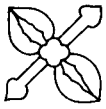

# Introduction

CHRISTOPHER NORTON and DAVID PARK

There is nothing in Britain or Ireland to compare with Fontenay as a physical embodiment of the first half-century of the Cistercian Order. As an architectural expression of the austere simplicity of the early Cistercian fathers, Le Thoronet, for all its later date and somewhat irregular plan, can likewise find no rival here. Yet many of the British and Irish Cistercian sites remain as eloquent witnesses to the highest spiritual aspirations of their age. Though the Cîteaux of Stephen Harding has long since disappeared and the Clairvaux of St Bernard has vanished without trace, at Rievaulx fragments can still be seen of the buildings which Aelred knew and loved. On another level, the Cistercians were responsible for some of the most significant architectural monuments of their time. Simply as monastic ruins the Cistercian abbeys on these islands are second to none, and Fountains must rank among the finest medieval remains in Europe. And yet, as is clearly shown by the case of Kirkstall, the most complete of the early English houses, now sadly begrimed by the industrial city which surrounds it, the attraction to the modern visitor of Fountains and Rievaulx, of Byland and Jervaulx, lies not so much in the monuments themselves, for all their intrinsic importance, as in the association of these relics of another, seemingly more peaceful, way of life with the setting of calm beauty which encompasses them. But there is nothing specifically Cistercian about this: the same combination of factors draws the visitor to Castle Acre and Glastonbury, to Finchale and Whitby, and the contrast with these Benedictine houses may not be immediately apparent, denuded as they are of their original colour and decoration. In the twelfth century the appeal of the Cistercians was of quite a different kind, and the distinctiveness of their monasteries can now be reconstructed only through the exercise of a carefully controlled historical imagination based on meticulous scholarship.

For all their just renown, there has never been a book devoted to a general survey of the art and architecture of the Cistercian houses in Britain and Ireland. The pioneering studies of Walbran and Bilson, St John Hope and Brakspear, published as major articles or monographs on individual sites, remain to this day the foundation of our knowledge of the Cistercian abbeys. More recently the clearance and partial excavation of a number

of sites has prompted the appearance of numerous articles and guide-books, but these have supplemented rather than profoundly modified the understanding that had already been reached by the time of the First World War. The major contributions, however, have been almost without exception in the domain of architecture (whether concerned with standing monuments or excavated remains), whereas other forms of Cistercian art have been largely ignored, or at best only partially examined. The same bias appears, if to a lesser extent, in Cistercian studies on the Continent. Survival of the British material has been extremely variable. Of liturgical vestments there is nothing to tell, of liturgical metalwork hardly more. A single paper here is sufficient for a discussion of all the extant window glass, with little hope of further discoveries beyond such small fragments as may turn up in excavation. There are more considerable remains of wall paintings (though no panel paintings) and of manuscripts (though very few liturgical books), and in the latter field art-historical work has only just begun. Only with floor-tiles and seals is there a reasonably satisfactory body of material, and one which, in the case of the tiles at least, will certainly continue to increase. All of these remains, however exiguous, have much to tell about Cistercian art.

The last few years have witnessed a revival of major projects, again principally concerned with the buildings. Roger Stalley's monograph on Mellifont is the first full-length architectural study for many years, and Peter Fergusson's book on the early architecture is expected imminently at the time of writing.[1] The excavation in progress at Bordesley is the first large-scale modern excavation of a Cistercian house in Britain, while the recent discoveries under the south transept at Fountains, though more limited in extent, have much broader implications for our understanding of the earliest phase of Cistercian church building in England.[2] Nonetheless, it is some of the historical work carried out in recent years which has the most far-reaching implications for the study of Cistercian art and architecture.

The publication of Canivez' edition of the statutes of the Chapter General made available many texts of interest to the art historian (though many were already known). More recently, our knowledge of the early development of the Cistercian Order and of its constitutional and legislative texts has been revolutionised by the critical researches of a number of scholars. Of particular importance has been the work on the foundation documents of the Order and the earliest statutes, notably the redating of the collection of statutes published by Canivez under the year 1134, the discovery of previously unknown manuscripts, and the publication of critical editions of the first four systematic codifications of Cistercian legislation. One result of all this activity has been the abandonment of the view that the constitutional arrangements of the Order, and the foundation documents in which they were enshrined, were drawn up in the first decades and remained largely unchanged thereafter. It is now apparent that there was a much more gradual development, though the process is still not fully understood. The significance

[1] Stalley 1980, Fergusson 1984.

[2] Rahtz and Hirst 1976, and Hirst, Walsh and Wright 1983; Gilyard-Beer and Coppack forthcoming.

of these discoveries has tended to be lost on art historians, and untroubled references to the now notorious '1134 collection' of statutes have continued up to the present. The papers in this volume individually and collectively attempt to respond to the opportunity which now presents itself for a thoroughgoing reappraisal of the texts concerning art and architecture. This has enabled us to move away from what has tended to be a rather monolithic understanding towards a more subtle and dynamic view. As an aid towards a more critical approach to the documents, all the relevant texts, which have previously only been accessible in a number of separate works, are collected together in the Table of Legislation at the end of this book.

The statutes and codifications, as is well known, have little of substance to say about architectural matters – though considerable attention is given to the requirements for new foundations – and such texts as there are have been little affected by the recent historical work. With the other art forms, however, the texts are both much more numerous and in need of a more thorough re-examination. They therefore provide a better starting-point for reconsidering what were the Cistercian principles concerning artistic expression and, just as important, how these developed over the years. Careful analysis of the surviving material helps to clarify our understanding both of how those principles were expressed in physical terms, and of the extent to which they were or were not adhered to in practice. It is in many ways easier to engage in a dialectic of this kind with respect to the various forms of decorative art than with the buildings, which are so much more complicated and where so many different factors need to be taken into account. Any discussion of the principles and practice of Cistercian art – 'ideals and reality', to use a common formula – will raise a set of other, closely connected questions. To what extent did the Cistercians achieve the uniformity of life and practice, down to the smallest details, to which they aspired? Was there anything distinctive, anything characteristically or even specifically Cistercian about their art and architecture? To what extent were styles and forms which originated in the Burgundian Cistercian houses (or elsewhere) transmitted to other parts of Europe, and to what extent did local traditions prevail? How were artistic and architectural ideas circulated within the Order, and how effective were any attempts at enforcement?

The papers in this book provide answers to many of these questions, as far as the evidence allows for each particular subject. Does any consensus emerge, and what particular problems remain unresolved? The first Cistercian house in Britain, Waverley, was founded in 1128, thirty years after the foundation of Cîteaux, and it was not until 1142 that the first Cistercian monastery in Ireland was established at Mellifont. By the time of their arrival in these islands, therefore, the Cistercians were already a well established and rapidly expanding Order, and the fundamentals of their own particular way of life had by then been clearly established – even if there are many details which remain obscure to us. This last point is particularly true of their art and architecture. We know next to nothing about Cistercian churches, let alone monasteries as a whole, for the period up to *c.*1130, and with the exception of the manuscripts, to which we will return,

there are no significant artistic remains; they have perished – if indeed they ever existed – along with the buildings they adorned.

The documentary evidence raises problems of its own, since there is still considerable uncertainty over the dating of many of the texts, but certain themes do emerge with reasonable clarity. The problem of liturgical vestments and metalwork demanded attention almost from the start. This is not surprising, since the *opus Dei* was the centre of monastic life for the Cistercians as for any other order, and decisions as to its performance – in this context, what types of vestments and metalwork were to be permitted – would have had to be faced at an early date. A glance at the Table of Legislation shows that this was a continuing preoccupation of the Chapter General for the next two centuries, and the comparatively large number of statutes on this theme in some measure compensates for the exceptionally poor survival rate of the objects themselves. Early in the abbacy of Stephen Harding (1109–34) it was agreed to dispense with rich liturgical vestments and vessels. But was this decision taken simply in order to safeguard the monastic poverty of the house, or is it already evidence of a rejection of art as such in the monastery? The question may be put in slightly different terms: did the refusal to allow paintings, sculptures and other forms of decoration date back to the first two decades, to the beginning of Stephen Harding's abbacy or even before, or was it a later decision accepted by the Order at the urging of St Bernard after the writing of the *Apologia* in *c.*1124–5? The crucial *capitulum* prohibiting sculptures and paintings, which again presumably had a primarily liturgical focus concerning the use of images in churches, is unfortunately not precisely dated. It must belong to before *c.*1135 and may well be of the 1120s or early 1130s, a dating which would favour the second view. However, an earlier date, before 1119 and thus well before the *Apologia*, possibly even before Bernard's arrival at Cîteaux, is not excluded. A solution may well be provided by chapter XVII of the *Exordium Parvum*, written probably in about 1119 and certainly claiming to describe the events of the first few years of Stephen Harding's abbacy. Chapter XVII records the decision, mentioned above, to forsake rich vestments and metalwork, and this decision is enshrined in a *capitulum* of *c.*1109–19 which states among other things that *casula vero nonnisi unicolor habeatur*. Chapter XVII goes on to say that it was agreed to have *pallae . . . altarium . . . sine pictura*.[3] Thus, some years before the *Apologia*, we already find the two standard features of the Cistercian attitude to art: no colours, and no pictures. The prohibition of sculptures and pictures, whatever its exact date, is merely an application of the same principles. In the *Apologia*, therefore, Bernard – who incidentally was at that time far from holding the pre-eminent position within the Order that he was later to attain – was probably doing no more than expressing, with characteristic vigour, the received opinion of the Order as a whole. Indeed it would be surprising if he were not, for in a polemical text of this kind it would be curious to conclude his argument with a topic which was a matter of debate among the Cistercians

[3] For these and subsequent texts, see the Table on pp. 315–93.

themselves. The onus is therefore on those who believe that the appearance of St Bernard on the scene marked a significant change in the Cistercian attitude to art to prove their point.

The prohibition of coloured and figurative glass is a further extension of the same principle and is probably datable to *c.*1145–51, though the mention of colourless glass in the negotiations between Rievaulx and Kirkham Priory in *c.*1139–43 is valuable evidence that attitudes had already been formed a few years earlier. A decision on the matter would certainly have been required at the time of the completion of the first generation of substantial stone churches in the 1130s and 1140s, a period when stained glass seems to have been coming generally into fashion. In the case of manuscript illumination, the well-known words *littere unius coloris fiant, et non depicte* which form part of the same *capitulum*, are more controversial; but the revised version of this text in the codification of 1202 should put beyond doubt the fact that the *capitulum* referred not merely to rubrication, but was intended as a prohibition of figurative and historiated initials and full-scale illuminations. It does therefore indicate a major change from earlier practice, to judge from the famous illuminated Cîteaux manuscripts of the time of Stephen Harding. Whether this change owed anything to the influence of St Bernard is again debateable: even if it did, the *capitulum* was apparently not issued until late in his life (though again it could have been merely a reminder), and the *Apologia* at least is noticeably silent on the subject of manuscripts. There is some evidence that elaborate decoration had disappeared from manuscripts produced at Cîteaux by about 1140. It may be that an early phase of decorated manuscripts was succeeded towards the middle of the century by a period of much greater simplicity – as exemplified by the English manuscripts – only to give place again to increasingly elaborate decoration from the beginning of the thirteenth century. But a much more precise and comprehensive understanding of the development of twelfth-century Cistercian manuscripts is essential before we can attempt to speculate on the reasons for any changes and there is an urgent need for a thorough study of the surviving manuscripts not just from Cîteaux, but from all the other continental houses, including Clairvaux.

A monastic community cannot survive without buildings. The basic elements of monastic planning were already well established before the foundation of the Cistercian Order, but a careful reappraisal of the necessary buildings and their relationship to each other would be in keeping with the Cistercians' radical rethinking of the whole of monastic life. Moreover, alterations to and experimentation with the traditional arrangements, and with the plan of the church, would not be unexpected at a time of extremely rapid expansion. The provision of buildings for a substantial community of lay-brothers was one major requirement. Yet the development of Cistercian architecture in the first thirty years is a closed book to us.[4] The placing of the refectory at right angles to the cloister

[4] Our knowledge of the early building at Clairvaux is still too uncertain to be used as evidence here. Schaefer 1982, 4–7 argues that the *monasterium vetus* shown on Dom Milley's plan of Clairvaux gives us 'an idea of the entire layout of a primitive Cistercian monastery'. But if these buildings were of wood,

seems to have been the last major alteration to the basic layout, at a period around the middle of the century when there is sufficient evidence for us to be able to trace its development; but the earlier stages are entirely lost from sight, and only meticulous excavation will help to fill the gap. The so-called 'Bernardine' plan appears in the 1130s, only a few years after the foundation of the first British houses. However, the earliest stone churches at Waverley and Tintern, and also that at Fountains, were not built on this plan. Does this indicate that it had not yet been developed, or merely that it had not been generally adopted? That it was almost universally employed at Cistercian houses throughout Europe for about two decades from the mid 1130s is no less extraordinary for being so well-known. The uniformity is essentially one of plan and spatial arrangement, with an obvious admixture of local elements in the elevations, the form of the arches, minor sculptural details, and technical features. This is only to be expected. A strictly uniform observance of a monastic rule presupposes that rooms should always be in the same relative position and that spaces should always be properly adapted for the particular function of each building, but it is of little import whether the arches are round or pointed. Equally, it is easy to circulate a sketch plan of a monastery, but much more difficult to insist on a particular type of elevation, which may involve styles and techniques unfamiliar to local masons and craftsmen. Some features did nonetheless travel, most obviously the transverse barrel vaults in the aisles at Fountains and probably Rievaulx.

In the later twelfth century the uniformity of church plans begins to break down, with the introduction of a variety of apsidal chapels and much larger square east ends (sanctioned by their use at Clairvaux and Cîteaux), though the traditional 'Bernardine' plan continued to be popular. More significant is the erection of increasingly sophisticated and grandiose buildings, as a response, partly at least, to the great numbers of recruits attracted to some of the communities. These buildings could only be built by highly skilled masons, and the Cistercians were thus brought into contact with some of the latest stylistic developments. The institutionalised connections between different houses of the Order were sometimes instrumental in bringing new styles, no longer necessarily of direct Burgundian origin, into areas where they were previously unknown. In some cases this may have been a conscious decision. In others it may have been the accidental result of the availability of masons near at hand, or simply that they could be more easily found at other abbeys of the Order where work was in progress. Whatever the impetus may have been, the new Gothic style was adopted at a very early date in the northern Cistercian abbeys.

The increasing size of some of the monasteries was a potentially worrying factor. In *c.*1124–5 Bernard, from the modest buildings of the first monastery at Clairvaux,

as she argues, they cannot have been the first monastery, laboriously constructed of stone, which Bernard – according to the *Vita Prima* – was so reluctant to abandon in the early 1130s. They have more the appearance of wooden buildings erected for the use of the community at the very beginning while the first monastery proper was being built. See also below, p. 171.

could attack the excessively large churches of certain monasteries. The *Vita Prima* expresses Bernard's unease at the necessity of building a new and much larger monastery at Clairvaux, despite the pressure for additional space; while Peter Cantor, who had similar feelings, attributes to Bernard profound regret at the abandonment of the modest dwellings of the early days. There are evident signs of concern in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Chapter General issued a number of statutes from the 1180s onwards condemning the construction of lavish and grandiose buildings and attempting to reduce the amount of money which could be spent on them. Helinand of Froidmont professed himself unconvinced even by the argument from necessity resulting from increasing numbers. The problem was indeed very real. The Order could hardly refuse to accept suitable recruits, and since it could not go on indefinitely founding new abbeys, space had to be found for these new members in existing houses. Yet how could huge monasteries be reconciled with the Cistercians' profession of poverty? By the early thirteenth century Fountains and Rievaulx surpassed in size and grandeur most of the Benedictine communities in Britain.

This is certainly not to say that Cistercian abbeys and churches had already become assimilated to those of the other orders. There are still signs of restraint. The east end of Byland, for instance, although it was the most ambitious of the Cistercian churches of the period, was not vaulted. In general, architectural ornament is still kept to a minimum, and capitals are very plainly carved. The early Gothic style, on the other hand, provided fewer opportunities for architectural sculpture than late Anglo-Norman Romanesque and to that extent was actually closer to Cistercian ideals. But the most obvious difference would have been not so much in the style of the architecture as in the various forms of decoration. The later twelfth century provides us with the first examples outside manuscripts of decorative remains in Britain: white-line patterns on the walls (as distinct from masonry pattern); monochrome incised or counter-relief tiles; and probably also grisaille glass with patterns formed by the leading, as in some of the French houses. The designs in all three media are very similar, and both they and the techniques employed are in each case characteristically Cistercian. Decoration of this kind seems to have been officially sanctioned, and there is no difficulty in imagining the circulation of the designs throughout the Order by means of pattern books, of which an early thirteenth-century example seems to be preserved in the Reuner Musterbuch.[5] Although not altogether unparalleled elsewhere, these types of painting, tiles and glass are undoubtedly characteristic of the Cistercian Order, though it would be interesting to know, for instance, whether they were also employed in Premonstratensian houses. The absence in all media until the last years of the twelfth century of colours and of figurative designs shows that they were intended to conform to the original principles governing art in Cistercian houses, summed up in the 'no colours, no pictures' formula. Decorated tiles are unlikely to have appeared in Cistercian houses before the last quarter of the

[5] See Hermann 1926, 352–62, Vermeeren 1956 and the facsimile published by Unterkircher 1979.

century, but when paintings and glass of this kind first appeared is unknown. The resolution of this question is of some significance, as it would indicate whether these forms of decoration were a continuation of a tradition stretching back to the early years of the Order, or whether they resulted from a subsequent change of practice, though still within the letter of the regulations. The statutes concerning glass suggest that there were occasional infringements during the twelfth century, but there is nothing among the extant remains to suggest that they were at all common. In fact the imaginary interlocutor of Helinand of Froidmont nicely sums up the position at this period: large buildings, perhaps, but no sculptures, paintings, or other distracting excesses.

A significant change seems to have occurred in the early thirteenth century. The annual statutes of the years between 1200 and 1220 contain specific references to infringements on a broad front: bell towers, sculptures and paintings, decorated pavements, liturgical vestments and personal clothing are all mentioned, sometimes more than once. Surviving fragments also suggest the approach of a new era: pieces of coloured glass in the windows at La Bénisson-Dieu, brightly coloured mosaic tile pavements at several houses in Normandy, coloured decoration on the walls and vaults of abbeys, and illuminated manuscripts from various continental houses. There is a further spate of references in the 1230s and 1240s. The cases singled out by name were presumably the worst, and need not be representative of a general decline in the Order as a whole, but the various thirteenth-century codifications do clearly show a gradual abandonment of the original principles. The 1202 codification repeats the various twelfth-century regulations almost unchanged, apart from a concession allowing stained glass windows to be retained by abbeys which had formerly belonged to other orders, and seeming approval for manuscript initials to be of more than one colour (though still not figurative). There is a marked relaxation in the rules on manuscripts in the codification of *c.*1220, and no restrictions at all in subsequent codifications. The regulations on sculptures, paintings and decorated pavements are less strictly worded in the 1237 and 1257 codifications, and by the time of the 1289 and 1316 codifications there is no more than a ritual prohibition of *superfluae novitates et notabiles curiositates* in buildings and decorations generally. The annual statutes thereafter are confined to attempts at limiting extravagance and ostentation in personal possessions and clothing. By this time the battle had clearly been lost, and we find patterned tiles everywhere, while ornament in paintings, glass and sculpture has gone beyond the merely decorative to include figure subjects. Survivals from this period, it is true, are still relatively scarce and their dating often rather uncertain, but they are sufficient to show that by about 1300 the full panoply of religious art could have been encountered in a Cistercian context. Nonetheless, Cistercian abbeys would still have appeared rather different from those of the Benedictines: there would not have been the accumulation of centuries of wealth spent on decoration, and it is impossible to know with any precision what use the abbots actually made of their new-found freedom. Although tile pavements are common, there is no evidence of a sudden explosion of paintings and sculpture to make up for lost time. In the period of Decorated

architecture there are still suggestions of some restraint in sculptural decoration, and the overall impression in many cases would still have been of relative simplicity.

A reasonably coherent picture thus emerges from the evidence of the texts and the physical remains together, and it is interesting to note how the successive codifications adjust to what was obviously a rapidly changing situation. The codifications were intended to define the limits of Cistercian practice, but they themselves also had to reflect changes in that practice. The case of seals, where practice seems to have closely followed the regulations, shows that the legislation was still taken seriously after two and a half centuries. This was only possible because the codifications were regularly revised to keep them up to date. New restrictions were generally only introduced in consequence of a particular statute issued in the preceding period, but it is noticeable that relaxations were quietly introduced without any prior declaration in the annual statutes of the Chapter General. There was no point in repeating regulations which had been overtaken by events.

The reasons for the Cistercians' distinctive approach to art and architecture are stated in Bernard's *Apologia*, in Aelred's *Speculum Caritatis* and in some of the statutes. Bernard and Aelred both make it clear that their arguments are only applicable to monastic life, and Bernard accepts that religious art can be useful in non-monastic contexts. The Cistercians placed a particular emphasis on monastic poverty and contemplative discipline, and everything was to be subordinate to the spiritual needs of the community. Paintings, sculpture, and other decoration were unnecessary and of no use to monks; even if they portrayed scenes from sacred history they would merely distract from prayer and contemplation. In addition, like grandiose buildings, they were a misuse of money which could be better spent in helping the poor. These principles seem to have been applied consistently except in the case of manuscript illumination. Various explanations, none entirely satisfactory, can be proposed for the appearance of the early illuminated manuscripts at Cîteaux and elsewhere. The materials were perhaps not a significant expense, and the writing and illuminating of manuscripts may have been considered such an integral part of monastic life that several decades were needed for any distinction to be drawn between the two activities. Whereas any decoration in church was potentially distracting, illustrations in sacred texts were perhaps seen as an aid to *lectio divina* – though this argument could hardly be applied to some of the more humorous initials in the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job*! The manuscripts are anomalous in more ways than one. For instance, the characteristically Cistercian designs found in almost every other medium in the later twelfth century do not seem to have entered the repertoire of decorative initials. The manuscripts thus seem to form a category somewhat on their own, but until much more detailed research provides more of the basic information which is still largely lacking, a clearer understanding is unlikely to emerge.

An important advance in modern studies has been to move away from the erroneous view that the Cistercians had a generalised antipathy to art or an iconoclastic mentality, a view that was based on a mistaken interpretation of the *Apologia* and the *Vita Prima*.

The reaction against this 'negative' view has recently led to some attempts to seek out the 'positive' symbolic meaning of Cistercian art and Cistercian buildings. There is much to be learnt here, but at the same time, in the absence of explicit statements by the Cistercians themselves as to how they understood the architectural forms and decorative details, considerable care is required not to read too much into their writings; and enquiries of this kind must be combined with a thorough knowledge of the physical remains, which is still so inadequate in some respects. Until we know, for instance, whether the interlace and foliate motifs characteristic of later twelfth-century glass and tiles are a new development of that period or a continuation of earlier forms, it would be dangerous to adduce texts of St Bernard as evidence for their interpretation.

The decline from the primitive austerity of the Order was seemingly gradual, and perhaps inevitable. The history of other religious orders shows the same transition from the zeal of the founding fathers to the more moderate endeavours of their successors. The Cistercians had to face pressures of various kinds. Vastly increased numbers and generally increased wealth provided the occasion and the means for greatly enlarged buildings. For all their desire to flee the world, the Cistercians could not avoid it altogether. Like other orders, they had obligations to their founders and patrons, whose ideas may not always have coincided with their own and whose right of burial in the churches could cause problems. Even St Louis, for all his affection for Royaumont, provided over-elaborate decorations in connection with the royal tombs there (that, at least, is the implication of the 1263 statute).[6] Several similar cases are recorded in the statutes, and in 1204 and 1251 provision was made to placate the donor or patron in case he took umbrage when the offending objects were removed. Smaller-scale donations of an illuminated manuscript or a rich vestment could have been all the more insidious for seeming unimportant. Certain types of infringement may sometimes have become characteristic of the abbeys of a particular region, such as the use of over-elaborate altar-cloths and vestments in Poland and Hungary, and the building of stables outside the precinct in England, mentioned respectively in 1204 and 1220. In the 1202 codification abbeys which had belonged to other orders were allowed to retain their stained glass windows. Concessions of this kind may have been a practical solution to a particular problem, but they could easily set a precedent, and were certainly destructive of the uniformity which the Order was committed to upholding. In 1257 and 1273 permission was granted, as a result of papal and royal intercession, for rich vestments to be worn on certain occasions, and uniformity in liturgical practice was also undermined, from an earlier date, by the granting of special celebrations of local feasts to individual abbeys or those in a particular region. In view of the manifold pressures and the difficulty of controlling such a large and widely-scattered Order, it is surely a tribute both to the organisational abilities of the Cistercians and to their fixity of purpose that the primitive ideals were maintained, at least to some degree, for so long.

[6] For this and the other statutes cited here, see the Table on pp. 315–93.