that the

Cistercian order in England was more or less dependent on the higher nobility for its existence.[19] In effect, what he says is that many Cistercian houses were founded by the nobility to satisfy a number of aims. As I have already pointed out, Hill feels that the economic motive was possibly the strongest or the most satisfactory explanation for the rapid expansion of the order in England. Yet there may have been other motives as well. One of these was to donate land which owed secular service to the crown.[20] It is probable that in certain instances the barons who gave land may have owed military services to the king, and in order to escape their obligations, or reduce them, grants were made in free alms tenure.[21] Once the crown had confirmed such grants, the lords could consider themselves relieved of their original obligations. One may ask why the crown would allow its own position to be weakened? In truth this situation seems to have been prevalent only during the reign of Stephen. In the first place his military strength was such that he could not do much to contest these grants and secondly, his position vis-à-vis the Church was tenuous. As Hill points out, the situation relating to the confused status of the nobility's obligations to the crown resulted in the great inquest of 1166 when Henry II attempted to clarify the picture.[22]

Although the Cistercians were given land in free alms tenure, it is clear that some monasteries owed knight service for the properties that they held.[23] The usual means of getting around this problem seems to have been the payment of a small fee into the royal treasury. Although Hill states that many grants which the Cistercians received were uneconomical from a strictly commercial point of view, it seems unlikely that the majority of the gifts were in any way donated with a spirit of cynicism. In other words land was not given merely to evade royal assessments. It

seems obvious that any grants which caused a house problems would likely be mentioned in their chronicles or internal documents. Those grants which were free from trouble would just as likely remain outside written notice. On this basis, it seems rather tenuous to apply any definitive judgements. What may be said in fairness is that the Cistercians in some instances accepted lands which would more wisely have been avoided. But, in the end the question of land acquisition proved to be the order's main undoing and as time went on that policy led to unfavourable criticism of the order.

The continual acquisition of land was certainly a logical extension of the Cistercian economy since the survival of the order lay in large tracts of pasture and arable land. In England all of the early Cistercian houses were founded in remote districts such as Wales and Yorkshire. Even so, by 1150 there were almost no monastic houses of any sort in northern and central Wales.[24] The monks were able to move into remote areas with little difficulty or disturbance and proceeded to develop what has been considered waste land. Usually, once they had developed the lands in the immediate vicinity of their initial foundation they later constructed granges on more distant parts of their holdings. In many instances these granges multiplied rapidly. Meaux, founded in 1151, had seven granges by about 1170, and Wardon twelve by 1190.[25]

Most commonly, granges were acquired by gift. None the less, abbeys also acquired granges by outright purchase and by exchanging other parcels of land with some lord or abbey for a favourable grange site. Knowles points out that the increased demand for land came about as a natural outcome of the rapid growth of the order.[26] Coupled with this was the rechannelling of grants from older orders to the Cistercians. This

meant that gifts of developed land and property which had formerly gone

to the older religious groups, such as vills, churches and tithes, now

came to the Cistercians. Donnelly points out that many Cistercian abbeys

received gifts at foundation and later of entire populated vills and man-

ors, many of which were held unchanged as sources of income by the abbeys.[27]

As examples he points to Fountains which gained the vill of Crostheweit

around 1227, all the vill of Litton in Craven (about 1250) with serfs and

homage of free tenants, a moiety of all the vill of Rygton (in 1244) with

homages, services, and all the villeins for one hundred marks, the vill of

Torp, the lordship of the vill of Wigglesworth, all of Robert de Cram-

mauilla's demesne of Slenyngford with hall, the vill of Staneye, etc, etc.[28]

The possession of manors, especially in the fourteenth century, and by many

other Cistercian communities even from their foundation, is indicative of

their having made truce with necessity in some cases and with gifts in still

others. As Donnelly points out, information on manors in the hands of Cis-

tercians abounds in the sources.[29]

The continual acquisition of land was bound to lead to deterior-

ation of relations between monastic houses and their neighbors be they

secular or clerical. The most common problem lay in litigation stemming

from disputed claims to land. If in no other area one does see a decline

in the basic ideals of the Cistercian order here. This aspect of their

life causes us to wonder about the actual state of monastic charity. So

far as can be discerned, practically all of the surviving Cistercian chron-

icles include information relating to disputed claims to land. The most

notable example is the Chronicle of Meaux[30] which is full of information

relating to that house's financial and legal problems. As A. Earle says:

"One regrets a little, in reading the very exact chronicles of the Abbot

Thomas Burton, that they are so businesslike, they are occupied too much with accounts of the convent's law suits, and properties and agreements respecting them."[31] Earle goes on to say that it is a pity that so little is known of that house's internal religious life.[32] The ultimate impression gained from the chronicles is one of unnecessary avarice. We are presented with an account of acquiring land, the struggles to keep it and to increase it. Those abbots and monks are the most highly esteemed who are able best to guide successfully the temporal affairs of the house. There is no religious spirit in this work whatever, and in the end we are left to speculate on the actual state of spiritual development contained therein. So far as can be discerned it appears that the Meaux Chronicles mirror with few exceptions the overall situation for the Cistercians in England.

As Fletcher put it: "The vast mass of documents, chartularies, coucher books, legal records, amounting in number to thousands upon thousands, proves that after the first enthusiasm had cooled, the order was chiefly occupied in laying field to field, house to house, flock to flock, and chattel to chattel."[33] Fletcher goes on to say that: "Doubtless much of the wealth so gathered was well and wisely expended in the improvement of the monastic estates, in the furtherance of agriculture, in hospitality to wayfarers, and in relief of the poor, but it is impossible to deny that the greater part of it went in building and ornamenting churches and cloisters in a style out of all keeping with the strictness, the simplicity, and the ascetic principles of the first Cistercian statutes, or that vast sums were spent in litigation."[34]

If the acquisition of land was an extension of the Cistercian economic regime, then the acquisition of serfs likewise was an extension

of land grants. There are numerous indications of Cistercian houses taking on serfs as part of land received. This was done in spite of Cistercian legislation against them. Certainly some early violations in this area must have occurred, for it was the subject of legislation in 1157.[35] Although no concessions were officially made, the practice grew, probably because they were a part of transactions involving land, and to get the land, the monks took the serfs. Earle points out that when land was conveyed to a new owner, any serfs originally attached to that land were turned over to the second party.[36] Indeed, this conveyance was so absolute that it included not only the serf himself, but also his wife and their heirs.

Graves indicates that there were two ways that serfs were acquired: either they came as accessories to land grants or they were purchased.[37]

If the acquisition of serfs was an infringement of the early legislation of the Cistercian order, so was the possession of mills. In keeping with the ideal that the monks were to live from their own labor and produce, mills were permitted so long as they were to be used for internal purposes only. The use of mills as a source of income was clearly forbidden in the *Exordium Parvum*. Yet, violations of this rule came quite early, for in 1157 the General Chapter legislated against any evasion of the rule.[38] Probably the main reason for acquiring mills was the supposed profit that was to be made from them. According to Graves, the English Cistercians were consistently acquiring mills and yet not producing the desired profit.[39] He goes on to say that between 1249 and 1269, Meaux had spent more money on mills than had been received as revenues from them.[40] In his discussion of the Welsh Cistercians, David Williams indicates that

most of the houses in Wales had mills of some description and that they were necessarily part of grain farming. One of the reasons for their supposedly profitable nature stems from the fact that local tenants had to grind their grain at their lord's mill.

If the English Cistercians failed in their ideals with regard to serfs and mills they did likewise in their rejection of ecclesiastical revenues. As was pointed out earlier, parish churches came into the hands of the monks in some instances as a result of attempts to correct prevailing abuses. These abuses were usually in the form of secular interference in the appointments of parish priests and further with the passing on of church lands to would-be heirs. If in the first instance one views the acquisition of parish churches as an aspect of Church reform then possibly criticism of the Cistercians would be invalid. Yet, Cistercian legislation ruled against acquiring churches. This, as we have already seen was clearly stated in the *Exordium Parvum*. What one must realize about the acquisition of ecclesiastical property is that it was a further source of income which the Cistercians appear to have needed to carry on their programmes of expansion. Yet, the acquisition of churches also led the order into continual struggles with bishops because of the order's exemption from paying tithes. According to Graves, the Cistercians were holding churches and ecclesiastical property as early as the middle of the twelfth century.[41]

The possession of churches provided many problems. Beyond the simple violation of the rules of the order, there were lawsuits and rivalries. Although the General Chapter passed a series of prohibitions against the practice in the thirteenth century, it tended later to attempt to regulate the existing fact.[42]

When considering the financial aspects behind owning churches

we see that revenues were to be gained from burial dues, Mass offerings on various religious holidays, marriages and tithes.

We find that in some instances churches were accepted as part of a larger gift containing land. As with serfs, the rejection of one might mean the loss of the other. An instance of this happened at Meaux where a chantry requiring the services of seven monks was accepted because it was endowed with land.[43]

Both Knowles and Graves indicate that the practice of accepting ecclesiastical property had begun in the latter part of the twelfth century.[44] Indication of this is clear from the monastic cartularies. The only house which seems to have remained free of ecclesiastical property was Wardon Abbey.[45] Knowles also points out that in the early days such gifts were sometimes refused.[46] An example which he points to is the gift from Roger de Mowbray to Byland (c. 1143) that included the advowsons of Thirsk, Kirby Moorside and a third church, with the intention that the house should ultimately draw upon their revenues.[47] But the gift was refused and as a result went to a third party. Knowles goes on to say, however, that such self-denial was not common.[48] That the acceptance of churches was considered a problem before the end of the twelfth century can be deduced from a circular letter from Pope Alexander III in 1170 which ordered the Cistercians to observe their constitution and various rules.[49]

Graves points out one further area of prohibited activity which should be considered. He says that although markets were not explicitly mentioned in the *Exordium Parvum*, it should be assumed that involvement in them went against the spirit of the Rule.[50] Graves goes on to say that even with the limited number of sources available we are able to deter-

mine that at least one third of the Cistercian houses in England held
market and fair privileges.[51] It should be borne in mind that grants of
this sort normally came from the crown and that payment was usually made
for such rights.

In this brief survey one major conclusion stands out. The
economic ideal as set forth in the *Exordium Parvum* was a failure in Eng-
land. Serfs and mills were owned and exploited, the advowson[52] of churches
was normal, and secular involvement in commerce was a widespread fact. So
far I have mentioned only the forbidden areas of economic enterprise. At
times it appears that the Cistercians would have been better off if they
had kept to the letter of the rule and disregarded the many money-making
propositions that they engaged in. But one must not forget that the Cis-
tercians worked in legitimate areas as well and that they were eminently
successful in many enterprises. Indeed, their success was one of the major
reasons for the eventual spiritual decline.

Although the Cistercians entered many diverse areas of the
economy their greatest single commercial enterprise was their activity in
the wool trade. Though it has sometimes been assumed that the Cistercians
brought the wool trade to England, it is clear that this business was in
existence long before the Cistercians came to that country. As Knowles
points out, this view is incorrect even for the twelfth and thirteenth
centuries.[53] Before the Cistercians had arrived in England large flocks
were being reared by the Black Monks and by other ecclesiastical and lay
landowners. But the most important development for the Cistercians was
that they were able to develop sheep farming for the export market on a
very large scale. Knowles states that the Cistercians were able to main-
tain their position of eminence in the wool trade until the fourteenth

century essentially because of the fine quality of the wool that they produced.[54]

        We learn further from Knowles that: "Settling as they did away from cultivation and free of the shackling organization of manor and village, with abundant service and an efficient central control, they began very early to have a large surplus from the year's clip which exporters and foreign merchants were willing to buy 'en masse' for the looms of the new towns on the continent."[55] Another point that Knowles makes is that as a rule the Black Monks did not deliver their wool graded as did the Cistercians.[56] Graves tells us that in the area where the best wools were produced, Yorkshire, sheep-farming did not become extensive until after the arrival of the Cistercians.[57]

        The entrance of the Cistercians into the wool trade appears almost the result of accident. In the first place, by settling in areas which were considered waste it seems that it was easier to raise flocks than to plow the land.

        But, the commitment to breeding sheep had considerable consequences for the order. To begin with, wool was a cash crop which necessarily brought the monks back to the world that they were attempting to escape. By its very nature, wool militated against the spirit of Cistercian legislation which aimed at creating self-sufficing foundations owning just enough stock and working enough land for the support of their houses and the maintenance of any visitors who should come their way. But, as Knowles points out, when benefactors vied with one another in giving grants and when, after a few years the product of their work came flowing in the problem was a difficult one.[58] One of the major difficulties faced by the order was a lack of money with which they could conduct the building

programmes that they had initiated. We see that the older orders had not encountered such a problem since they had sources of income from rents, tithes, dues and the like. As long as the Cistercians maintained their initial purity they had none of these forms of revenue. Knowles feels that three forces united at the same moment to make a breach in the simple economy of the early Cistercians: "the possession of surplus wool, the desire to build on a grand scale, and the woolmongers present at the gate with attractive offers of cash."[59] It has been noted that the middle of the twelfth century was an era of expanding economy and rising prices.[60] The development of the Cistercians in England coincided with this era of expanding trade and commerce which, despite their efforts, had a tendency to draw them right back into the secular world. Once enmeshed in the developments of secular trade there appeared no hope for the order with regard to the maintenance of their rules. Indeed, from the middle of the twelfth century it seems that the great age of Cistercian piety was at an end and from that time the moral decay which had initially caused dissent was now affecting the order.

Certainly the wool trade presents us with a poor impression of the Cistercians as businessmen. Primary among the unfortunate handling of business affairs was the procedure known as wholesale forward sale.[61] This took the form of contracting with a broker for the sale of wool at a fixed price for a number of years in advance, this being done on cash advances. Normally the practice was carried on because of immediate requirements for ready cash to carry on building programmes or the purchase of land. Yet, this type of transaction was susceptible to all sorts of problems. Chief among these was the devaluation of wool which meant that the houses had to increase the quota of wool shipped to the dealer. On the other hand, the

value of wool rose, but the money had already changed hands and therefore the monks were still required to produce a stipulated quantity with no financial compensation. In effect these transactions were a form of loan which in some instances had interest paying on them at the rate of about sixty percent. In the thirteenth century the length of contracts extended from two to twenty years.[62] In time, however, because of various threats of loss against the wool, the merchants came to require something other than the wool for security, and abbeys such as Pipewell, Fountains, and others actually mortgaged their lands and abbey buildings under the guise of contracts covering the sale of wool.[63]

Although the Cistercians were vitally enmeshed in the production of wool, they were also involved in many other economic pursuits. Certainly most activities which would prove profitable to the house and which could be easily engaged upon were taken up. Some of these we can briefly look at here.

The cultivation of various grains was a normal activity for the Cistercians in England.[64] But in many instances this enterprise was limited by the quality of the land that they received and by the nature of the climate in which they had elected to live. That they were not always successful in gaining self-sufficiency in this area can be seen by the permission granted by the crown to import grain. Graves lists about twenty-eight such grants.[65] He also tells us that the market value of grain was so low that on occasion it was used as feed for the more profitable trade in swine and horses.[66] With regard to horses we find that the houses of Sallay, Furness, Tintern, and Jervaulx all had extensive herds.

In certain instances chance placed some of the monasteries close to deposits of minerals and we find from various sources that the monks

were not slow in their exploitation of them.[67] The two most important

iron producers among the Cistercians were Furness and Flaxley.[68] In the

taxation records of 1292 we find that Furness was gaining an income from

iron double that of its flocks and herds.[69] Between 1160-82, Philip, the

second abbot of Meaux acquired a stone quarry for his house which the

monks worked for the provision of material for their own permanent build-

ings.

Another mineral that the Cistercians exploited was salt. Accord-

ing to Graves there were many Cistercian houses engaged in the retrieval of

salt, either from brine pits or from evaporation of sea water.[70] Although

both Graves[71] and Williams[72] discuss this trade they do not make any men-

tion of the monetary value to the houses involved other than to say that

it was significant since salt had much importance in the preservation of

food.

One point of import which has not escaped most writers dealing

with the activities of the order is that the Cistercians were far from the

other-worldly beings that they had initially aimed at becoming.

Certainly Graves appears correct when he states,

"... that in their varied activities the Cistercians were doing much the
same thing as any monastic group. And in that similarity lies the clue
to the failure of the economic ideal, for when the activities are studied
in the large, there can be no doubt that the ideal posited in the first
years at Citeaux had failed. Self-sufficiency and exclusive agrarianism
outside the manorial system were hardly characteristic of an English Cis-
tercian abbey at the end of the thirteenth century. Attempts at a pros-
perous economic life caused a betrayal of the original spirit."73

It seems strange, then, that the order, despite its attempts

at gaining financial stability, was relatively poor. Although many Cis-

tercian houses had become engaged to some considerable degree in the wool

trade and other economic pursuits, and although the lands and buildings

of many abbeys were great assets, there was no house which accumulated considerable amounts of ready cash.[74] "On the contrary," says Graves, "most of the abbeys were troubled with debt, and in this the Cistercians experienced the same ills as did the other monastic bodies in England in the thirteenth century."[75] The reason for this particular state of affairs was due essentially to the fact that the monks were poor managers.

We have indications that after 1157 the General Chapter came to consider the problems of financial distress a threat to the well-being of the order by the very act of passing legislation on the matter. Abbots were told that they should continually check the financial status of their daughter houses to ensure that they did not incur debts unnecessarily.[76]

In the thirteenth century we have examples of some of the larger Cistercian houses suffering from fairly severe indebtedness. In 1290 Fountains' debt was somewhere in the vicinity of 6,500 pounds,[77] while Kirkstall owed over 5,000 pounds[78] at about the same time. Though we have a few instances where we know the amount of indebtedness it is true that we cannot draw general outlines for the entire order in England on this matter. This is especially natural since the houses involved were for the most part independent of one another. However, because of the structure of the order we may use certain examples as guidelines for our analysis and say with a certain amount of confidence that the situations cited were more or less characteristic for the order as a whole. Certainly, it is necessary to guard ourselves in this approach since we will surely lay our argument open to attacks from those who say that the discussion is speculative and therefore invalid. In the end it must be understood that such comments are merely suggestions.

When looking at the causes of indebtedness it is clear that there

are two basic considerations. First, when the order incurred debt as a result of natural disasters such as famine, flood, fires, exactions from the crown and the like, we see that there was relatively little the houses could do. However, there were debts brought about by the individual houses' own actions. Such debts were normally the result of land hunger, desire for building, advanced sale of monastic produce, poor leadership, lack of continuity in leadership, and the like. These liabilities were acquired by houses as a result of internal actions and therefore may in some instances be subject to criticism when taking into account the order's constitution.

When considering external causes for financial problems the Meaux chronicles present us with numerous examples of disasters that proved more than the house could bear. Indeed, the situation was so bad that the house had to disperse on three separate occasions. Although the dispersals were of short duration they do indicate that the financial situation of the house was not as good as it might have been. The first occasion of dispersal came during the abbacy of Adam, the first abbot of the house, and this was essentially the result of over-extension.[79] Adam in his desire to create a great house accepted too many brethren for the land to support.

During the abbacy of Thomas, the third abbot, the house, worn down by lawsuits, and the failure of crops, found itself called upon to raise 300 marks, its share of King Richard's ransom from captivity;[80] to do this the monks sold their wool, church plate and other of their treasures. This effort caused their ruin. For fifteen months the scattered brethren lived by begging from other houses of the order.[81] They eventually came together again as a result of a substantial grant made by one William of Rule.[82]

The third occasion for dispersal came as a result both of internal and external factors.[83] On the one hand, the finances of the house had been put into a ruinous state by Alexander, the fourth abbot. His successor, Hugh, was subsequently faced with the payment of a large fine placed on all religious houses by King John.[84] The combination of the two constituents caused the house to disband for a while because in order to pay the fine the monks were forced to sell their winter provisions of food. This time the dispersal did not last long and after a short interval the monks returned to Meaux.

From the time of Richard the crown became increasingly aware of the wealth possessed by the Cistercians. As Graves puts it, "The singular emergency of the need for money to ransom Richard from his captivity at the hand of the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, led to an inroad on the Cistercian treasuries which became under his successors a well-worn path."[85] When the collection was taken for the ransom, the churches had to donate their money, jewels, and plate. Since the Cistercians had little of these things they were required to hand over a year's production of wool.[86] On his return Richard made a similar demand of the Cistercians, but accepted a fine instead of the clip.

When John came to the throne we see a continuing struggle develop between the crown and the Cistercians over money. His demands resulted from his military campaign against France which he lost. As compensation John had to pay 30,000 marks to Philip of France. In order to pay this sum John levied a fine on the entire kingdom. At first the Cistercians refused to pay saying that such an action would have to be considered by the General Chapter. On hearing this John withdrew the protection of his courts leaving the Cistercians at the mercy of any who

wished to do them harm.

In 1210 the issue of money came up again, and again the order refused to give in to the king. John in turn took away their charters and liberties and in the end managed to extract from the Cistercians about 25,000 to 30,000 marks.

In 1212 John again came to the Cistercians for money, claiming that the order had supported those who attacked his brother-in-law Raymond of Toulouse. This time he demanded 22,000 pounds which apparently he got.[87] The protection that the Cistercians had gained at high expense in their early years gave way very quickly to a state of instability. Indeed, the early years had afforded them an opportunity to gain in status and wealth very quickly. Once they had attained this position they put themselves into a situation whereby the English monarchy saw fit to make demands upon the accumulated wealth as they saw fit.

But these were not the only demands made against the Cistercians, since they suffered at the hands of the crown until the time of the dissolution.

So far I have attempted to indicate that the Cistercians had not been in a financial position to construct grandiose architectural works. At the same time by showing how they slipped from their maintenance of the rule we may make conjectures about the possible direction that they would have taken in their architectural programmes, had they been in a position to do so. I believe that the Cistercians would have produced a much more decorated form of building even before the end of the twelfth century, had they the financial backing necessary for such ventures. By this I mean financial backing in terms of hard cash.

As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter my intention

was to draw our attention to the difficulties associated with the English Cistercians' ability to maintain their early ideals. Though I have stopped with a brief discussion of John's association with the Cistercians it is clear that by this time the order was deeply involved with secular interests and therefore had lost the ability to maintain the rules that it had set for itself. It is also clear that the period of purity for the English Cistercians was relatively short. In a seventy year period we see what may be considered a fairly widespread collapse of their ideals.[88]

The destruction of Cistercian purity seemed to be the result of internal and external factors. The growing disregard for the economic concepts contained within the *Exordium Parvum* led to a more worldly and secular attitude in many Cistercian houses. By attempting to create great houses they accepted too many brethren for the land to support. This in the end forced the Cistercians into never-ending financial struggles for survival. When considering expenses on such items as food, clothing, maintenance of all sorts for communities which sometimes numbered in the hundreds; the cost of keeping vast estates; the giving of charity to the poor; the paying of pensions; the entertainment of guests; the paying of interest on loans; and, of course, legal expenses concerned with the protection of property, it is difficult to see how they could have avoided being drawn into financial affairs.

But there were special expenses which faced the Cistercians. Once they had established themselves as sheep farmers 'par excellence' and had gained a considerable position in the trade, the monarchy began to look at their financial resources with covetous eyes. From Richard I to Henry VIII every English sovereign wanted his share -- and took care to get it. The gross amount of taxation (usually forced) yielded up by the

order to the English crown during the four hundred years of the order's

existence must have been quite enormous.

In this chapter, I have attempted to examine the Cistercians

in an unromantic fashion. Although this has already been done by Knowles,

Donnelly, Graves and Hill, architectural historians have tended to ignore

economic and social influences. I feel that such factors should be con-

sidered in any realistic appraisal of architectural forms. The preceding

summary of Cistercian history is presented as the background against which

the order's architectural development will be assessed.

CHAPTER IV

How do we begin a discussion about Cistercian architecture?
Normally we would start with a comment about the puritanical element con-
tained within it and also about the role that St. Bernard had to play in
its formation. From there we would possibly discuss the reason for its
character and discover that in fact Cistercian architecture and art gen-
erally were reactions against the excesses created by the order of Cluny.
I think that if we were to survey the majority of works dealing with the
subject of medieval architecture it would become fairly clear that the
greatest number would follow this outline. In this chapter I intend to
discuss the nature of Cistercian architecture and also to comment on some
of the opinions that have been given on the subject up to this time.

It is clear that the essential nature of Cistercian art has been
adequately assessed by such men as Marcel Aubert[1] and M.-Anselme Dimier.[2]
However, their discussions were usually placed within the frame of over-
all considerations and the more specific problems have yet to be discussed.
Unfortunately, the observations of many art historians have been made on
the basis of conjecture rather than on empirical evidence. This conjec-
ture is tied fairly well to the comments of some of the earlier writers on
the subject. One of these would be Edmund Sharpe, whose broad statements on
Cistercian architecture have had an enduring place within any discussion of

the matter. Let us review some of these observations.

First, the location of Cistercian houses was usually chosen on the basis of remoteness from human habitation. This was especially true in the earlier history of the order, for as time went on the situation changed. Examples of houses near or in towns may be found in such foundations as St. Mary's Graces in London (founded 1350) and St. Bernard's College at Oxford (founded 1437). Nevertheless, the early rules of the order clearly forbade the placement of houses near any populated centres.[3] As Orderic Vital wrote in his Ecclesiastical History, "All Cistercian monasteries are constructed in remote places in the middle of forests."[4]

Four circumstances helped to distinguish Cistercian abbeys from those of the older monks: as mentioned, they were mostly constructed on virgin sites, which allowed a free hand for planning; uniformity of layout was common; simplicity of style and decoration was likewise standard; and provision had to be made for large numbers of lay brothers within the monastic enclosure.

In Cistercian monasteries everywhere in Western Europe the cloister is the heart of the abbey and around it are gathered the various conventual buildings (Figure 1).[5] The monks were always housed to the east of the cloister, while the lay brothers had their quarters on the west side; the refectory occupied the third and the church the fourth side, whether north or south. The position of these latter buildings was dependent mostly on the lie of the land or on climatic conditions.

The classic example of a Cistercian abbey is Fontenay (1118), which not only is one of the best preserved houses, but also one of the oldest (Figure 2).

Variations on the established patterns may be seen at houses such as Pontigny (1114) (Figure 3), Senanque (1148) (Figure 4) and Flaran (1151) (Figure 5). However, most of the houses having fairly odd distributions of buildings were ones which remained small throughout their history and therefore never grew past their original configurations.

Discussions concerning monastic plans have been taken to extremes when considerations of uniformity arise. Knowles states that, "The exact uniformity which was demanded of all Cistercians brought it about that a single plan, derived originally from one or two of the original Burgundian houses of the order such as Citeaux, Clairvaux and Fontenay, became standard for all the early foundations and was reproduced in its main features even in later houses."[6] He goes on to say that, "... a blind Cistercian of the first generation, if removed to a strange house, might have found little difficulty in moving about the conventual buildings."[7] This last point has been mentioned a number of times by different writers and it seems unusual since monks of the Benedictine family probably would have been at home in most houses following that tradition. But as the plans shown at the end of the chapter attest, there is sufficient difference between houses to indicate that absolute uniformity was not necessarily characteristic of Cistercian houses. Similarity in plans would possibly come during the second generation of building when permanent buildings were erected and would most likely be the result of influences brought by monks of the mother house. But construction carried on in later years would be free of such influences and it would be then that divergent characteristics would creep in.

Of the general buildings, the church was, of course, the most important. Sharpe tells us that the rules regarding the Cistercian church

were formal and numerous.[8] Principal among such regulations was that they were all dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Aubert indicates that the General Chapter of 1134[9] decided to place the order under the protection of the Virgin and that one could read over the entrance of Citeaux the inscription "Hail, Holy Mother, under whom combats the Cistercian Order."[10] Another rule applying to Cistercian churches was that they were to be constructed in the form of a cross.[11] Likewise, they were not to have lofty towers, [12] carvings,[13] stained glass,[14] or other superfluous decorations. More will be said of these restrictions later.

Both J. Bilson[15] and M. Aubert[16] agree that there are no examples of Cistercian church architecture which date prior to the first thirty years of the order's existence. It is also pointed out that in this period there was no distinctive form of architecture.[17] This is natural since in the first years of any abbey's existence there would be a period of growth and consolidation. Besides, on the basis of a house starting with only twelve monks and an abbot there would be little likelihood of a foundation progressing past a stage of wooden construction. This of course would change if the foundation was the creation of a wealthy benefactor who wished to provide for the construction of permanent buildings immediately.

Our knowledge of the first church at Citeaux comes to us from the "Annales" of Citeaux[18] and from the *Exordium Parvum*[19] in which we are told that the first building was nothing other than a roughly constructed wooden structure of small dimensions. Shortly afterward in 1106 a new stone building replaced the first church and remained in existence at least until 1708 when a description of it was written by Dom Martène and Dom Durand (Figure 6). They give us the following sketch:

"Un des plus vénérables endroits de Cîteaux, c'est l'ancien Monastère, qui fut habité par les premiers religieux de ce saint lieu, et où saint Bernard fut reçu. L'église en fut consacrée l'an 1106, par Gautier, évêque de Châlon. Elle est assez petite, et je ne crois pas qu'elle ait plus de quinze pieds de largeur; la longueur est proportionnée; le choeur peut avoir trente pieds. Elle est voûtée et fort jolie. Il y a dans le sanctuaire trois fenêtres et deux dans la nef; et c'est assurément ce que l'on entend par cet endroit de la vie de saint Bernard, où il est dit, qu'il étoit si mortifié, qu'il ne sçavoit pas qu'il n'y avoit dans l'église que trois fenêtres, ce qui doit s'entendre du sanctuaire. Ce fut là que saint Étienne et saint Albéric furent enterrés. On l'appelle aujourd'hui la chapelle de saint Edme."20

As with the first chapel, the second was of small dimensions, the nave measuring about fifteen metres long, by five metres wide, and the choir, about ten metres in length.[21] The building was covered by a stone vault.

The first chapel at Clairvaux dates from about 1115 and was still standing towards the end of the eighteenth century (Figure 7). Like the chapel at Cîteaux, the Clairvaux structure was small.

According to Aubert it was during the period of great expansion in the latter half of the twelfth century that the precise definition of Cistercian church design took place.[22] Aubert would agree with other writers that Cistercian architecture came under the influence of St. Bernard at this time.[23] Certainly it was the latter part of the century that saw the greatest building activity, and the characteristics previously mentioned date from that period.

Unlike many contemporary church buildings, Cistercian churches did not have crypts. This was found to be an unnecessary feature since houses of the order did not accept pilgrims (at least not in the early years). Aubert points out that there was nothing in the order's statutes legislating against crypts and their absence was due to strictly practical considerations.[24]

In essential design, most Cistercian churches had naves with side aisles. This facilitated circulation about the church and allowed for the placement of a greater number of altars. In some instances there were churches without aisles such as the first churches of Waverly and Tintern, but these were rare according to Aubert.[25] Other common features were the flat walls of the choirs and also those of its flanking chapels. The use of flat walls on the eastern end of the church may have been the result of a desire for a simplified and economical design.

Aubert tells us that all Cistercian churches had transepts.[26] It should be remembered that this includes all churches after the second churches of Citeaux and Clairvaux. The most common Cistercian plan and one which is considered to be the archetype -- although we can see that there are many variations of the same theme -- is comprised of a shallow choir, either square or rectangular, and two chapels on each arm of the transept, separated one from the other by walls. These latter were usually restricted to the eastern side of the transepts. Concerning this design Aubert says:

"La plus ancienne église de ce type qui subsiste encore en France, celle qui, bien conservée, représente le mieux l'esprit de l'abbé de Clairvaux, témoigne le plus de sa volonté de simplicité, de force et de logique, celle qui servira de modèle à tant d'autres, est l'église de Fontenay."[27]

The abbey of Fontenay, second daughter of Clairvaux, was founded in 1119 by St. Bernard in a forest south-west of Chatillon-sur-Seine. One might say that in the early years the foundation of Fontenay was a family affair since its first abbot was St. Bernard's counsin, Geoffrey, and the original donation of land came from Raynard de Montbard, the saint's uncle.[28] Because of the extent to which St. Bernard's family was involved, Aubert feels that the saint himself became personally associated in large measure

with the actual design of the church.[29] This may be true, but we see no documentation confirming this belief. On that basis we may declare statements of this kind to be conjecture which cannot therefore stand as fact.

As it appears today, the church at Fontenay is probably more severe than it was originally since parts of it are missing. The front porch or narthex, which was a common Cistercian feature, is now gone. But the interior is undoubtedly a powerful embodiment of Cistercian sentiment (Plate 1). The lines are crisp and clear. The choir is shallow and flat-ended and is flanked by two more chapels on the arms of the transepts. The nave, with its arcade of unmoulded pointed arches, is covered by a pointed barrel vault with transverse arches resting on wall shafts. The aisles have transverse barrel vaults, a system employed to counter the thrust of the nave vault. There is no triforium and no clerestory. The only decoration appears in the capitals which take the form of a very simple leaf pattern. Light enters the church from windows at either end and through windows along the aisles. On this point we have an interesting comment from Aubert who says: "L'éclairage sera réduit pour éviter toute distraction; les moines chantent les psaumes de mémoire..."[30]

The naves of Cistercian churches were normally quite narrow and in the early years were divided transversely into two sections. Although this feature is missing from Fontenay, it was probably the configuration that would have been found in the abbey during the twelfth century. The purpose of the division was to separate the monks from the lay-brothers. In all monastic churches of this type the eastern end of the building was reserved for the monks while the lay-brothers were restricted to the west.

Another feature common to Cistercian churches, though missing

in most of them today, are walls joining the main nave piers. These were likely designed as supports for the choir stalls which were constructed along these piers for the monks and lay brothers. Certainly the entire effect must have produced the impression of a tightly enclosed space.

At Fontenay as at some other Cistercian churches we find that there is now no paving on the floor. Although these floors may have been given a wooden covering, they were more likely originally covered with decorated tiles.

Likewise, the church is devoid of any bell towers. According to Aubert only a small wooden bell tower over the crossing was constructed so that its bells could call the community to service.[31]

The facades of most Cistercian churches are extremely plain, being devoid of articulation or decoration. The facade of Fontenay is certainly characteristic of many Cistercian churches (Plate 2). It comprises a bare wall divided into two horizontal sections and three vertical sections. The vertical divisions are formed by the two plain buttresses which project slightly from the face of the building. On the upper level there are seven round headed windows which are bare of decoration save two colonnettes on the upper middle window. The door to the church is round headed and is lacking decoration except for two small colonnettes. The total impression is quite severe.

Another church which appears to represent the Cistercian architectural ideal is that of Le Thoronet (1136) which is situated in Provence. It is one of the best preserved Cistercian churches and therefore provides excellent material for study. According to Dimier, the abbey enjoyed a degree of prosperity, but never attained any position of importance.[32] Construction of the church commenced in 1160 and was completed about 1190.

The time lapse of twenty-four years provides us with good indication that the process of erecting permanent churches was not usually undertaken until the foundation had taken firm root. Certainly this practice was the result of practical considerations. With regard to the plan of Le Thoronet, we see that it was in conformity with that of many early Cistercian churches (Figure 8). The building itself comprises a wide nave of three bays, side aisles, a transept, and a shallow semi-circular apse. Again, as at Fontenay, the lighting comes from either end of the church and through very small windows along the side aisles. The nave is covered by a pointed barrel vault, while the side aisles are covered by half barrel vaults running parallel to the nave (Plate 3). There is very little articulation except for the transverse ribs of the nave vault which run down attached columns that rest upon undecorated corbel tables. Extending along the nave at the level from which the vault springs is a narrow string course. The moulding for the windows in the apse and along the nave piers is square and severe.

The facade of the church is extremely plain, being completely flat except for the window and door openings (Plate 4). There is no decoration here at all. Surmounting the church is a small bell tower placed over the crossing.

As at Fontenay, the impression given by Le Thoronet is austere.

One of the main questions of this thesis is whether this architecture was the result of a conscious effort on the part of the Cistercians to escape the ostentation that seemed to have fallen on some of the older monastic orders. There is no question that many students of the Cistercian order and students of art history generally believe that this was so.[33] As I stated in the introduction to this paper, I believe the artistic and architectural production of the Cistercian order to be a

composite of practical considerations, economic factors, and spiritual inclination. Visual analysis of Fontenay and Le Thoronet would seem to attest to this belief.

As Aubert has pointed out, the rejection of decoration and luxurious items was not necessary in the early years of the order's history since poverty was the governing factor.[34] Until the time of Alberic's death in 1109 the only consideration presented was that the monks adhere to the Rule of St. Benedict.[35] By necessity, church decorations, ecclesiastical vestments, and the like were severe. The only art which seems not to have been restricted in the same manner was manuscript illumination.[36] Oursel has shown that the Cistercians were in no way inhibited in their production of manuscript illuminations (Plate 5).[37] Towards the middle of the twelfth century restrictions on manuscript art were imposed on the order by the General Chapter,[38] which decided that manuscripts should be written in a single colour and that there should be no illustrations. Though there was some acceptance of this rule it never really took hold.[39]

The formation of a definite artistic attitude came within the first twenty-five years of the order's existence and is usually attributed to the influence of St. Bernard. The most important statement on this subject is undoubtedly St. Bernard's *Apologia ad Guillemum* (Appendix D)[40] which has been misinterpreted by some and taken out of context by others. The nature of the *Apologia* has been well explained by A. Luddy.[41] It seems that by 1120 a confrontation between the Cluniacs and the Cistercians had developed over the question of monastic purity and observances. Luddy points out that Peter the Venerable took the initiative on this matter and wrote a long letter designed to take the Cistercians to task over accusations that had been leveled against Cluny.[42] In Luddy's words,

"... the Cistercians are represented as the true disciples of the Pharisees, who, whilst scrupulously solicitous about the lesser prescriptions of the law neglect the more important, so attentive to the rules regarding food and clothing and labour and silence that they have no time to think of such as concern humility and charity."[43]

The *Apologia* was a response to Peter's charges. It was motivated by a Cluniac abbot, William of St. Thierry and a Canon Regular, Ogerius of St. Nicholas, who felt that to leave the charges unanswered would be admitting the truth of Peter's statements.

Although art historians[44] usually cite the sections concerned specifically with art and architecture (see Appendix D), the document is essentially concerned with monastic discipline and observances. The most important thing about this work is that it was motivated by those outside of the Cistercian order. It is also an ironical piece of writing since on one hand it has been taken as an indictment of the Cluniac order, while on the other, the author states that he cannot criticize the religious of that order. Bernard begins by saying, "How can I listen in silence to the charge you bring against us, that we, most miserable of all men, so poorly lodged and clothed, presume nevertheless to judge the world; and what is still more intolerable, that we even censure those who live saintly lives in your illustrious order, and from the depths of our obscurity arrogantly insult the resplendent lights of heaven?"[45]

Bernard's main concern are the abuses of those who bring the entire monastic profession into disrepute. His criticism is lodged against those who do not faithfully adhere to the Rule of St. Benedict.[46]

With regard to the position of art in monasteries, St. Bernard first asks what place gold has in churches of those who profess poverty.

Likewise, St. Bernard states that monastic churches cannot be judged on the same level as episcopal churches because bishops are required to employ various techniques to engage the devotion of the laity. But monks are men who have left the secular world and have renounced those things which gratify the eyes and ears. With this in mind, why should monks expend so much money in decorating their churches? Clearly, the answer is that those monks who do decorate their monasteries have not reconciled their escape from the world -- they are in fact tied to their previous carnal nature. Ending his criticism of monastic art, St. Bernard states that, "... if the absurdity of these things does not put us to shame, why at least do we not lament over the cost of them?"

The effect that the *Apologia* had on the Cistercian order was considerable. But all the attitudes expressed in it need not be taken as originating with St. Bernard. St. Bernard's statements are really an amplification of the *Exordium Parvum* of Stephen Harding, and in the end both works must be taken as representative of a general Benedictine outlook. The major consideration of both men was the attainment of Humility which in turn leads to Charity, the highest virtue since it places us closer to God.[47] Taken in this context, then, anything which detracts from Humility must necessarily be cast from the monastic vocation. Clearly, the attitude expressed by St. Bernard was of a practical nature and had nothing to do with his personal likes and dislikes of art.

The General Chapters followed the same tone as St. Bernard in their rejection of anything which smacked of luxury. They did not, however, reject beauty as is often implied. Aubert tells us that because of the decisions taken by the General Chapter the builders of monastic houses looked for simple and logical solutions to the problems of construction,

and it was this approach which produced a form approaching architectural perfection.[48]

Even though the clearest statement concerning the Cistercian attitude towards art was made by St. Bernard, the order, by the nature of its constitutions had to abide by the regulations laid down by the General Chapters. It is here that we find the actual regulations concerning art. As Aubert has pointed out, the early years saw no necessity for regulations because of the overriding poverty that existed. But as time went on and donations came in, it became essential to have specific rules. It may be that the rules were indeed necessitated as a result of certain breaches of the order's stated ideals. This, however, is merely conjecture. It does seem fairly reasonable to assume that many of the regulations concerning the arts were influenced by St. Bernard's *Apologia*. On the basis of Aubert's research and the references which he makes to the legislation of the General Chapter it is clear that many of the rules were passed in the hundred year period between the death of St. Bernard and the middle of the thirteenth century. This period is also the era of the Cistercian order's greatest wealth, and following it is a quick decline of the influence and wealth of the order. It appears logical therefore that during the middle of the thirteenth century the building activity of the order would be at its greatest level.

Turning to the legislation that the General Chapter passed concerning architecture, Aubert tells us that the only clearly defined prohibition in this area was the rejection of stone bell towers.[49] This restriction came at the General Chapter of 1157 (article 21) when the first constructions were giving way to the second generation of buildings.[50] Although this legislation was generally adhered to in France and Germany, it

held little authority in Spain, Italy and England.

The Cistercian rules concerning the decorative arts were laid down officially during the General Chapter of 1134.[51] The restrictions concerning the inclusion of painting, sculpture, glass, etc., were passed at this meeting. It seems that during the twelfth century the rules were followed quite closely, but during the thirteenth century a degree of relaxation set in. It was during the latter period that we see the inclusion of various art forms in monastic houses of the order. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the rules were entirely set aside and decoration became an integral part of the Cistercian buildings.

The early development of the Cistercian order coincided with the beginning of the Gothic period, an artistic era which saw the rejection of painted walls in churches and their replacement with coloured glass. The Cistercians, however, rejected both forms of art at the General Chapter of 1134.[52] Yet, it is obvious that the rules concerning these matters were not strictly adhered to because at the General Chapter of 1182 the abbots of the order declared that all stained glass had to be replaced within two years of that meeting.[53] In order to compensate for the restrictions against stained glass windows, many Cistercian houses turned to employing 'grisaille' windows designed with strictly geometric patterns (Plate 6). By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the order began to ease its rules concerning decorated windows and we see rules stating that houses which had changed their affiliation from other orders and had entered the Cistercian community could maintain any glass which had been put up before the date of entrance into the order.[54] By the end of the thirteenth century more coloured and decorated windows appeared in houses of the order and in the fourteenth century stained glass was quite common in Cistercian churches.[55]

Sculptures were also ruled against at the General Chapter of 1134.[56] During the life of St. Bernard there was little sculpture to be found in Cistercian houses.[57] According to Aubert the law was still in effect in the middle of the thirteenth century when the General Chapter of 1253 required the monks of Royaumont to remove sculptures which they had placed in that house.[58] But, again by the end of the thirteenth century the Cistercians were coming to accept sculpture more and more. An example of this acceptance would be the decorated tombs found at Royaumont which included those of the royal family. Not only did the acceptance of these tombs break the order's regulations concerning sculpture, but they also broke with the stated desire of the *Exordium Parvum* in its claim that monasteries should not become burial grounds for the laity.

Decorated pavements and embellishments were likewise subjected to strict controls. Aubert feels that the order's attitude was in fact an outcome of St. Bernard's comments on these in his *Apologia*. But Aubert goes on to say that the pronouncements on these art forms at the General Chapters of 1213, 1218, and 1256 would indicate that the rules were quite often broken.[59] In 1205 the General Chapter ordered Pontigny to remove the decorated tiles in its church because they were not in accordance with the desired simplicity of the order.[60] It was because of this attitude that we see the Cistercians using paving tiles placed in geometric patterns and employing a limited range of colours.

The idea of simplicity certainly had its effect on liturgical ornaments. The General Chapter of 1157 passed strict rules concerning this matter and it was here that the Cistercians were told that the use of precious metals for liturgical ornaments would be prohibited.[61] But, by the middle of the thirteenth century this rule was relaxed so that churches

of the order could have ornaments made of precious metals so long as their dimensions were small.[62]

By the middle of the thirteenth century the artistic attitude of many Cistercians had clearly changed to follow those of their secular compatriots. The reason for this shift in position was of course complex, but it was essentially the result of the order's inability to maintain its isolation from society. After two centuries Cistercian houses became grouped together by country and province and the power of the General Chapter gradually declined as the number of abbots attending decreased. As stated in the earlier chapters, the Cistercians became like many of the other monastic orders by adopting some of the abuses which they had earlier attacked. Certainly this seems true in the order's later approach to art.

The statutes of the Cistercian order make it clear that the restrictions against art were of a practical nature. Even St. Bernard's *Apologia* shows us that the main concern of the Cistercian order was the maintenance of the Benedictine Rule and all that went with it. Yet various art historians have seen fit to disregard these very simple facts and have produced histories which seem to have no basis for reality other than in the minds of those who produced them. On this matter I will quote some passages which I consider pertinent to this subject and then comment on them.

In Joan Evans' work, Art in Medieval France,[63] we are presented with the following statement concerning Cistercian art:

"Had Stephen Harding continued to be the leader of the Cistercian movement the iconography of the Virgin might have been greatly enriched, for to her the order was especially dedicated. But instead Bernard came to dominate it, and he was a man who despised beauty. He is said to have spent a year in the novice's room without noticing whether the ceiling was flat or vaulted, and to have been amazed one day to discover that the apse of the chapel had three windows and not one. The only art he encouraged was that of music, and that less for its own sake than as a form of worship. He pruned away all the Cluniac accretions from the bare Benedictine Office, except for

the recital of the Office of the Dead, and strove in a like manner to prune away all the accretions of splendour and beauty from the Benedictine tradition of the abbey church."64

With regard to architecture in particular, Joan Evans tells us that:

"Just as a sisterhood at its foundation often adopts the plainest possible version of the feminine wear in use at the time, and codifies it into a uniform, so Bernard adopted the plainest possible version of the current Burgundian style as the basis of the architecture of his order."65

Again on architecture, Joan Evans states that:

"... a team of workmen must have gone from one secluded abbey to another, with little but prohibitions to assist them in their work."66

One wonders when reading these statements whether Joan Evans seriously considered the various questions relating to Cistercian art. In the material that I have quoted we are told that Stephen Harding would have promoted the iconography of the Virgin if he had remained the leader of the Cistercian movement. But on this matter we know that the Cistercian constitutions did not allow for any leader once Citeaux had created a family of daughter houses. We know from the previous discussion that decisions affecting the entire order were the result of deliberation among equals at the General Chapter. With regard to the special place of the Virgin, we know that this came about during the General Chapter of 1134. There does not appear to be any documentary evidence to indicate that Stephen Harding would have promoted the position of the Virgin any more than had been done at the 1134 meeting.

There is no documentary evidence to substantiate Joan Evans' belief that St. Bernard despised beauty. A reading of the *Apologia* certainly does not indicate that St. Bernard had any particular dislike of art outside the context of monasticism. He merely felt that it was out of place in a monastic setting. In the first passage quoted from Joan Evans' work

we are told that St. Bernard did not know the physical nature of the chapel that he spent his novice year in. This can be taken in a number of ways. St. Bernard may have been totally disinterested in architecture. He may have been completely involved with spiritual matters. Certainly the latter is what Willian of St. Thierry had attempted to indicate when telling that story in the Saint's biography. He put it in the following way:

> "Since he made a continual practice of such mortification, it became habitual to him, and eventually second nature, so that his whole being was taken up with the things that concerned his soul. All his hopes and desires were centred on God, and his mind was so utterly given over to thinking about the things of the spirit that although his eyes were open, he did not see the things that passed in front of them, ... Indeed, after finishing his year in the novitiate, he still did not know whether the ceiling of the the novices' scriptorium was vaulted or not. And although he used to make frequent visits to the church, he thought that the sanctuary had only one window, whereas there were really three."67

The available records do not indicate that St. Bernard personally took a hand in the formulation of the Cistercian rules concerning art. So far it has been assumed that this was so, but there is no evidence to substantiate this belief. Joan Evans leads us to understand that Cistercian regulations concerning this matter were entirely the result of St. Bernard's efforts.

Kenneth Conant shared the same views on this matter in his book Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture.68 Conant tells us that:

> "The Burgundian half-Gothic attracted the attention of Bernard of Clairvaux (himself a Burgundian, born within sight of Dijon) because of its austere and practical character. He made a sober version of it the standard architecture for Cistercian monasteries all over Europe."69

Otto von Simson in the The Gothic Cathedral shares some of these views. He presents us with the following:

> "The appraisal of Bernard's artistic tastes has relied far too exclusively on the opinions he expressed in writing, especially in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, the famous attack upon the ostentation of the Cluniac Order. In this polemical work he makes two specific points about art: he condemns as 'monstrous' the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic imagery

of Romanesque sculpture and demands their banishment from the cloister; and he inveighs against the immense height, the 'immoderate' length, the 'supervacuous' width of Cluniac churches as incompatible with the spirit of monastic humility.

That these views became law for Bernard's own order at least during his lifetime, is beyond question. The iconophobic bias he expressed in regard to the representational arts -- he was a consistant pupil of Augustine even in this regard -- led to the prohibition of illumination in Cistercian manuscripts and to the exclusion of all imagery, with the exception of painted crucifixes, from the churches of the order."71

Both Conant and von Simson agree that it was St. Bernard who

initiated the regulations concerning art and architecture within the Cis-

tercian order. On one hand Conant tells us that St. Bernard was actively

involved in determining the type of architecture to be used by the order,

while on the other von Simson indicates that St. Bernard's views became

law for the order. Neither of these two positions has been validated.

It is interesting to note that von Simson complains that St. Bernard's

artistic tastes have been too dependent upon literary evidence. This is

surely a curious comment, since the converse is probably more correct. Cer-

tainly the problem with most histories of Cistercian art has been a lack of

documentary evidence.

Although I have taken only three examples of discussions con-

cerning the nature of Cistercian art, I think that they are in many ways rep-

resentative of much that has been written to date. The major criticism

that could be leveled against such comments is that they oversimplify an

extremely complex historical problem. It is foolish to state that the

phenomenon of Cistercian art which has a time span of centuries was

directed by one man. I think that the criticisms presented here can be

maintained as long as there is no documentary evidence to prove those

statements correct. In any event I think that it is reasonable to say

that Cistercian architecture and art generally were the products of

spiritual and economic factors working upon one another.

In the end these interactions produced art forms of a similar spirit. The architecture and art were not rigidly controlled from Citeaux and its General Chapter, but directed in light of monastic principles based on the concept of Humility.

CHAPTER V

In this chapter I will attempt to relate what I have said in
the previous parts of this study. I will first present an overview of the
order's work in England and then endeavour through logical means to unite
the various thoughts offered in this paper. At this time it appears to be
an almost insurmountable problem to fully accomplish this task owing to the
lack of documentation available to present day historians. The problem would
be different if, on the one hand, we had written documentation and, on the
other, well preserved examples of Cistercian architecture. The truth is,
however, that we have little of either.

It is interesting to note that the majority of studies concerned
with English Cistercian architecture have been archeological in character.[1]
This approach is of course quite valid since we are left with so few written
records relating to the construction of Cistercian churches. So far as is
known, there is no existing description of an English Cistercian monastery
in the process of construction. The records available to us are in the
monastic chronicles and these provide us not with descriptive comments, but
with data relating to finances, donors, and progression of construction.[2]
In many instances we must read between the lines for an idea of the monks'
attitudes towards their constructions. This is particularly true of the
Meaux Chronicles which say nothing much about the character of the buildings

erected, but tell us only about the amount of construction carried on under each abbot.

As I have just mentioned, the study of English Cistercian houses is difficult owing to the ruinous condition of the buildings. At this time there is no Cistercian house in England which is completely intact. Only three of all those built have portions still used for parish churches.[3] However, even those which have remains are in such a state of destruction that to come to any accurate conclusions about their former appearance seems quite remote. Arguments may be presented to the contrary, but they may also be countered on strictly logical grounds.

In relation to these statements it is interesting to note what Bertrand Russell had to say about the problem of structure since any study of architecture will necessarily involve an examination of this subject. We know that to study the structure of an object is to view its parts and the ways in which they are interrelated. This is particularly true of architecture. Russell provides us with an interesting analogy on this matter when he says that,

"If you are learning anatomy, you might first learn the names and shapes of the various bones, and then be taught where each bone belongs in the skeleton. You would then know the structure of the skeleton in so far as anatomy has anything to say about it. But you would not have come to an end of what can be said about structure in relation to the skeleton. Bones are composed of cells, and cells of molecules, and each molecule has an atomic structure which it is the business of chemistry to study. Atoms, in turn, have a structure which is studied in physics. At this point, orthodox science ceases its analysis, but there is no reason to suppose that further analysis is impossible."[4]

Russell's view of structure is especially apt when considering the essential nature of architecture. That we can view architecture in terms of constituent parts in order to comprehend its structure is particularly true. Further to this approach, however, is the view that architecture is really the art of space. Accordingly, F. Stelè has stated that,

"Architecture is composed of three things: the material shell,
the space it contains, and the essential aim. Of these three only space
is constant and only on it can a serious study of architecture rest."5

Henri Focillon goes a step beyond this statement when he says that,

"A building is not a collection of surfaces, but an assemblage
of parts, in which length, width, and depth agree with one another in a
certain fashion, and constitute an entirely new solid that comprises an
internal volume and an external mass. A ground-plan can, to be sure,
tell us a great deal... but this kind of reduction, or, perhaps, abbreviation
of the processes of work, by no means embraces the whole of architecture.
Indeed it despoils architecture of its fundamental privilege: namely, the
mastery of a complete space, not only as a mass, but as a model imposing a
new value upon the three dimensions.... It must not be forgotten that
mass offers the double and simultaneous aspect of internal mass and external
mass, and that the relation of one to the other is a matter of peculiar
interest to the study of form in space."6

I don't think that there is any question that contemporary

architects see the study of architecture in terms of handling space. Cer-

tainly Ruskin's view that architecture was nothing other than a frame for

sculpture and painting is quite unacceptable in the second half of the

twentieth century. If Ruskin was right in his assessment then any study of

early Cistercian building would seem quite fruitless. It is fairly evident

that the study of architecture can be viewed from many different positions.

Indeed, research in this area relates quite well to Russell's statements

regarding the study of anatomy. Although orthodox approaches reach their

limits, there is no reason to believe that further analysis is impossible.

When first approaching English Cistercian architecture I felt

that the study could be conducted in an orthodox fashion. On delving

further into the matter I soon discovered that scope for this effort would

be limited. But why should this be so? It is so because I accept the

view that architecture is the art of assembling various masses to create space.

In strictly mathematical terms these masses can be termed as points with

respect to length, width, and depth. Now if the viewer of the architectural

spaces involved is termed a zero point from which length, width, and depth

are measured certain assessments can be made. But what happens when some
of these points are missing as in the case of English Cistercian churches?
The answer to this is, of course, that our space perception is incomplete.
We are left with a form of conceptual space. This undoubtedly is unac-
ceptable to anyone who wishes to gain definitive conclusions regarding the
nature and handling of space.

At this point I decided that the most useful study of the order's
architecture in England would be to determine the reasons for simplicity
and supposed purism. Although I agree with Focillon that a ground plan is
an abbreviation of the architectural process, I also feel that for the
purposes of this paper they are of paramount importance. With the plans
of the houses we are able to trace the development of those houses with
respect to growth in size and also in wealth. On this last point I should
be more explicit and say that the size of the houses does not necessarily
provide us with a clear indication of wealth, but it does give us some idea
of the direction in which they progressed. If nothing else, the architec-
ture provides us with concrete visual material regarding the order's
spiritual development. In it we see the process of failure -- that is
the failure to adhere to the early ideals of the order.

When considering Cistercian building in England, it is useful to
view the process in terms of phases. These phases can be expressed as
periods of growth and then of consolidation. I think that it is safe to
say that buildings which would be included in the growth period are the
first temporary constructions and then possibly the first permanent stone
structures. The period of consolidation may be considered as a point when
the houses determined to reconstruct their first stone churches with more
elaborate structures. These processes of construction seem to have been

followed by most of the principal houses in England.

As I said before, our knowledge of the first Cistercian churches in England is practically non-existent. This is particularly true of Waverly (1128). This house, founded from L'Aumone in Burgundy, and supported in its early years by Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, was the first Cistercian church in England. Our knowledge of this building, however, is limited since only small fragments remain standing.

The first church was long and narrow, its plan following closely the design of churches in France (Fig. 9). In 1203, the first church was replaced by a larger one which was not completed until 1278 (Fig. 10). According to R. Palmer, "The plan of their first church thus shows a simplicity which is in accordance both with the principles of their order and with their circumstances."[7] As we can see from the plans, the first church at Waverly was small in scale and extremely simple. It had an aisleless nave, and a small square-ended presbytery. Harold Brakspear has also found evidence which indicates that the first permanent church of the sister house of Tintern (1131) had a similar aisleless plan (Fig. 11).[8] The plans of Waverly and Tintern differ only in that Waverly had one chapel in each arm of the transept while Tintern had two.

The earliest church of the normal Cistercian type was found at Rievaulx (1132) in Yorkshire.[9] The nave of this church is the earliest large nave in England and dates from about 1135-40. The plan of this church was very much like that of Fontenay, having a square-ended presbytery, transepts with three eastern chapels, and a bell tower over the crossing.[10] The nave consisted of nine bays, with north and south aisles, but, unlike any other Cistercian church in England, the nave piers were square. The nave itself was covered with a wooden ceiling, while, as at Fontenay, the

aisles were covered with transverse barrel vaults. Unlike Fontenay, how-
ever, Rievaulx employed round headed clerestory windows. Although many
historians dealing with the subject seem to think that the clerestory was
a necessity in England because of a general lack of natural light, I be-
lieve that it was probably employed because of the local building practices.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the nave is based strictly on the
finds that have been excavated from the site. What remains at this time
are the outer walls, to the height of a few feet, and the bases of the piers.
Still, we may get the impression from the rough stonework that the charac-
ter of the building was severe.

Somewhere around 1230 there was a general programme of enlarge-
ment in which additions were made to the presbytery and transepts (Fig. 12).
As Sir Charles Peers says, "It is not surprising to hear that at the end
of the thirteenth century the Abbey was heavily in debt."[11]

On the transept a clear line divides the older building from the
new (Plate 7a). The stonework of the new construction is extremely fine
while that of the older section is relatively rough (Plate 7b). In many
ways the stonework is almost an approximation of the state of the Cistercian
ideal. When standing at the transept crossing this impression is partic-
ularly strong (Plates 8 & 9).

The first church extended only two bays past the transept, but
the addition lengthened it to seven. This part of the church was covered
completely by a system of stone ribbed vaults, and in its details seems
to have disregarded completely the concept of simplicity. But, as Peers
points out, "...the result is one of the most beautiful examples of English
Gothic that remains to us."[12] The arrangement here can be traced easily.
The high altar stood on a raised platform in the second bay from the east.

The whole area was floored with glazed green and yellow tiles placed in geometric patterns, but of these only a few fragments are left in the south transept. Against the east wall were five chapels placed in line with each aisle and with the main span. The east wall itself had six lancet windows, three on each level of the church (Plate 10). The walls of the aisles have been all but destroyed. Only a small fragment of the former construction remains.

The impression imparted by this section of Rievaulx is one of sophistication. I don't think I would be too far wrong in saying that the quality of stonework in the later addition to the church matches that of most cathedral churches in England. Throughout this part of the building are numerous subtleties which, although not blatant infringements of the order's rules concerning decoration in churches, seem at best a form of backsliding to the spirit of those rules (Plate 11).

After the construction of the eastern extension, no further building of any consequence was carried on. Actually the decline of the house is indicated by the removal of some of the buildings.[13]

Although we have few records relating to the finances of such large projects, it seems evident that much of the money was raised by borrowing from Jewish money-lenders such as Aaron of Lincoln. Knowles tells us that at Aaron's death, nine Cistercian houses owed him a gross sum of more than 6400 marks.[14] Rievaulx was one of those houses. Knowles goes on to say that, "... the original loans were no doubt undertaken to raise funds for buildings which all the houses were putting up at this time, and are therefore in a sense a witness to Cistercian poverty, for the white monks were as yet without the money revenues and gifts which the black monks could devote to the purpose."[15]

A few miles to the west of Rievaulx in Yorkshire was another important Cistercian house. This was Fountains (1132).[16] W.H. St. John Hope says that, "Although it cannot compare in architectural splendour with Tintern, nor in beauty of situation with Rievaulx, Fountains Abbey, from the great extent and preservation of its buildings, and the ease with which they may be studied, certainly takes the first place in importance among the Cistercian abbeys of England and Wales."[17] It should be noted here that Hope's study of Fountains Abbey was concerned not so much with the architecture of Fountains, but rather with the true uses of the buildings.

As was usual with the Cistercian houses, the first monks resided in thatched huts. This condition lasted for about two years until finally, out of desperation, they determined to abandon their holdings and migrate to Clairvaux. This situation, however, changed drastically with the arrival of Hugh, Dean of York, who brought with him his wealth and property. Following Hugh were two canons of York, Serlo and Tosti, who were also men of considerable wealth. With their resources pooled, they managed to save the house. According to Hope, the early records of Fountains give much information relating to the poverty of the early days, but say nothing of the building that was conducted at that time.[18]

It seems apparent that no construction was carried out until the arrival of Hugh and his compatriots in 1135. Hugh tells us that the first church was laid out on a large scale and that the plan of the present buildings is in the main the first one (Fig. 13). At the end of the twelfth century, when the abbey had grown to a considerable size, it was decided to increase the amount of altar space by enlarging the church eastwards with the construction of the "Choir of Nine Chapels" (Fig. 14).

The church planned in 1135 consisted of an aisleless presbytery

of three bays; north and south transepts, each with three eastern chapels; a nave and aisles of eleven bays; and a western porch or narthex. Hope tells us that the construction took place in different periods, this being indicated by the jointing of the masonry.[19] He further states that this was a clear indication of the abbey's poverty.[20] The main part of the church took about fifty years to complete.[21]

The nave, as it stands now, is roofless. It comprises arcades of pointed arches resting on round columns which are surmounted by scalloped capitals (Plate 12). The bases of these columns rest on square plinths. Above the arcade is a clerestory, consisting of simple round arched windows (Plate 13). There is little articulation on the upper wall except for a plain string course above and below the windows. As at Rievaulx, the nave was covered with a wooden roof. The side aisles were covered by transverse barrel vaults (Plate 14). The outer wall was pierced by small round arched windows which allowed light to enter into the aisles. I think that John Bilson was correct when he said that, "The earlier Cistercian churches are marked by great simplicity of treatment, and by an almost entire absence of the rich decoration which is so characteristic of the later Romanesque."[22] The general impression presented by the nave of Fountains is one of restraint.

By the end of the twelfth century, however, the restraint gave way to what may be considered a fairly sumptuous work. This was the "Choir of Nine Chapels" mentioned earlier. The new presbytery leading to it was five bays long, with aisles of the same length. However, at this time, only the outer walls remain intact. Along the full length of these walls there is a continuous stone bench surmounted by trefoiled arches (Plate 15). These arches were originally supported by detached marble columns. In each

bay of the presbytery is a lancet (Plate 16). In all these bays there were, formerly, attached marble columns supporting the arches.

Certainly the most notable features of the "Choir of Nine Chapels" are the large east window (Plate 17) (a fifteenth century addition) and the two piers within the eastern transept (Plate 18). Within the transept there is a notable degree of articulation provided by the molding. Along with this articulation is the emphasis on verticals provided by the piers and by the now missing attached columns.

Let us now examine some of the external features of Fountains. The west wall of the nave has a large round-headed door consisting of six molded orders, jamb columns, and carved capitals (Plate 19). On the outer edges of the facade are two broad pilaster buttresses rising almost to the point of the gable. The large window above the door was not original to the church, but added to the facade in 1494 by Abbot Darnton.[23] Above this window is a niche which contains a statue of the Virgin and Child also dating from this time.

Extending across the whole width of the front are the remains of the narthex. The front of the narthex consisted of a series of arches carried on slender columns and the whole was roofed with a wooden lean-to structure.

Along the sides of the nave and the aisles there is little articulation except for pilaster buttresses and string coursing.

Along with the window and internal structuring of the choir mentioned above, another impressive feature at Fountains is Abbot Huby's tower, constructed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The structure itself measures 170 feet and opens onto the north side of the original transept. Externally it is well articulated with buttresses, molding,

gables and niches.

I think that Palmer is correct when he says of the eastern
extension at Fountains that, "Practically adequate, internally beautiful,
but externally unimpressive, its origin at the hands of the Cistercians
shows how far they had travelled from their first simplicity."[24] On the
north and south sides of the new transept there is little decoration ex-
cept for the buttressing, string coursing, and molding around the lancet
windows and the doorways. The patterns for the doors follow closely
those of the western entrance. Generally the exterior of Fountains is quite
devoid of detail.

It would be interesting to know more accurately the cost of con-
struction for Fountains. Our knowledge of this matter is rather sparse,
but we do have pieces of information gleaned from the Chronicles[25] from
which the financial position of the house during various stages of con-
struction may be deduced. This information tells us that the economic
growth of Fountains was a very gradual process.[26] Unlike many other
houses Fountains had no one great benefactor who could provide large sums
of cash for the building programmes. It was probably for this reason that
the construction of the abbey church was carried on at intervals. But even
though the growth was slow, it was definite. The Fountains Chartulary
indicates that as years went on the monastery gained very large tracts of
land.[27] By the turn of the thirteenth century Fountains was well estab-
lished financially. This is evident from the demands that King John made
on the house to support his various military adventures. It is probable
that the building programmes undertaken at Fountains would have been more
quickly concluded had it not been for those demands. Certainly John's
confiscations of 1210 hit the abbey very heavily for it was at this

time that the monks had to disperse temporarily. Graves tells us that the money realized from the confiscations came to about 1,200 marks.[28] Although the monks of Fountains had much in the way of landed property, they seemed to be relatively short of cash. Throughout the thirteenth century they had a fluctuating existence which ended in the house being forced into royal custody for relief from its debts. Although it is impossible to draw any definitive conclusions about this state of affairs, it seems likely that the situation was brought on as the result of failures in numerous commercial activities and by the debts carried over from building programmes. That this should have happened to the wealthiest of Cistercian houses is of particular interest.

Following Rievaulx and Fountains, some of the best examples of early English Cistercian architecture may be found at Kirkstall (1152) and Buildwas (1155-60). As with the former churches, the latter maintained the traditional Cistercian plan (Figs. 15 & 16). But both Kirkstall and Buildwas, though holding to the ideals found in the churches mentioned earlier, did elaborate more on the details of ornament. Kirkstall, instead of employing the round columns found at Fountains, utilized composite piers with twelve engaged columns.[29] As at Fountains the capitals of the nave piers are scalloped, only here there are variations. The handling of the wall surfaces remain quite simple. Actually the wall surfaces of Kirkstall are very similar to those of Fountains.

Concerning the western entrance to Kirkstall, we find much more elaboration than in the earlier churches. Bilson tells us that, "At the period of the earlier Cistercian churches in England, we generally find that the decoration of English churches was to a great extent concentrated in their doorways."[30] At Kirkstall the decoration around the doors is con-

siderably more ornate than that of Fountains, and in many respects is a reflection of Saxon ornamentation (Plate 20).

The abbey of Buildwas in Shropshire began its programme of construction shortly after its foundation in 1135. The church consists of a square-ended presbytery of two bays, a crossing with a low central tower, north and south transepts, each with two eastern chapels, and an aisled nave of seven bays. Both the presbytery and the transept chapels were vaulted with ribbed vaults. The eastern end of the church has three tall round headed windows which are characterized by a complete lack of decoration. The nave appears very similar to the one at Fountains, but is considerably lower (Plate 21). The piers are circular and have scalloped capitals, and both the clerestory and aisle windows are round headed. Unlike the churches previously mentioned, there is no western entrance, but rather a plain facade. The monks entered the church from the cloister on the north side. The total impression of this church is one of severity.

Buildwas has remained mostly untouched by modifications since the turn of the thirteenth century and therefore presents us with an excellent example of Cistercian church architecture of the early period. It seems quite likely that modifications to the church were not carried out owing to a lack of finances. We are told that the properties of the abbey were never very extensive and that part of its income came from collecting tolls from a bridge which crossed the river Severn.[31]

During the last part of the twelfth century a number of Cistercian churches were erected which abandoned the traditional plan, or at least modified it to some extent. Some examples of these are Furness,[32] Byland,[33] and Jervaulx.[34]

Furness (1127), initially a Savigniac house, started its programme

of construction shortly after its foundation.[35] According to J.C. Dickinson it is not too clear how far the process had gone before the abbey became Cistercian in 1147.[36] There are indications that the early building consisted of transepts of two bays with apsidal chapels, and a square presbytery (Fig. 17).[37] Once the house had become Cistercian the older constructions were replaced by a larger structure following more closely the Cistercian format (Fig. 18). The transept and choir stand at this time almost to their original height, but little remains of the nave beyond its south wall, the bases of most of its columns, and part of the north wall. At the extreme western end of the church is a bell tower which was a fifteenth century addition.

The nave was built in the latter part of the twelfth century and consisted of ten bays. The aisles consisted of quadripartite vaults, none of which remain standing. The nave piers were alternately circular and clustered.

The transepts and the crossing date from late in the twelfth century, but were largely rebuilt during the fifteenth century. The windows of the north and south transepts date from the fifteenth century, and although they contained tracery, they were relatively unadorned. From what remains of the twelfth century construction, it appears that Furness maintained the Cistercian ideal of simplicity. It also seems that enrichment of details at Furness came fairly late in the house's history -- mostly in the fifteenth century.

Certainly one of the most impressive houses was Byland, of which only a fragment remains today. After Byland was founded in 1138, there was a period of some years before the house settled in its present location. Construction on the present church started sometime after 1177 and from the

beginning it was designed on a large scale (Fig. 19). Sir Charles Peers
has noted that the excavated remnants clearly indicate workmanship and
quality of the highest order, and that, "... it would be hard to find any-
thing better of their kind."[38]

Although the normal square-ended presbytery was retained, there
was an ambulatory around the choir with five chapels placed against the
eastern wall. The transepts had both eastern and western aisles with
chapels on the eastern side. The high altar was in the second bay of the
presbytery and was surrounded by an arcaded stone screen that extended to
the western piers of the crossing.

Most of the church was floored with yellow and green tiles set
in a geometric pattern (Plate 22). Most of what remains can now be seen in
the two chapels of the south transept.

The side aisles were covered with pointed stone ribbed vaults,
but the main span was covered in wood. From what remains of the exterior
walls it is evident that the whole must have been plain and severe (Plate 23).
Almost all of the decoration was restricted to the west facade which features
a large circular window, three lancet windows interspersed with molding
(Plate 24), and three doors, the centre having a trefoil pattern (Plate 25).
The narthex is now missing.

Of Byland, T.S.R. Boase says,

"... a building, original in its ground plan, it was in its details and
elevations an example of the ready Cistercian reaction to the new Gothic
style which their architecture did so much to foster. It marks also the
passing of Cistercian building from its austere isolation into the full
current of the contemporary architectural movement."[39]

Jervaulx was a daughter house of Byland. It is unlikely that
we shall ever have a definite picture of its structure as so much of the
building has been destroyed. However one important feature is still evi-

dent in the high quality of the stonework. This is of interest when dis-
cussing the economics of building. There is a very good example of quality
stonework in the doorway at the south-west end of the church (Plate 26).
The door is round headed, as was usual in English Cistercian churches, and
is decorated with deep molding and dog-tooth ornaments (Plate 27).

As at other Cistercian abbeys, Meaux's first buildings were of
a temporary nature. These were provided by the Earle of Albemarle, William
le Gros, who also gave the foundation its initial grant of land, and support.

Under the second abbot, Philip (1160-1182), the first stone
buildings were commenced. It should be noted that before 1160 the house
was not financially well off, having dispersed just previous to that.
During the reign of the third abbot, the financial struggles continued.
Besides legal problems and crop failures, the house was forced to raise
300 marks to help pay for the ransom of King Richard. In order to do
this they were required to sell their sheep, wool, and church plate, which
caused the house to disperse a second time. When the monks returned to
their house they began construction of a new church, pulling down the pre-
vious structure because it was decided that it was inconveniently planned.
The new building, in its turn, fell to the same fate with the advent of the
next abbot. Edward A. Bond has observed that, "The constitutions of the
order enjoined extreme simplicity in the conventual buildings with absence
of ornament; it may be inferred from these successive reconstructions of
their church that our monks had been growing less and less disposed to
submit to restraint in this particular."[40]

The chronicles indicate that between 1197-1210 when the reconstruc-
tion just mentioned took place, large sums of money were expended on various
sections of the monastery. It was during this time that the cloister was

being built. Building continued from 1207, when the reconstruction began, until 1240 at which time the structure was finally covered in lead.

Under the ninth abbot, 1249-1269, a belfry was erected and covered in lead, and a large bell was placed within it. An inner ceiling was added to the church, the floor was laid with tiles, and the stalls for the lay brothers were inserted.

From this time onward succeeding abbots concerned themselves with the creation of various decorative furnishings and arts for the church. Much money was also spent by them for the construction of utilitarian buildings within the monastic precincts.

The plans of English Cistercian houses tell us much about the development of the order. In the first years, the houses were quite small and probably very severe. At this time (1128-1154), the houses were supported by donors who, though generous, did not normally present the foundations with funds enough to conduct large scale building programmes.

In the latter half of the twelfth century, rapid expansion of the order forced the Cistercians to extend their existing buildings. This is especially true of Rievaulx and Fountains. Although the extensions were added over prolonged periods, there were insufficient funds available to meet the costs. These and other financial commitments forced the order into greater involvement with the secular world.

Houses founded at the end of the twelfth century did not follow quite the same pattern. Byland, Furness, Jervaulx and Buildwas progressed from their initial temporary constructions to their permanent buildings in one step. By that time, the number of recruits had decreased and fewer lay brothers were being employed. This gave the order a degree of financial stability that was, however, partly based on practices which violated the

dictates of the *Exordium Parvum*.

By the turn of the thirteenth century, the simplicity of the earliest houses had given way to much more elaborate work. This may still be seen at Rievaulx and Fountains where the restraint of the first churches may be compared with the eastern extensions where that restraint has all but disappeared. Simplicity and purity are at an end.

CONCLUSION

As stated in the Introduction, this paper examines the factors
which caused early English Cistercian architecture to be both plain and
simple.

The problem of determining causal factors is complex, since the
severity of Cistercian architecture was not merely the result of St. Ber-
nard's artistic views, but rather the product of interrelationships of
economic, political, spiritual and intellectual factors.

Although the Gregorian Reform attempted to free the Church of
secular interference in purely religious matters, its effect was to secu-
larize the Church. This created a paradoxical situation, because the Papacy
actively promoted the development of various monastic groups. The division
of interest was later to erode the spiritual development of certain monas-
tic foundations created in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By its
actions, the Papacy made it difficult for monks to practise their vocation.
Instead of fleeing to the "desert", as they originally intended, the monks
became enmeshed in secular affairs.

The Cistercians set for themselves an ideal that was no longer
practicable in the twelfth century. They determined to free themselves from
the intricate economic structure that the older orders had developed. Over
the years, these older foundations had disregarded the concept of self-

sufficiency that was a major element of the Benedictine Rule. By returning to the letter of the Rule, the Cistercians hoped to accomplish more fully the aim of monasticism.

Unfortunately, the realities of twelfth century life did not allow this. The feudal system made it necessary for each foundation to depend on the nobility for donations of land and support; thus, self-sufficiency was unlikely to be attained.

The problem was severe in England, where the land could not support an agricultural system that would provide self-sufficient units. It became the practice of English Cistercians to produce cash crops such as wool. To sell their produce necessarily carried them back to the secular world. During the twelfth century at least, the English Cistercians were without money revenues other than those gained from the sale of their products on the open markets. More land was needed to support the large numbers of recruits; likewise, requirements for church and conventual building space increased. In striving for ever-expanding grants of land, the order became involved in problems which had no relationship with monastic life. By the turn of the thirteenth century, they possessed much land and various resources but relatively little ready cash. The resources which they had allowed them to borrow money fairly heavily, suggesting that the order did not have the funds available to pay for the major building programmes that they conducted. Their revenue was further reduced in the latter part of the twelfth century by the exactions of the Crown. Although the Crown demanded money from the Cistercians, they accepted instead large quantities of wool.

The monastic chronicles which still remain to us indicate that the houses in England were very much concerned with the things of this world.

They continually struggled to gain land and once they had it, attempted
to maintain their hold on it.

The Cistercians were caught in a struggle. On one hand the order
maintained high spiritual ideals, while on the other it desired prosperity.
The two would not mix.

Initially the Cistercians were motivated to live the Benedictine
Rule to the letter. They had created for themselves a solid body of legis-
lation which stated in concise fashion the aims of the order. Part of that
legislation ensured that no house became pre-eminent. Through continual
yearly meetings the order attempted to check on the observance of the Rule
throughout the order. This is of particular importance in our discussion
since we can see that any rule concerning art necessarily had to emanate
from the yearly General Chapter. The legislation system did not allow any
one man to dictate to the order the ideas which he held.

When reviewing the literature on English monasticism, we see
that Graves, Donnelly and Knowles all found that, though still financially
unsound, the Cistercians had departed from the original spirit of the order
with regard to economic practices by the end of the twelfth century. The
Exordium Parvum was specific in its demand that no house accept tithes,
serfs, mills, or any sources of income that were not specifically mentioned
in the Benedictine Rule. But with the expansion of the order it was neces-
sary to support the large numbers and the only way to do this was to par-
take in economic activities other than those of simple agrarianism.

I have deliberately made much of how the Cistercians departed
from their rules. Art historians have consistently stated that Cistercian
art was severe because the order's rules demanded it. But, if the order was
going to disregard the very concise legislation laid down in its principal

documents, why should it not evade those regulations concerning art and architecture?

It is possible that had the order been in a better financial position in the latter half of the twelfth century, it would have adopted a more ornate form of architecture.

Although I have stated that the order's architecture was the outcome of major economic considerations, it would be unwise to disregard other essential factors that had played a part in the formation of that art. The spiritual factor must not be eliminated in any discussion of the English Cistercians. Although they had taken the easier path in their economic life, there is little reason to believe that the order had collapsed spiritually. Certainly there is good reason to believe that the Cistercians were still practising their vocation at the end of the twelfth century. This being the case, the influences of that spirituality would necessarily have some part to play in the planning and construction of their monastic houses.

In the end any view of English Cistercian architecture must attempt to weld the various parts of the order's history with the visual remains that are left to us. Taking such a position forces us to realize that a definitive analysis of the motivating factors that determined the shape that Cistercian architecture took is unlikely. For those factors were complicated and there is no single answer to the question. We may, however, gain a clearer insight into the order's history.

CHAPTER II

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   C.W. Hollister, ed., The Twelfth Century Renaissance. Yew York, Wiley, 1969.

2. Henri Pirenne, A History of Europe. Vol. I. New York, Doubleday, 1956, p. 154.

3. See, G. Tellenbach, Church, State and Christian Society. London, Blackwell, 1966.

4. H. Pirenne, op-cit., p. 166.

5. Ibid., p. 167.

6. Ibid., p. 171.

7. David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1963, pp. 273-74. (Hereafter this title will be cited as M.O.)

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12. I Corinthians 9:24-27.

13. Ephesians 5:14.

14. See, D. Knowles, M.O., pp. 191-207.

15. _Ibid._, p. 210.

16. The account of the departure from Molesme and the early days at Citeaux is given in the _Exordium coenobii cisterciensis_ also known as the _Exordium Parvum_ (See Appendix A). Find this in J. Migne, Patrologiae series Latina, Vol 166, col 501.

17. W.A. Parker-Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order". Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, London, Vol. XIX, 1905, pp. 169 - 207.

18. _Ibid._, p. 174.

19. For a discussion concerning the constitutional origins of the Cistercian Order see, Jean-Berthold Mahn, L'Ordre Cistercien et son Gouvernement Des Origines au Milieu Du XIIIe Siecle (1098-1265). Deuxième Edition, Paris, Boccard, 1951.

20. _Ibid._, pp. 44-59

21. _Ibid._, pp. 40-70. See also D. Knowles, M.O., pp. 752-753.

22. _Ibid._, pp. 208-216.

23. J. Mahn, op. cit., pp. 197-228.

24. D. Knowles, M.O., p. 209.

25. _Ibid._, p. 209

26. _Ibid._, p. 210.

27. See _Exordium Parvum_ (Appendix A).

28. See _Exordium Parvum_ (Appendix A).

29. See _Exordium Parvum_ (Appendix A).

30. See, J.S. Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Lay-Brotherhood. New York, 1949.

31. Lay brothers were employed at Camaldoli in the eleventh century.

32. W.A. Parker-Mason, op. cit., p. 190.

33. _Ibid._, p. 188.

34. _Ibid._, p. 190.

35. _Ibid._, p. 190.

36. See, J. Donnelly, "Changes in the Grange Economy of English and Welsh Cistercian Abbeys, 1300-1540", Traditio, Vol. X, 1954, pp. 399-458.

37. See, J.S. Donnelly, <u>The Decline of</u> .....

38. See Appendix A.

39. See, J.S. Donnelly, <u>The Decline of</u> ....., p.38

40. See, C. Graves, "The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England (1128-1307)", <u>Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis</u>, Vol. 13, 1957, pp. 45-54.

41. See, M. Aubert, <u>L'Architecture Cistercienne en France</u>, Paris, Vanoest, 1947, p. 17-20.

42. See, A. Dopsch, <u>The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization</u>, London, Routledge, 1937.

43. See, J.S. Donnelly, <u>The Decline of</u> ....., p. 41.

44. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 41.

45. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 44.

46. Instead of working new aquisitions, the Cistercians turned to leasing land.

47. C. Graves, <u>op. cit</u>., pp. 4-5.

48. J.S. Donnelly, "Changes in the Grange Economy.....", <u>op. cit</u>., pp 405-426, 451-458.

49. C. Graves, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 19.

50. See, A.J. Luddy, <u>Life and Teaching of St. Bernard</u>, 2nd Ed., Dublin, Gill, 1937.

51. See, William of St. Thierry et al., <u>St. Bernard of Clairvaux</u>, London, Mowbray, 1960, p. 36.

52. See, Dom Cuthbert Butler, <u>Western Mysticism</u>, London, Constable, 1967, pp. 95-198.

53. D. Knowles, <u>M.O.</u>, p. 219.

54. E. Gilson, <u>The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard</u>, London, Sheed, 1955, p. 85.

55. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 91.

56. Dom Butler, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 99.

57. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 99.

58. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 99.

59. See Introduction to, B.S. James, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, as seen through His Selected Letters, Chicago, 1953.

60. Ibid., Introduction.

61. Those secular matters that Bernard deals with all have religious implications.

62. J.S. Donnelly, The Decline of ....., p. 44.

63. Hayden V. White, "Gregorian Ideal and St. Bernard", Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. 21, 1960, p. 342.

64. Erwin Panofsky, Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Treasures, Princeton, at the University Press, 1946, p.

65. Bernard of Clairvaux, The Steps of Humility, translated from the Latin by G. Webb, London, Mowbray, 1957.
Bernard of Clairvaux, On Loving God, translated by a Religious of C.S.M.V., London, Mowbray, 1961.

66. M. Aubert, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

67. Ibid., p. 15.

68. Ibid., p. 16.

CHAPTER III

1. The various charters and cartularies of Cistercian houses provide a fairly good index to the state of spirituality that existed.

2. E. Gilson, op. cit., p. 8.

3. See, J.S. Donnelly, The Decline of .....
J.S. Donnelly, Changes in the Grange Economy .....
C. Graves, op. cit., pp. 3-60.
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4. B.D. Hill, op. cit., p. 79.

5. See, G.B. Adams, The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John (1066-1216), New York, Greenwood, 1905.
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H.A. Cronne, The Reign of Stephen, 1135-1154 - Anarchy in England, London, Weidenfeld, 1970.
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6. Alice Cooke, "The Settlement of the Cistercians in England", English Historical Review, Vol. VIII, 1893.

7. For figures on this matter see D. Knowles, <u>M.O.</u>, p. 246-248.

8. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 248.

9. B. Hill, <u>op-cit.</u>, p. 24.

10. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 10.

11. R. Davis, <u>op-cit.</u>, pp. 100-1, 104.

12. See, J.C. Robertson,"Materials for the history of Thomas Becket," 7 Vols., <u>Rolls Series</u>, London, 1875-85.

13. A.L. Poole, <u>From the Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216</u>. London, Oxford, 1955, p. 187.

14. G.O. Sayles, <u>Medieval Foundations of England</u>. London, Methuen, 1964.

15. D. Knowles, <u>M.O.</u>, pp. 191-227.

16. B. Hill, <u>op-cit.</u>, p. 55.

17. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 56.

18. D. Knowles, <u>M.O.</u>, pp. 564-74, 656-7.

19. B. Hill, <u>op-cit.</u>, p. 26.

20. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 35.

21. This means that the land was given to a religious corporation free of any temporal services.

22. B. Hill, <u>op-cit.</u>, p. 40.

23. D. Knowles, <u>op-cit.</u>, pp. 607-12, also Appendix XV of <u>M.O.</u>

24. See, D.H. Williams, <u>The Welsh Cistercians -- Aspects of their Economic History</u>. Pontypool, Griffin, 1969.

25. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa a Fundatione usque ad annum 1396, ed., E.A. Bond, London, 1866-68, <u>Rolls Series</u>, p. 178, V. I.

26. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 350.

27. J. Donnelly, <u>Changes in...</u>, p. 412.

28. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 412.

29. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 412.

30. See, 25.

31. A. Earle, <u>Essays upon the History of Meaux Abbey and some Principles of Mediaeval Land Tenure</u>. London, 1906, p. 11.

32. _Ibid._, p. 11.

33. _Ibid._, p. 117.

34. _Ibid._, p. 117.

35. C. Graves, _op-cit._, p. 6; Also, J. Donnelly, "Changes in...", p. 412-414.

36. A. Earle, _op-cit._, p. 158.

37. C. Graves, _op-cit._, p. 7.

38. _Ibid._, pp. 7-8.

39. _Ibid._, p. 8.

40. _Ibid._, p. 8.

41. _Ibid._, p. 9.

42. _Ibid._, p. 10.

43. _Ibid._, p. 11.

44. D. Knowles, _M.O._, p. 656; Also, C. Graves, _op-cit._, p. 9.

45. _Ibid._, p. 11.

46. D. Knowles, _M.O._, p. 355.

47. _Ibid._, p. 355.

48. _Ibid._, p. 355.

49. _Ibid._, p. 355.

50. C. Graves, _op-cit._, p. 12.

51. _Ibid._, p. 12.

52. _Ibid._, p. 10.

53. D. Knowles, _The Religious Orders in England._ Cambridge, 1950, p. 65.
    (Hereafter known as _R.O._)

54. _Ibid._, p. 70.

55. _Ibid._, p. 66.

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57. C. Graves, _op-cit._, p. 21.

58. D. Knowles, R.O., p. 67.

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60. See, H. Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe. New York, 1956.

61. D. Knowles, R.O., p. 68.

62. Ibid., p. 68.

63. C. Graves, op-cit., p. 29.

64. Ibid., p. 14.

65. Ibid., p. 58.

66. Ibid., p. 16.

67. D. Williams, op-cit., p. 78.

68. C. Graves, op-cit., p. 18.

69. Ibid., p. 18.

70. Ibid., p. 18.

71. Ibid., p. 18.

72. D. Williams, op-cit., pp. 78-79.

73. C. Graves, op-cit., p. 19.

74. Ibid., p. 32.

75. Ibid., p. 32.

76. Ibid., p. 33.

77. Ibid., p. 34.

78. Ibid., p. 34.

79. Chronica monasterii de Melsa..., Vol. I., p. XXIV.

80. Ibid., p. XXIV.

81. Ibid., p. XXVIII.

82. Ibid., p. XXVIII.

83. Ibid., p. XXVIII.

84. See, W.L. Warren, <u>King John</u>. New York, Norton, 1961.

85. C. Graves, <u>op-cit</u>., p. 37.

86. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 37.

87. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 39.

88. In order to comprehend the nature of this collapse one should read St. Bernard's <u>Treatise on Humility</u> and compare it with the Chronicles of Meaux.

<u>CHAPTER IV</u>

1. Marcel Aubert, <u>L'Architecture Cistercienne en France</u>. Paris, Vanoest, 1947, 2 Vols.

2. M.-Anselme Dimier, <u>Recueil de Plans d'Eglises Cisterciennes</u>. Paris, 1949.

3. The placing of Cistercian houses far from towns and villages followed the terms of the Benedictine Rule. It is also a rule found in the *Exordium Parvum*.

4. M. Aubert, <u>op-cit</u>., p. 89, Vol. I.

5. D. Knowles and J. St. Joseph, <u>Monastic Sites from the Air</u>. Cambridge, 1952, p. xix.

6. D. Knowles, <u>Monastic Sites...</u>, p. xix.

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CHAPTER V

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3. These are Dore, Hulme Cultram and Margam.

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EXORDIUM CISTERCIENSIS CENOBII

"...From henceforth, this abbot and his brethern, not forgetting their undertaking, unanimously decided to adopt and maintain in that place the Rule of the Blessed Benedict, rejecting all that was contrary to the Rule, that is to say the fur garments and mantels, the linen, the combs, the mattresses on the beds, and also the variety of dishes at meals in the refectory, down to the rich gravies, and in general everything that was contrary to the purity of the Rule. Thus, applying the strictness of the Rule to every detail of their life, both over ecclesiastical and other observances, they adapted themselves and conformed to the Rule in every detail (regulae vestigiis). And so, having put off the old man, they rejoiced to put on the new man. And because they did not find it in the Rule or in the life of St. Benedict that the master had possessed churches or alters, or offerings, or burial grounds, or tithes of other men, neither ovens, nor mills, nor distant manors, nor peasants, nor that women ever came into his monastery, nor that he buried the dead there, except in the case of his own sister, they renounced all these things, saying that when St. Benedict said 'that the monk should make himself a stranger to the activities of the world' (chapter IV of the Rule) he bore clear witness to the fact that these things should no longer have any place in the activities or in the hearts of monks, who ought to conform themselves to the etymological origin of their name by fleeing from them.

Moreover, they said that tithes had been divided into four parts by the holy fathers, who were the organ of the Holy Spirit and whose ordinances cannot be broken without committing sacrilege; one part for the bishop, one for the priest, the third for strangers who visited the church or for widows or orphans or for the poor who had no other means of support, and the fourth for the upkeep of the church. Since this division makes no mention of the monk who has his land on which he can live by his own labour and that of his beasts, they condemned the use of tithes as a right usurped from others.

And because the holy men knew that the Blessed Benedict had not built his monasteries in cities, towns, or villages, but in places far from the haunts of men, they resolved to do the same. And as he ordained that monasteries should be composed of a dozen monks with their abbot, so they decided to do."

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CARTA CARITATIS

Before the Cistercian abbeys began to flourish, the lord abbot, Stephen, and his monks ordained that abbeys were on no account to be established in the diocese of any bishop prior to his ratification and confirmation of the decree drawn up in writing between the abbey of Citeaux and its daughter-houses, in order to avoid occasion of offence between the bishop and the monks. In this decree, therefore, the aforesaid brethren, guarding against possible dangers to their mutual peace, have made clear and established and handed down to later generations in what manner and by what agreement, nay rather, with what 'love' the monks of their Order, though separated in body in abbeys in divers parts of the world, might be knit together inseparably in spirit. Moreover, they were of the opinion that this decree should be called the 'Charter of Love' because it casts off the burden of all exactions, pursues love alone and promotes the welfare of souls in things human and divine.

I. Inasmuch as we are known to be servants of the One True King, Lord and Master, albeit unprofitable, we therefore make no claim for worldly advantage or temporal gain on our abbots and brother monks, whom in divers places devotion to God shall call through us, the most wretched of men, to live under regular discipline. For, in our desire for their profit and that of all sons of the Holy Church, we are not disposed to diminish their substance, lest in striving to grow rich at their expense, we may not escape the sin of avarice, which is declared by the apostle to be servitude to idols.

II. Nevertheless we desire for love's sake to retain the cure of their souls, so that if they shall essay to swerve from their sacred purpose and the observance of the Holy Rule -- which God forbid -- they may through our solicitude return to righteousness of life.

III. We will therefore command them to observe the Rule of St. Benedict in all things as it is observed in the new monastery. Let the monks put no other interpretation upon the Holy Rule but what the holy fathers, our predecessors, namely the monks of the minster, have understood and maintained; and as we today understand and uphold it, so let them do also.

IV. And inasmuch as we receive in our cloister all the monks of their houses who come to us, and they likewise receive ours in theirs, so it seems good to us and in accordance with our will that they should maintain the customary ceremonial, chants and all books necessary for the canonical offices, both by day and by night, and for the Mass, after the form of the customs and books of the new minster, so that there be no

discord in our worship, but that we may all dwell in one love and under one rule and with like customs.

V. No church or person of our Order shall presume to solicit from anyone a privilege contrary to the common customs of the Order, or in any wise retain it, if it has been granted.

VI. When the abbot of the new minster shall come on a visitation to one of these houses, let the abbot of the place recognize the church of the new minster as his mother-house and give place to him in all the precincts of the monastery, and let the visiting abbot take the place of the abbot of that house, so long as he remains there.

VII. Except that he shall not take his meals in the guest-room, but in the refectory with the brethren, that discipline may be preserved, unless the abbot of the house be absent. Likewise let it be done in the case of all abbots of our Order who may chance to come on a visit. But if several shall come at the same time, and the abbot of the house shall, even when a greater abbot is present, bless his own novices after the regular term of probation.

VIII. But let the abbot of the new minster be careful not to presume in any wise to conduct or order the affairs of the house he is visiting, or meddle in them, against the will of the abbot or the brethren.

IX. But if he learns that the precepts of the Rule or of our Order are transgressed in the said house, let him be diligent to correct the brethren lovingly, and with the advice and in the presence of the abbot. Even if the abbot be absent, he shall nevertheless correct what he has found wrong therein.

X. Once a year let the abbot of the mother-church visit all the houses of his foundation either in person or through one of his co-abbots. And if he shall visit the brethren more often let them the more rejoice.

XI. Moreover, let the abbey of Citeaux be visited by the four primary abbots, namely of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond, together in person on such a day as they may choose, except that appointed for the holding of the annual chapter, unless perchance one of them be prevented by grievous sickness.

XII. When any abbot of our Order shall come to the new minster, let fitting reverence be shown to him; let him occupy the abbot's stall and take his meals in the guest-room if the abbot is absent. But if the abbot be present, let him do none of these things, but let him dine in the refectory. Let the prior of the abbey take charge of its affairs.

XIII. Between abbeys having no direct relationship with each other, this shall be the rule. Let every abbot give place to his co-abbot within the precincts of his monastery that the saying may be fulfilled, 'in honour preferring one another.' If two or more abbots shall come to the monastery, the superior in rank shall take precedence of the others.

But let them all take their meals together in the refectory, except the abbot of the house, as stated above. But whenever they meet on other occasions, they shall maintain their rank in accordance with the seniority of their abbeys, so that he whose church is of older foundation, shall take precedence of the others. Whenever they take their seats together, let each humble himself before the others.

XIV. But when any of our churches has by God's grace so increased that it is able to establish a new house, let the two houses maintain the same relationship between them as obtains between us and our brethren, except that they shall not hold an annual chapter among themselves.

XV. But all the abbots of our Order shall without fail attend each year the General Chapter at Citeaux, with the sole exception of those detained by bodily infirmity. The latter, however, ought to appoint a suitable delegate, by whom the reason for their absence may be reported to the Chapter. An exception may also be made for those who dwell in distant lands; let them attend at the intervals appointed for them in the Chapter. But if, and when, on any other occasion any abbot shall presume to absent himself from our General Chapter, let him crave pardon for his fault at the Chapter held in the following year; let his absence not be passed over without serious attention being paid to it.

XVI. In this General Chapter let the abbots take measures for the salvation of their souls, and if anything in the observance of the Holy Rule or of the Order ought to be amended or supplemented, let them ordain it and re-establish the bond of peace and charity among themselves.

A LIST OF THE CISTERCIAN AND SAVIGNIAC
FOUNDATIONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1124-1437

	CISTERCIAN	SAVIGNIAC
1123		Furness (4 July)
1128	Waverly (24 Nov.)	
1130		Neath (25 Oct.)
1131	Tintern (9 May)	Basingwerk (11 July)
1132	Rievaulx (5 Mar.)	Quarr (27 Apr.)
	Fountains (27 Dec.)	
1133	Garendon (28 Oct.)	
1135		Combermere (3 Nov.)
		Calder, Rushen (10 Jan.)
		Swineshead (1 Feb.)
		Strata Langthorn (25 July)
		Buildwas (8 Aug.)
1136	Melrose (23 Mar.)	Buckfast (27 Apr.)
	Ford (3 May)	
	Warden (8 Dec.)	
1137	Thame (22 July)	
1138	Bordesley (22 Nov.)	Byland (Sept.)
1139	Newminster (5 Jan.)	
	Kirkstead, Louth Park (2 Feb.)	
1140	Whitland (16 Sept.)	Coggeshall (3 Aug.)
1141	Stoneleigh (?)	
1142	Revesby (9 Aug.)	
1143	Cwmhir (22 July)	
	Pipewell (13 Sept.)	
	Boxley (28 Oct.)	
1145	Woburn (28 May)	
1146	Rufford (13 July)	
1147	Dore (26 Apr.)	
	Kirkstall (19 May)	
	Vaudey (23 May)	
	Bittlesden, Bruerne (10 July)	
	Roche (30 July)	
	Sawtry (31 July)	
	Margam (21 Nov.)	
1148	Sawley (6 Jan.)	
	Merevale (10 Oct.)	
1150	Sibton (22 Feb.)	
	Jervaulx (10 Mar.)	
	Combe (10 July)	
	Holm Cultram (30 Dec.)	

YEAR	CISTERCIAN
1151	Meaux (1 Jan.)
	Flaxley (30 Sept.)
	Stanley (?)
1153	Dieulacres (12 May)
	Tiltey (22 Sept.)
1164	Strata Florida (1 June)
1170	Strata Marcella (22 July)
1172	Bindon (22 Or 27 Sept.)
	Whalley (11 Nov.)
1176	Croxden (?)
	Robertsbridge (29 Mar.)
1179	Caerleon (22 July)
1186	Aberconway (24 July)
1198	Cleeve (25 June)
	Cymmer (year's end)
1201	Valle Crucis (28 Jan.)
	Dunkeswell (16 Nov.)
1204	Beaulieu (13 June)
1212	Medmenham (18 June)
1219	Hulton (26 July)
1226	Grace Dieu (24 Apr.)
1239	Betley (25 July)
1246	Hayles (17 June)
1247	Newenham (6 Jan.)
1274	Vale Royal (14 Jan.)
1280	Buckland (?)
1281	Rewley (11 Dec.)
1350	St. Mary Graces, London (20 Mar.)
1437	St. Bernard's College, Oxford (?)

"APOLOGIA" TO WILLIAM, ABBOT OF ST.-THIERRY

"....But these are small things; I will pass on to matters greater in themselves, yet seeming smaller because they are more usual. I say naught of the vast height of your churches, their immoderate length, their superfluous breadth, the costly polishings, the curious carvings and paintings which attract the worshipper's gaze and hinder his attention, and seem to me in some sort of revival of the ancient Jewish rites. Let this pass, however: say that this is done for God's honour. But I say, as a monk, ask of my brother monks as the pagan (poet Persius) asked of his fellow-pagans: "Tell me, O Pontiffs" (quoth he) "what doeth this gold in the sanctuary?" So say I, "Tell me, ye poor men" (for I break the verse to keep the sense) "tell me, ye poor (if, indeed, ye be poor), what doeth this gold in 'your' sanctuary?" And indeed the bishops have an excuse which monks have not; for we know that they, being debtors both to the wise and the unwise, and unable to excite the devotion of carnal folk by spiritual things, do so by bodily adornments. But we (monks) who have now come forth from the people; we who have left all the precious and beautiful things of the world for Christ's sake; who have counted but dung, that we may win Christ, all things fair to see or soothing to hear, sweet to smell, delightful to taste, or pleasant to touch -- in a word, all bodily delights -- whose devotion, pray, do we monks intend to excite by these things? What profit, I say, do we expect therefrom? The admiration of fools, or the oblations of the simple? Or, since we are scattered among the nations, have we perchance learnt their works and do we yet serve their graven images? To speak plainly, doth the root of all this lie in covetousness, which is idolatry, and do we seek not profit? If though askest: "How?" I say: "In a strange fashion". For money is so artfully scattered that it may multiply; it is expended that it may give increase, and prodigality giveth birth to plenty: for at the very sight of these costly yet marvelous vanities men are more kindled to offer gifts than to pray. Thus wealth is drawn up by ropes of wealth, thus money bringeth money; for I know not how it is that, wheresoever more abundant wealth is seen, there do men offer more freely. Their eyes are feasted with relics cased in gold, and their purse-strings are loosed. They are shown a most comely image of some saint, whom they think all the more saintly that he is the more gaudily painted. Men run to kiss him, and are invited to give; there is more admiration for his comeliness than veneration for his sanctity. Hence the church is adorned with gemmed crowns of light -- nay, with lustres like cart-wheels, girt all round with lamps, but no less-brilliant with the precious stones that stud them. Moreover we see candelabra standing like trees of massive bronze, fashioned with marvelous subtlety of art, and glistening no less brightly with gems than with the lights they carry. What, think you, is the purpose of all this? The compunction of penitents, or the admiration of the beholders? O vanity of vanities, yet no more vain than insane!

The church is resplendent in her walls, beggarly in her poor; she
clothes her stones in gold, and leaves her sons naked; the rich man's
eye is fed at the expense of the indigent. The curious find their de-
light here, yet the needy find no relief. Do we not revere at least the
images of the Saints, which swarm even in the inlaid pavement wheron we
tread? Men spit oftentimes in the Angel's face; often, again, the
countenance of some Saint is ground under the heel of a passer-by. And
if he spare not these sacred images, why not even the fair colours? Why
dost thou make so fair which will soon be made so foul? Why lavish
bright hues upon that which must needs be trodden under foot? What avail
these comely forms in places where they are defiled with customary dust?
And, lastly, what are such things as these to you poor men, you monks, you
spiritual folk? Unless perchance here also ye may answer the poet's
question in the words of the Psalmist: "Lord I have loved the habitation
of Thy House and the place where Thine honour dwelleth." I grant it, then,
let us suffer even this to be done in the church; for, though it be harm-
ful to vain and covetous folk, yet not so to the simple and devout. But
in the cloister, under the eyes of the Brethren who read there, what profit
is there in those ridiculous monsters, in that marvelous and deformed come-
liness, that comely deformity? To what purpose are those unclean apes,
those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half-men, those striped
tigers, those fighting knights, those hunters winding their horns? Many
bodies are there seen under one head, or again, many heads to a single
body. Here is a four-footed beast with a serpent's tail; there a fish with
a beast's head. Here again the forepart of a horse trails half a goat be-
hind it, or a horned beast bears the hinder quarters of a horse. In short,
so many and so marvelous are the varieties of divers shapes on every hand,
that we are more tempted to read in the marble than in our books, and to
spend the whole day in wondering at these things rather than in meditating
the law of God. For God's sake, if men are not ashamed of these follies,
why at least do they not shrink from the expense?

The abundance of my matter suggested much more for me to add;
but from this I am distracted both by my own anxious business and by the
too hasty departure of Brother Oger (the bearer of this letter) ....
This is my opinion of your Order and mine; nor can any man testify more
truly than you, and those who know me as you do, that I am wont to say
these things not about you but to your faces. What in your Order is
laudable, that I praise and publish abroad; what is reprehensible, I am
wont to persuade you and my other friends to amend. This is no detrac-
tion, but rather attraction: wherefor I wholly pray and beseech you to
do the same by me. Farewell."

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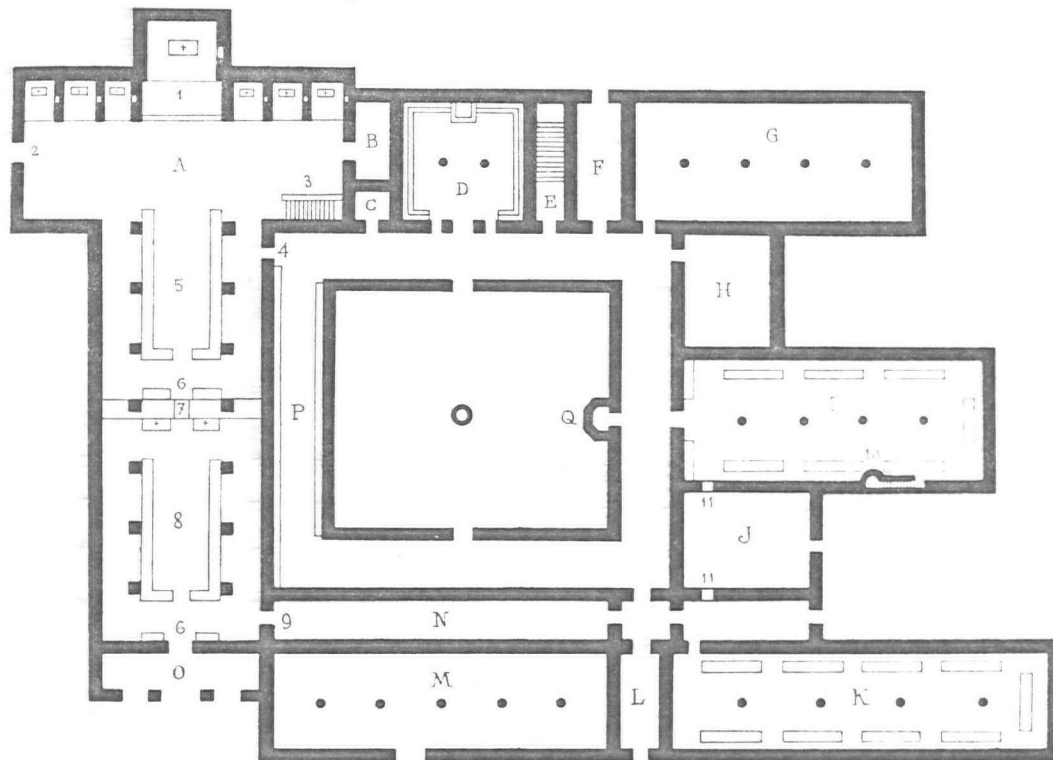
A. Church
B. Sacristy
C. 'Armarium' or book closet
D. Chapter House
E. Stairs to monks dorter
F. 'Auditorium' or parlour
G. Monks room
H. Warming room
I. Monks refectory
J. Kitchen
K. Lay brothers refectory
L. Passage
M. 'Cellarium'
N. Lay brothers court
O. Narthex
P. Cloister
Q. 'Lavabo'

1. Sanctuary
2. Door to the cemetery
3. Stairs to the dorter
4. Monks door
5. Monks choir
6. Benches for the infirm
7. Rood Screen
8. Lay brothers choir
9. Lay brothers door
10. Reader's pulpit
11. Passage

FIGURE 1: THE CISTERCIAN PLAN

FIGURE 2: FONTENAY (cote d'Or)

1140-1160

v. 1185-1205

XVIIe - XVIIIe s.

PONTIGNY

FIGURE 3: PONTIGNY (Yonne)

XII.ᵉ s., 3ᵉ quart   Fin du XII.ᵉ s.

XII.ᵉ s., 4ᵉ quart   Fin XII.ᵉ s., reconstruit au XVII.ᵉ.

XVII.ᵉ s.
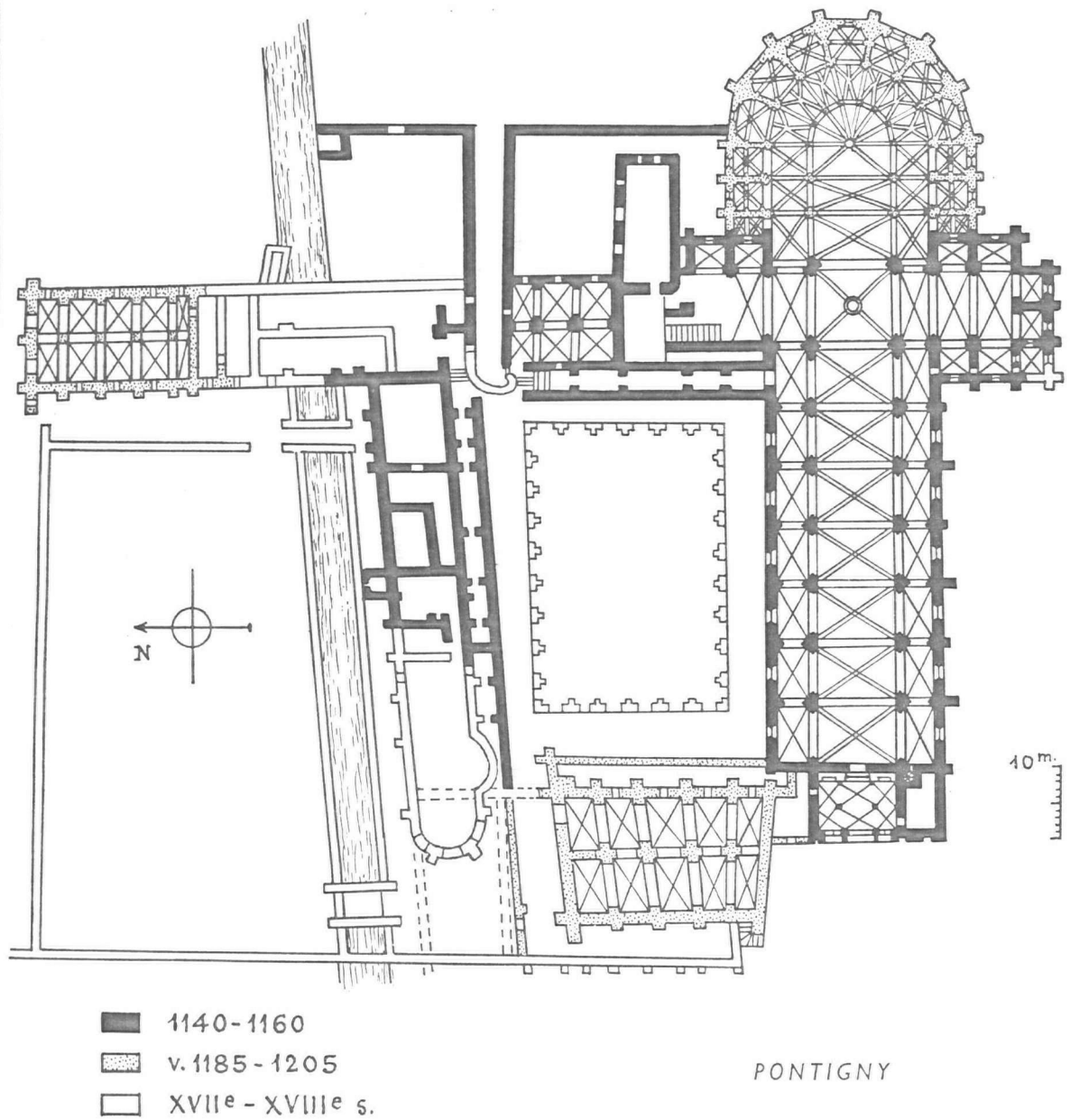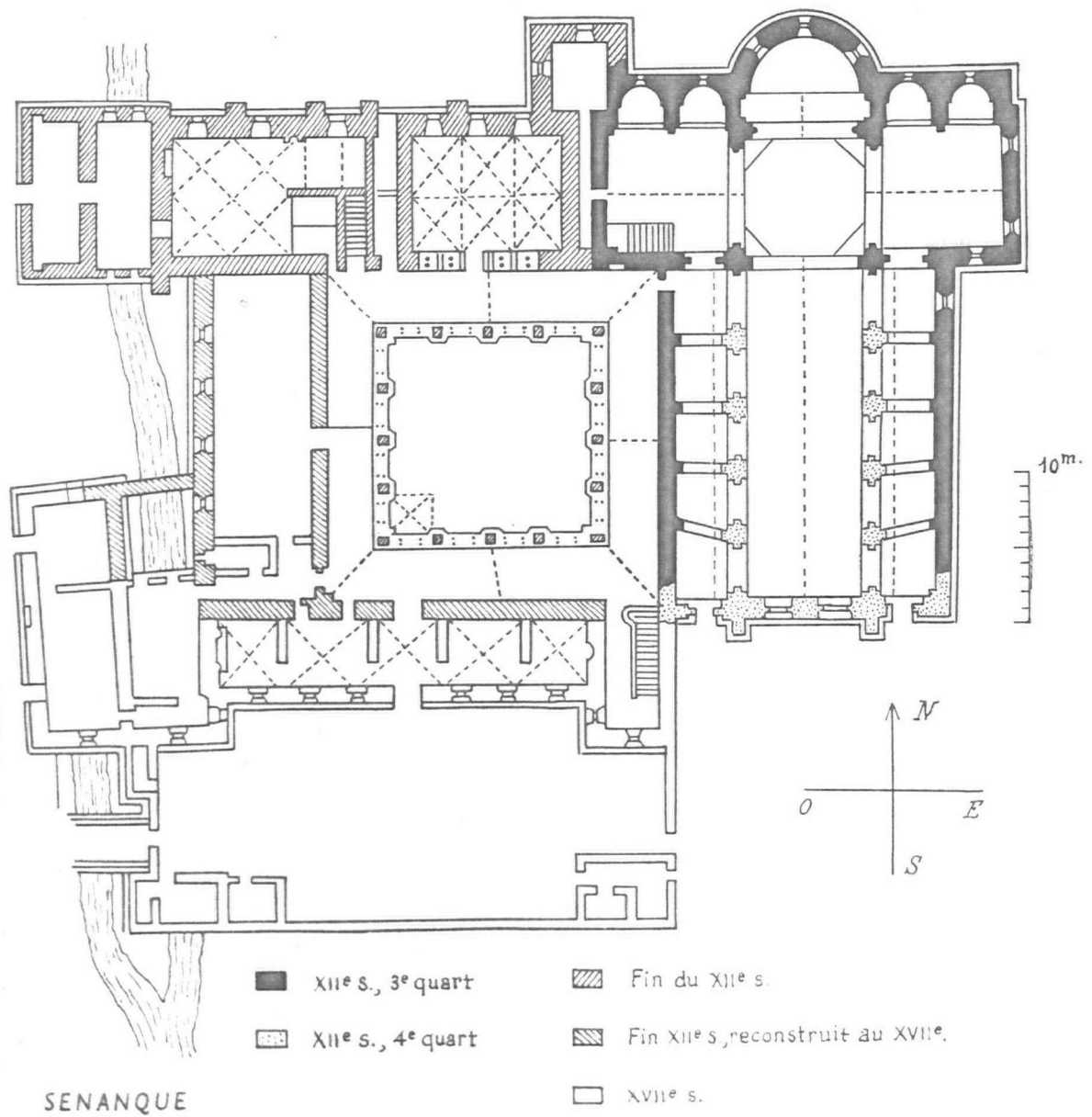
SENANQUE

FIGURE 4: SENANQUE

FLARAN

1180-1210
début XIVᵉ s.
fin XVᵉ s.
fin XVIᵉ, XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ
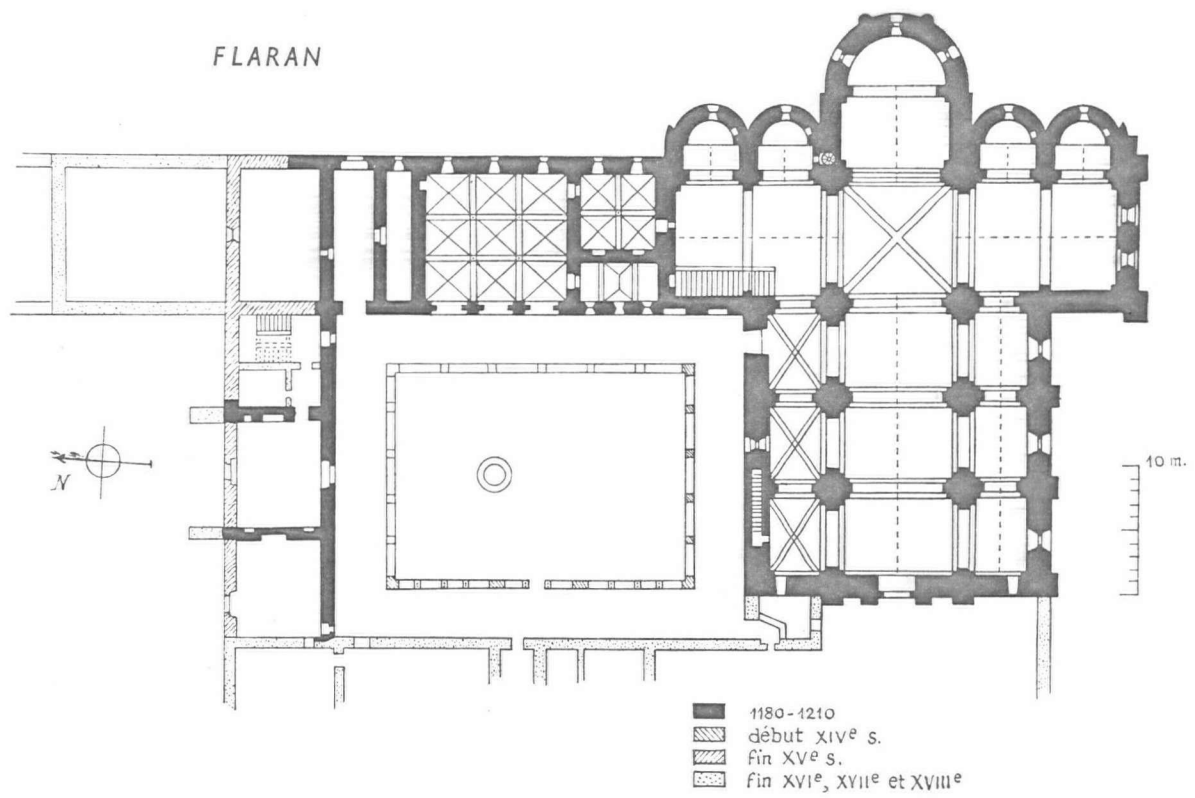
FIGURE 5:   FLARAN
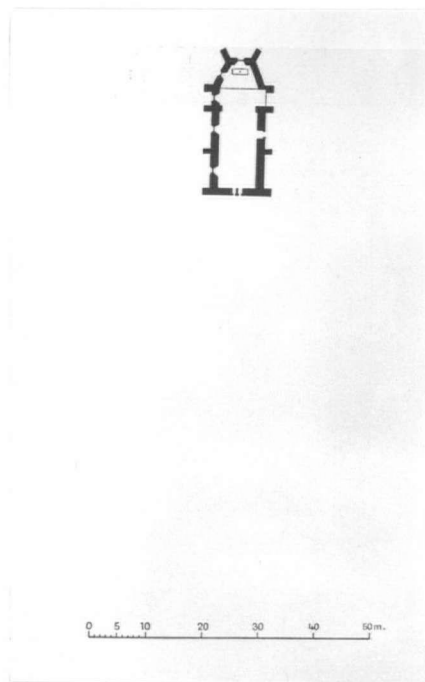
FIGURE 6: CITEAUX - I
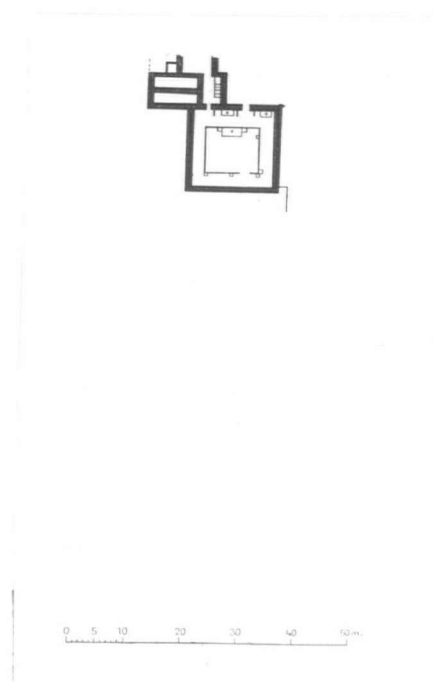
FIGURE 7: CLAIRVAUX - I
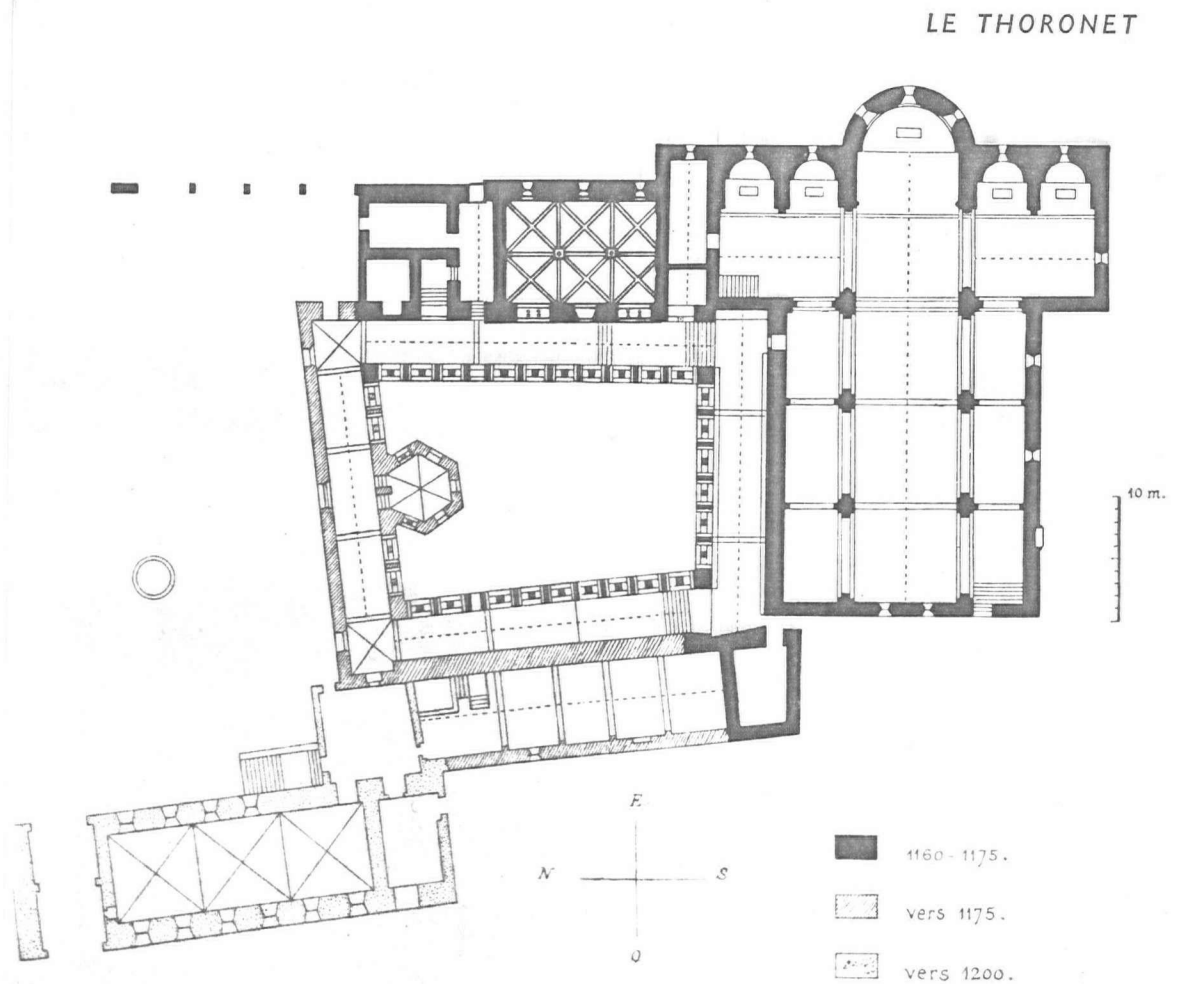
FIGURE 8:   LE THORONET
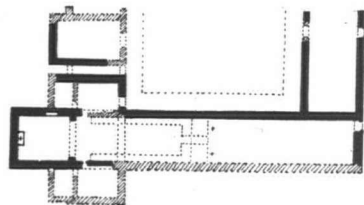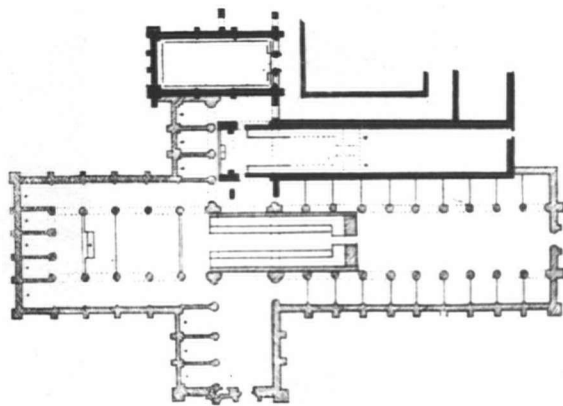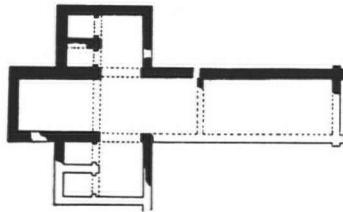
FIGURE 11: TINTERN I

FIGURE 10: WAVERLY II

FIGURE 9: WAVERLY I

FIGURE 12: RIEVAULX
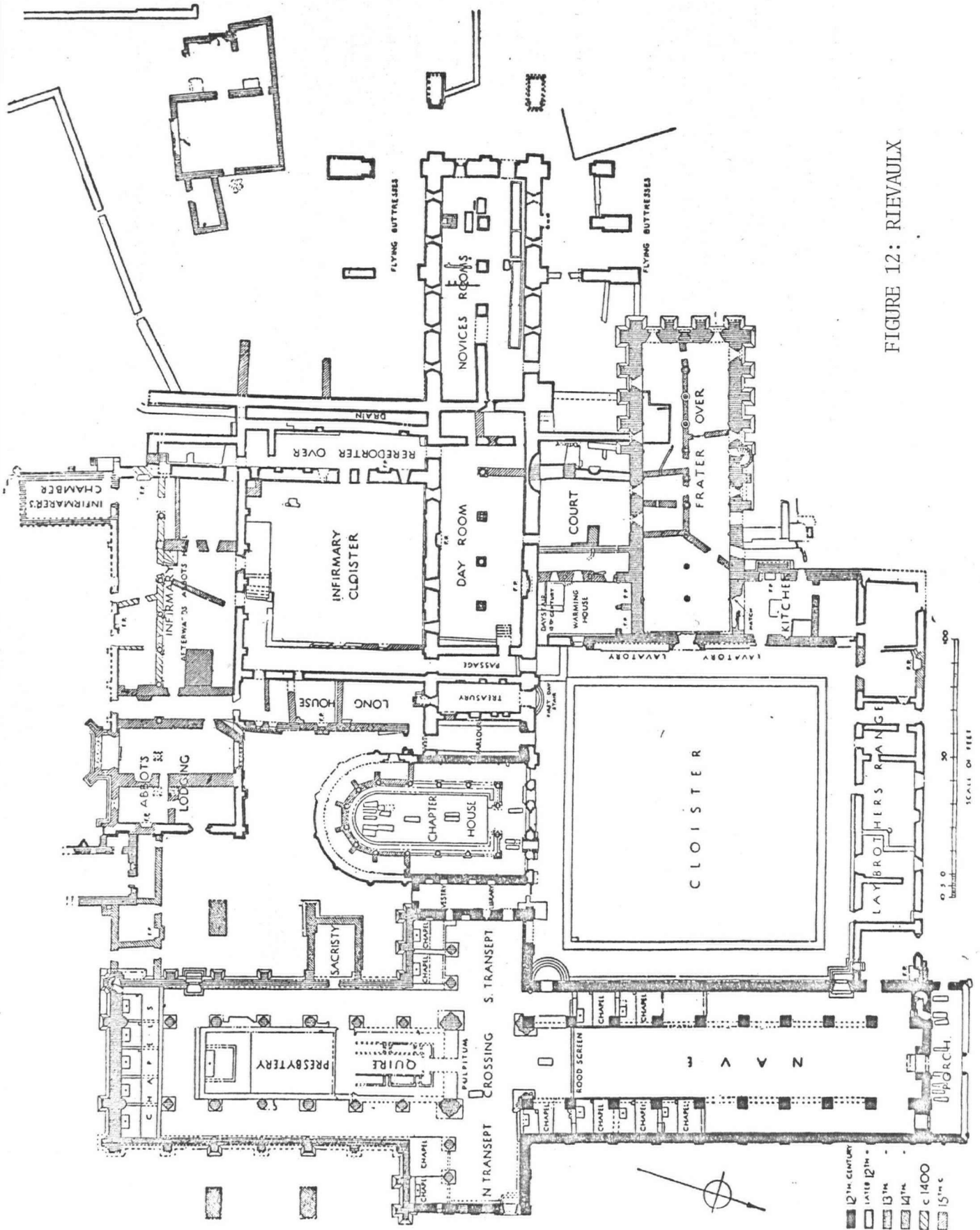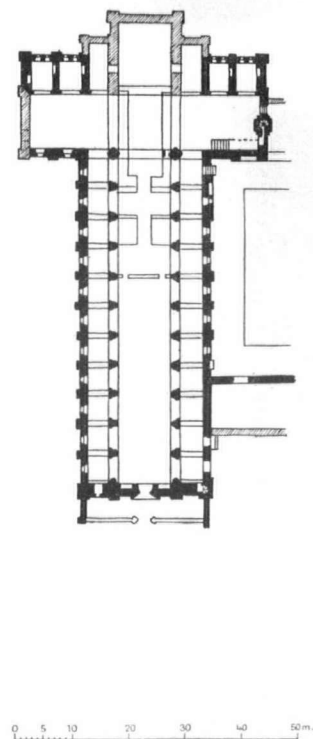
FIGURE 13: FOUNTAINS I
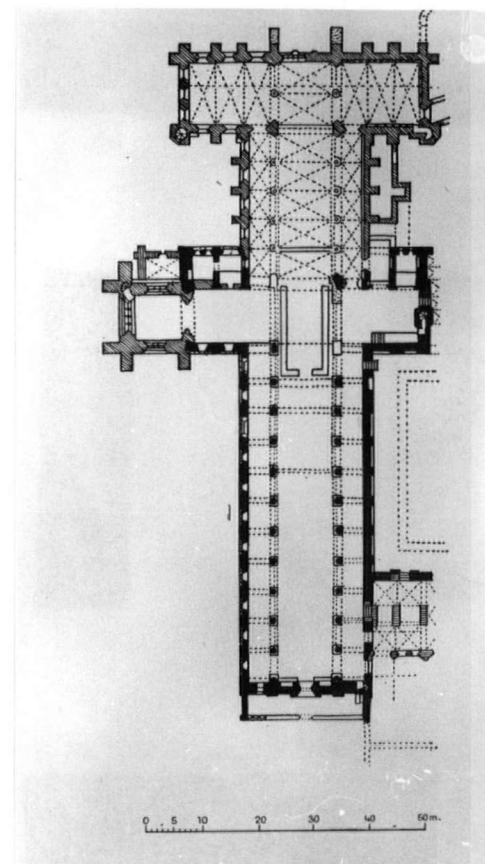
FIGURE 14: FOUNTAINS II
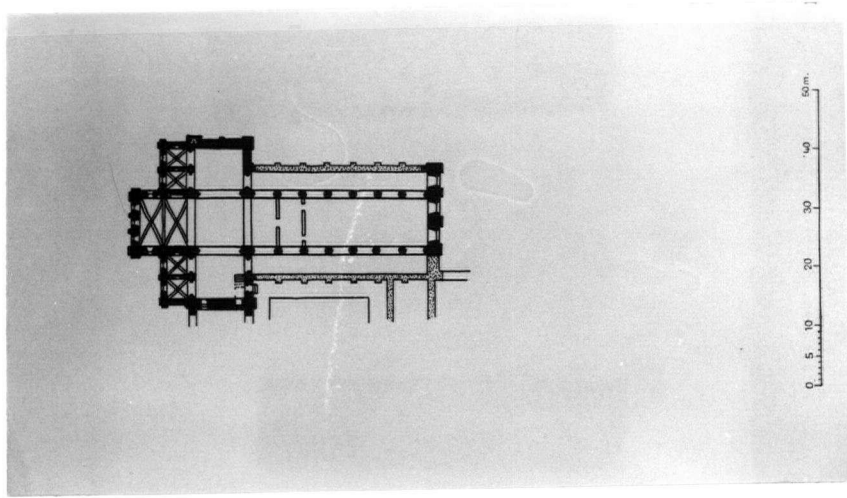
FIGURE 16: BUILDWAS
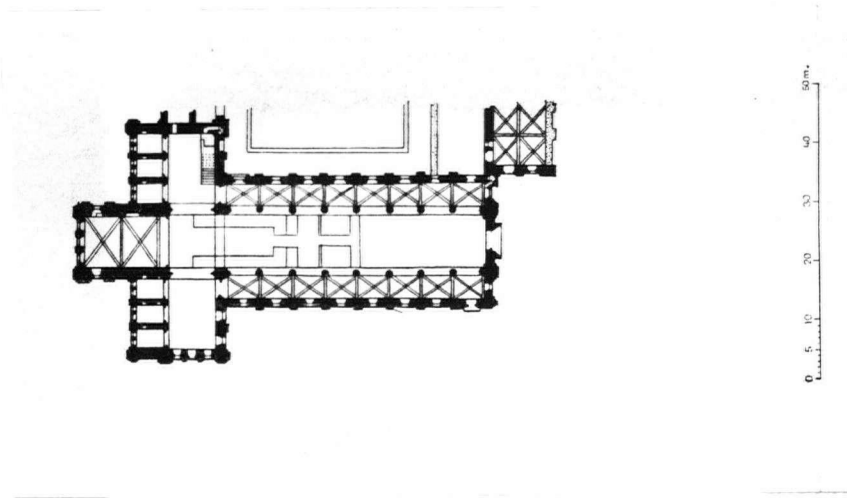
FIGURE 15: KIRKSTALL
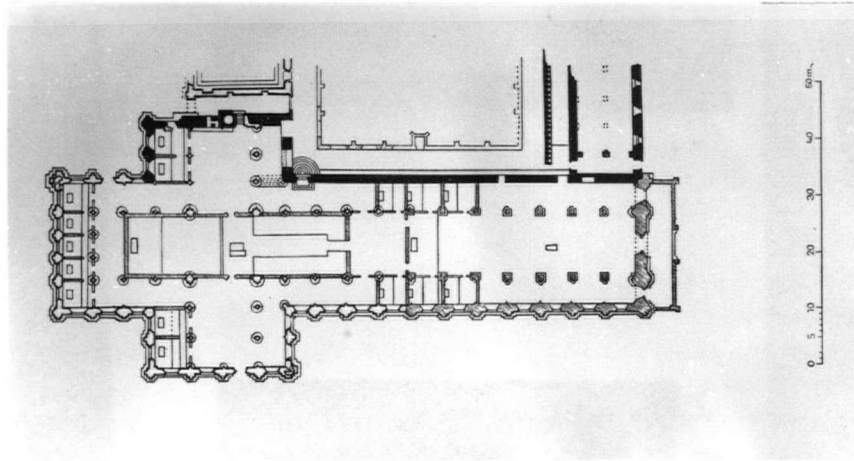
FIGURE 19: BYLAND
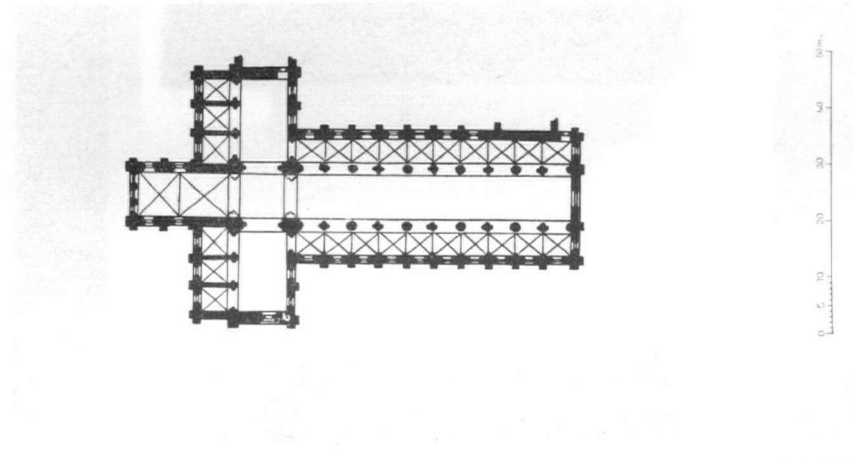
FIGURE 18: FURNESS II
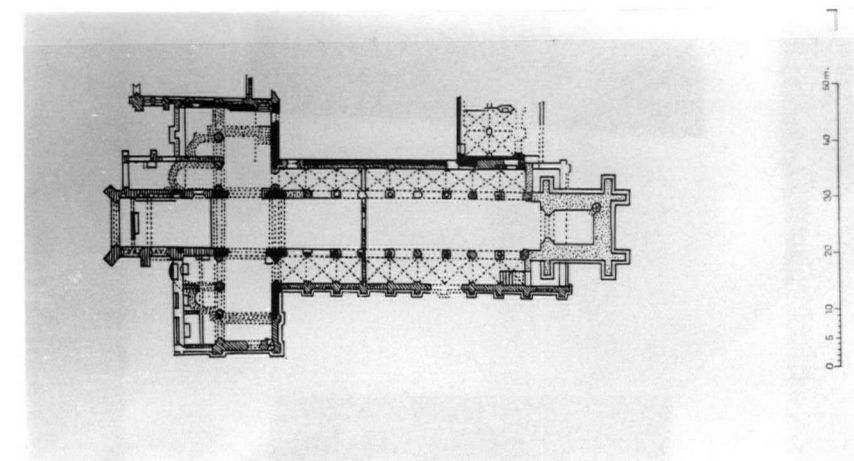
FIGURE 17: FURNESS I

PLATE 1: FONTENAY

Nave looking west
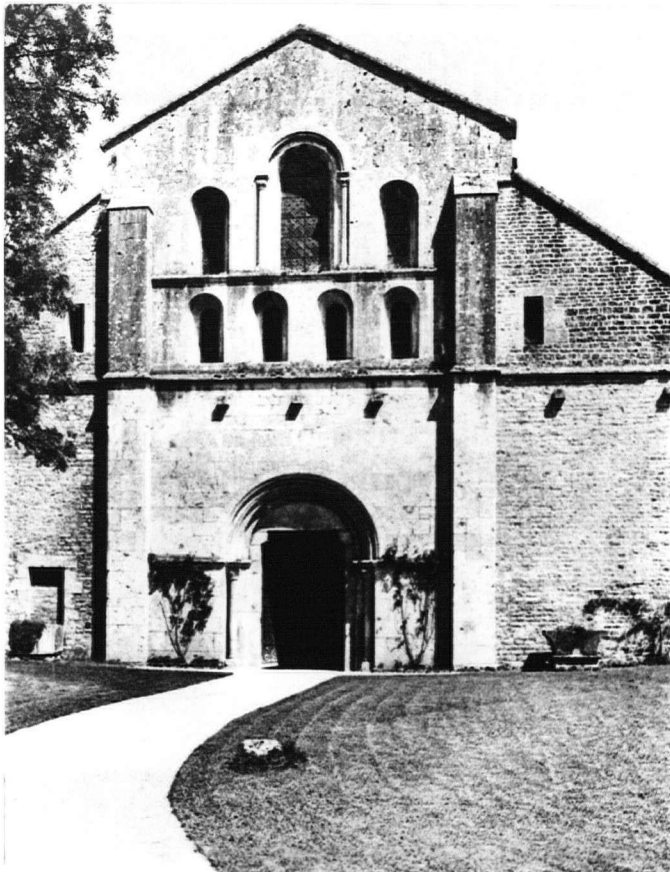
PLATE 2: FONTENAY

Facade
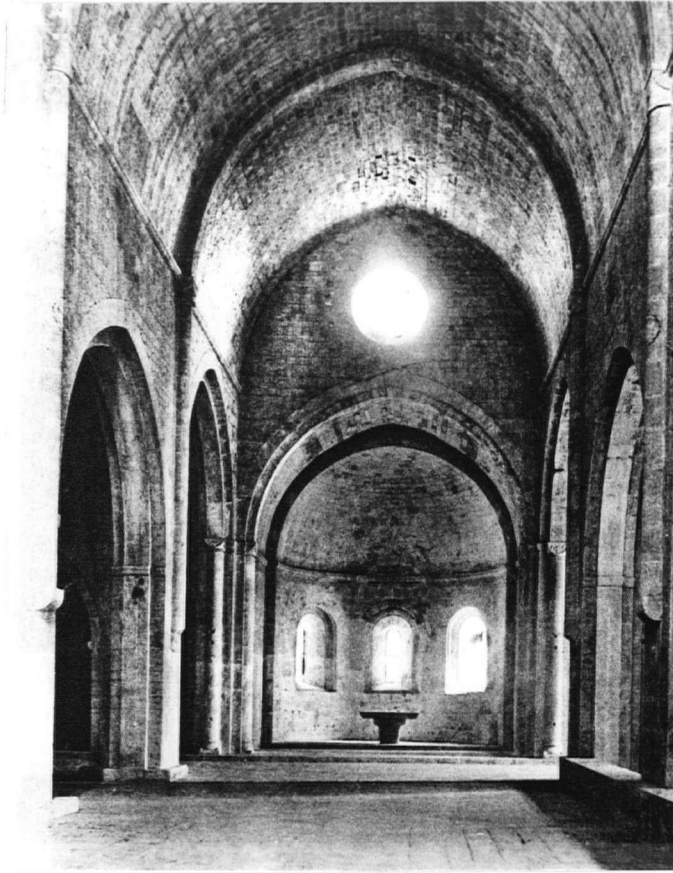
PLATE 3: LE THORONET
Nave looking west
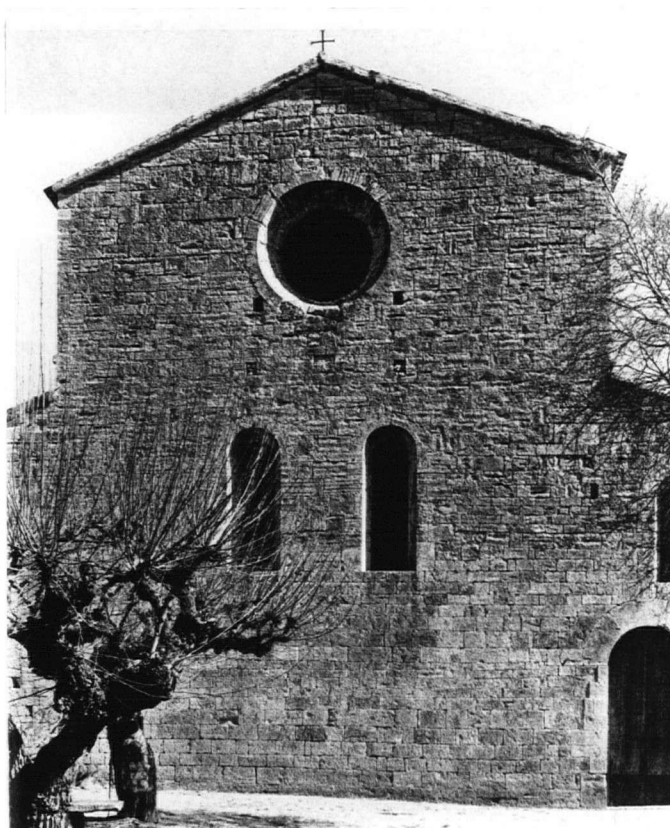
PLATE 4: LE THORONET
Facade

PLATE 5: ILLUMINATION

Frontpiece for a treatise on
St. Augustine
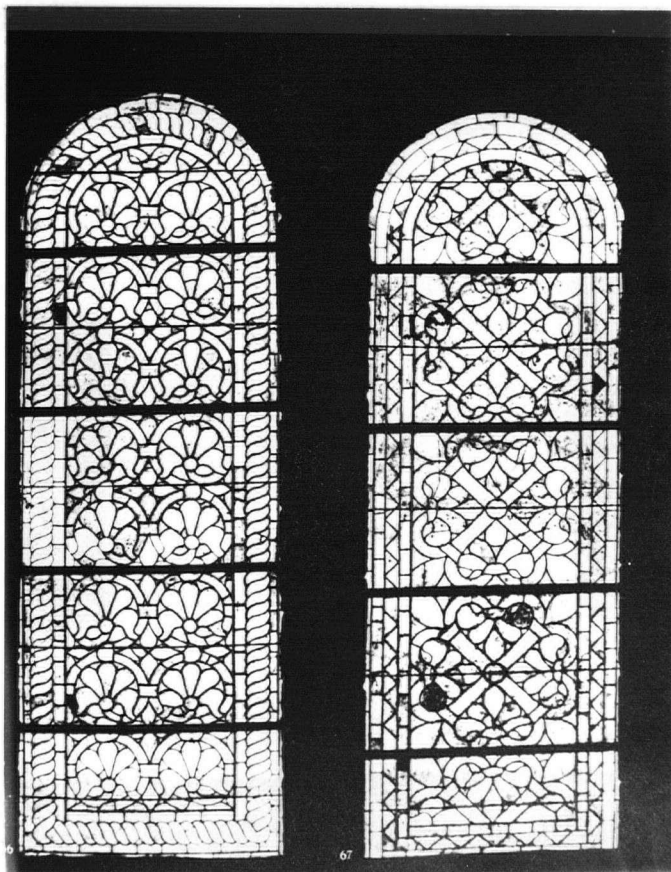
PLATE 6: 'GRISAILLE' WINDOWS

Obazine Abbey (France)
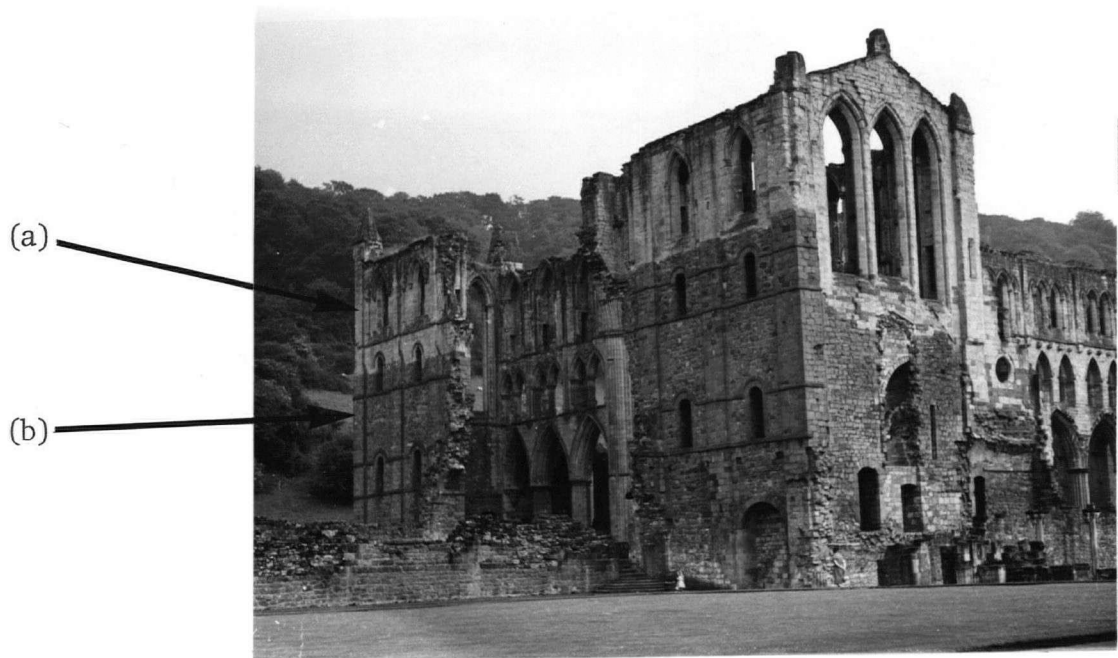
(a) Later building   (b) Early building

PLATE 7: RIEVAULX

PLATE 8:   RIEVAULX
          South Transept
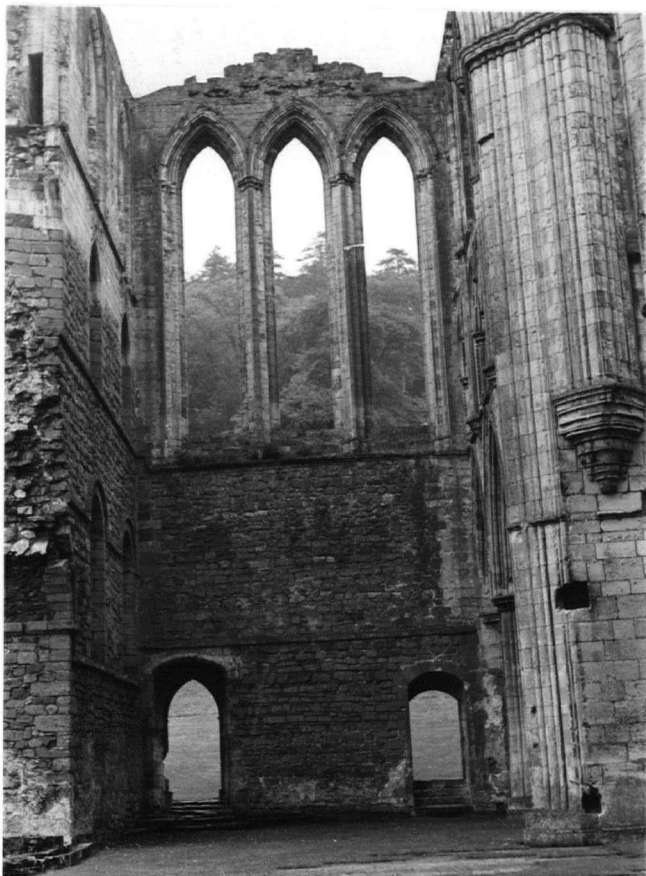
PLATE 9;   RIEVAULX
          North Transept

PLATE 10:   RIEVAULX - Choir
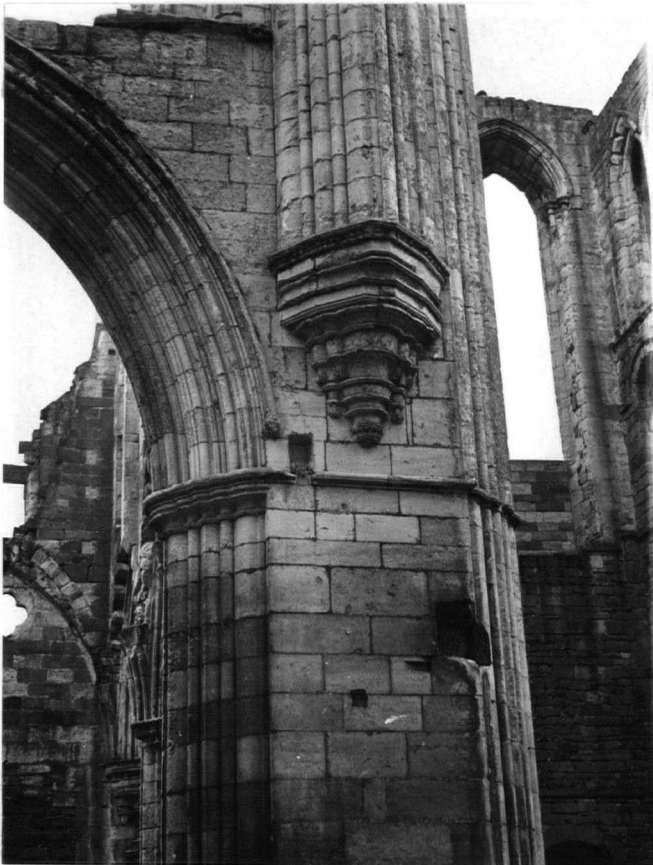
PLATE 11:   RIEVAULX

Decorated corbel
on SE transept pier

PLATE 12: FOUNTAINS
The Nave

PLATE 13: FOUNTAINS - Windows -
south wall of the nave

PLATE 14: FOUNTAINS

Transverse
Barrel Vaults -
north aisle

PLATE 15: FOUNTAINS - Benches -
north side of the presbytery
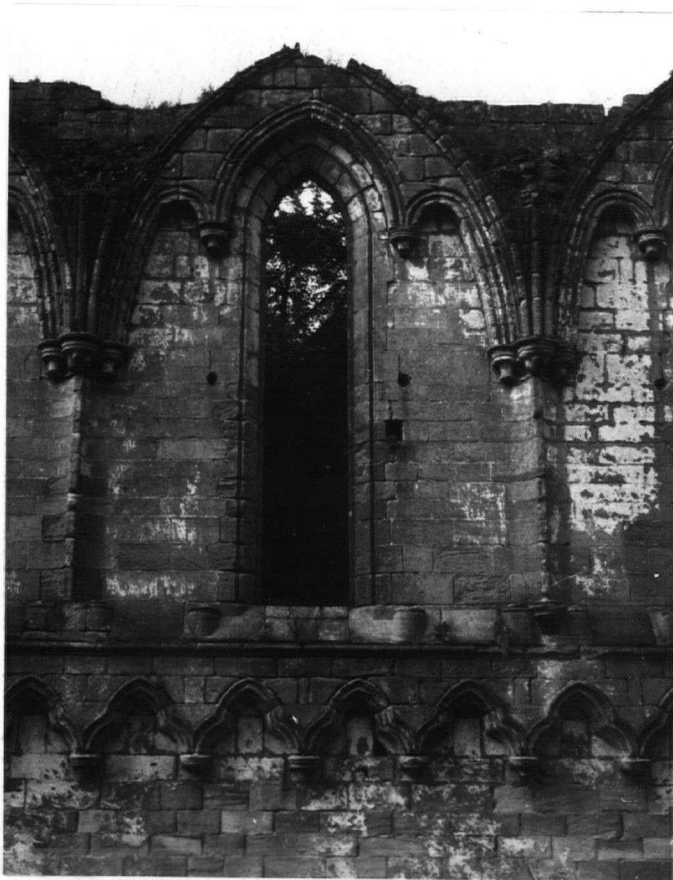
PLATE 16: FOUNTAINS

Lancet -
north side of the
presbytery

PLATE 17: FOUNTAINS

East Window -
choir

PLATE 18: FOUNTAINS - Columns

PLATE 19: FOUNTAINS
West Door

PLATE 20: KIRKSTALL
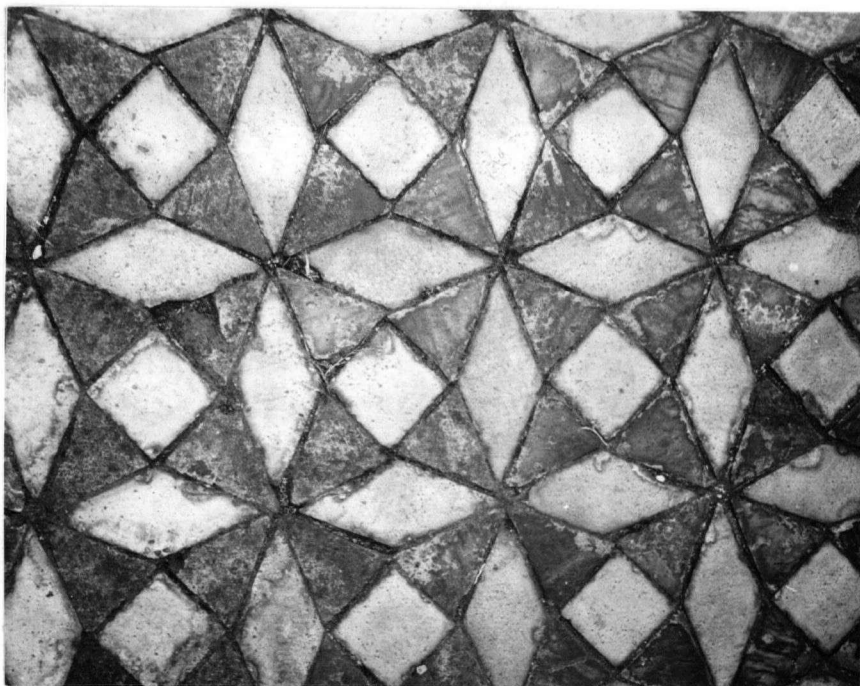North Transept Door

PLATE 21: BUILDWAS – Nave

PLATE 22: BYLAND - Tiles -
south transept floor

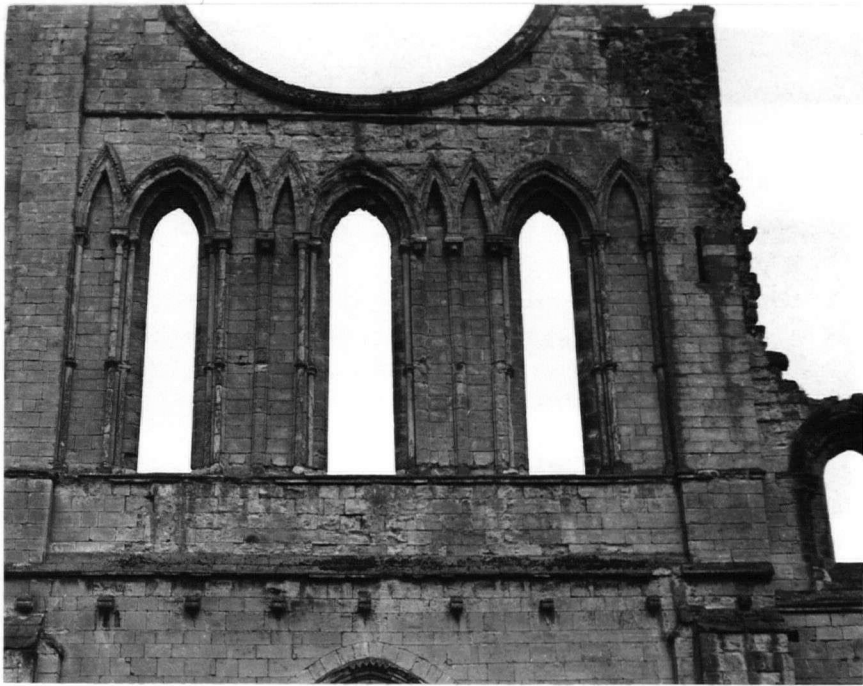

PLATE 23: BYLAND - North Side -
aisle wall

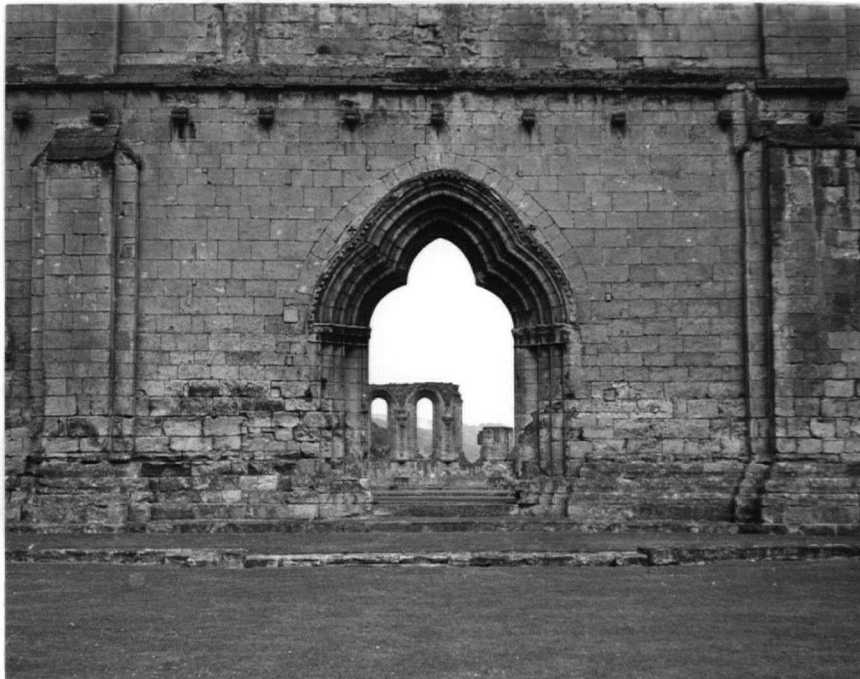PLATE 24: BYLAND - West Facade, Windows

PLATE 25: BYLAND - West Facade, Main Entrance

PLATE 26: JERVAULX

Doorway on the
southwest corner
of the church

PLATE 27: JERVAULX

Detail of
Plate 26