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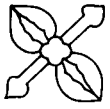

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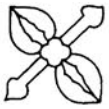

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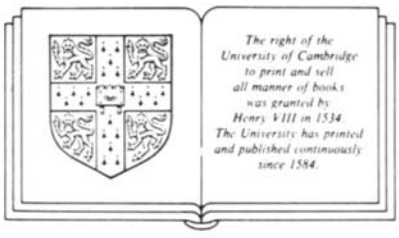
and
DAVID PARK



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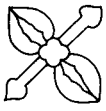

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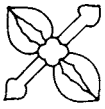

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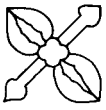

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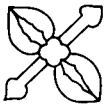

Preface

The idea for this book arose out of the recognition of two major lacunae in the study of Cistercian art and architecture. Firstly, there has hitherto been no single volume which has attempted to cover the artistic and architectural achievements of the Cistercians in Britain and Ireland as a whole. Secondly, in spite of the growing interest in recent years in the medieval Cistercian remains in this country and more particularly on the Continent, art-historical studies have tended to be pursued in ignorance of the extremely important historical researches which have been carried out since the Second World War. The book has therefore been planned as a general survey of the surviving buildings and their various forms of decoration, rather than as a series of studies of individual sites or objects, and has been given a strongly historical slant both by the inclusion of papers by historians of the Order and by suggesting broad historical questions (of which more is said in the Introduction) against which the architectural and artistic studies can be placed.

In view of the importance of the historical background and the close connections between all aspects of Cistercian art and architecture, it was decided at an early stage to hold a conference at which all the contributors would have the opportunity of presenting their own papers for discussion and profiting from the work of others before the texts were finalised. The conference took place in Cambridge in September 1983, and the many cross-references to other papers in the volume in both the texts and the footnotes (the editors must take responsibility for some of the latter) bear witness to the value of the occasion.

It is our pleasant duty to thank those who have in different ways made this book possible; first and foremost, all those who responded to our requests by contributing papers. We are also indebted for their encouragement during the initial stages of the project to Professor Christopher Brooke, Professor Christopher Cheney and Mr Neil Stratford. We are very grateful to Dr G. D. S. Henderson, Head of the Department of History of Art at Cambridge, for enabling us to hold the conference in the Department, and to the staff of the Department who helped in so many ways. By kind permission

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Preface to the Paperback Edition

CHRISTOPHER NORTON and DAVID PARK

The last twenty-five years have been a remarkably fruitful period in Cistercian studies. Scholarly research into divers areas of Cistercian monasticism has been matched by a growing public appreciation of Cistercian sites right across Europe. Fountains Abbey, for instance, was declared a World Heritage Site in 1986 and attracts large numbers of visitors every year. The ninth centenary of the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098 was marked by publications and events in many countries. Interest in the Cistercians shows no sign of abating.

In retrospect, the publication of the original edition of this book can be seen as very timely. Depending on the extent of the material and the state of scholarship, different contributions provided authoritative surveys of the subject, or laid the foundations for future work. They addressed problems which have continued to be the subject of discussion, or set the terms for subsequent debate. This new paperback edition reprints the original unchanged. The Preface provides the opportunity to update the bibliography, to comment briefly on some of the key features of recent publications and ongoing debates, and to reflect on the wider significance of the British and Irish material.

Research on the material remains has included three major monographs on the Cistercian abbeys of England, Ireland and Wales. Peter Fergusson's study of twelfth-century English Cistercian architecture, *Architecture of Solitude*, appeared in 1984, too late for consideration by the contributors to this book. It tackled some of the same architectural issues within the framework of a much fuller discussion. Three years later, Roger Stalley's book on Irish Cistercian monasteries expanded on the themes touched on in his essay in this volume and presented for the first time a comprehensive analysis of the Cistercian houses in terms of their local Irish context and their links to Anglo-Norman and continental architectural traditions. More recently, David Robinson's 2006 volume on the Welsh Cistercian abbeys has provided a similar service for Wales. All three are beautifully illustrated and supported by a gazetteer of sites and full scholarly apparatus. Richard Fawcett's work on Scottish monastic houses includes a discussion of the Scottish Cistercian

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monasteries, and a very useful illustrated gazetteer of all the Cistercian houses in Britain (not including Ireland), accompanied by introductory essays by Janet Burton and Nicola Coldstream, was published in a ninth-centenary volume edited by David Robinson.

Several sites have benefited from monographic treatment of their architectural remains and/or archaeology. Pride of place must go to Peter Fergusson's and Stuart Harrison's 1999 volume on Rievaulx, the fullest architectural analysis of any Cistercian house in the British Isles. In 1986 Roy Gilyard-Beer and Glyn Coppack published the crucial south transept excavations at Fountains which were mentioned by Richard Halsey in his essay in this book. Subsequently, Coppack has been responsible for a series of important publications on aspects of the site, including a widely-read book. Melrose, Boyle and Abbey Dore have also been the subject of monographs, and there have been separate volumes of excavation reports on sites such as Hulton and Stratford Langthorne. Detailed investigations of the archaeological and architectural remains of several other sites have appeared in scholarly journals; and several new site guide-books have incorporated otherwise unpublished research. A notable feature of recent decades has been the increasingly sophisticated analysis of loose architectural fragments to reconstruct missing features, or even entire buildings. The leading exponent of this approach, Stuart Harrison, whose reconstruction of the Byland south transept elevation appears as Fig. 10, has rescued from oblivion a whole series of Cistercian monuments, including a remarkable group of early rose windows. Such studies of individual sites are potentially very rewarding for the light they may shed on the broader themes of this book, but restrictions of format often prevent any consideration of Cistercian art and architecture more generally. One volume, however, which deserves particular mention is the *festschrift* in honour of the doyen of Cistercian architectural studies, Peter Fergusson, published in 2004 under the editorship of Terryl Kinder, in which a number of the contributors address key texts and monuments in relation to broader problems of interpretation.

A major theme to emerge from the book is the constant process of development, change and adaptation taking place in Cistercian monasteries even from the earliest days. This is evident both from the physical remains and from the historical sources. Christopher Holdsworth's demonstration that the earliest Cistercian legislative texts on art and architecture were not issued together in 1134 (as had traditionally been believed), but on various occasions during the first half of the twelfth century, opened up a much more dynamic vision of the early development of Cistercian thinking on such matters. The dates which he proposed for the pre-1152 texts were adopted in the Table of Cistercian Legislation at the end of the book, which also lays out, for those who care to follow the Latin texts, the emergence of additional legislation in the later twelfth and early thirteenth century, followed by a gradual retreat from detailed legislative prescriptions in the face of changing realities in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In short, some of the earlier legislation was withdrawn - though old canards continue to be repeated, such as the assertion that the late medieval tower of Fountains Abbey contravened the statute of 1157.

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The broad picture sketched out in this book has not changed significantly; but there has been much discussion of the earliest formative documents. The dates suggested by Holdsworth for the pre-1152 sources were broadly speaking in line with those proposed subsequently by Conrad Rudolph.[1] In 1999 Chrysogonus Waddell published a monumental new edition of the twelfth-century narrative and legislative texts. It set out the manuscript evidence in depth and proposed a new model for the development of the earliest Cistercian sources which incidentally offered slightly different dates for the small number of texts relevant to art and architecture. This was followed by Waddell's edition of the *Usus Conversorum* in 2000, and by his 2002 edition of the statutes of the Chapter General up to the end of the twelfth century. This replaces the early part of the edition by Canivez,[2] and introduces some minor revisions of wording or dating for the statutes from the second half of the century printed in the Table of Cistercian Legislation in the present volume; but the general picture is not significantly affected. An important review article of the first volume of this monumental trio by Holdsworth appeared in 2000; and in the same year a fundamental challenge was issued by Constance Berman.[3] She argued, *inter alia*, that the term 'Cistercian Order' does not appear in the sources until the middle of the twelfth century; that the Order as commonly understood, that is a fully-fledged institutional structure with annual General Chapters, only came into existence during the third quarter of the century (though the filiation of Clairvaux may have had a clearly defined identity early on); that much of the expansion of the Order came about through assimilation of existing monasteries (as with the case of the Savigniacs) rather than new foundations; and that the earliest Cistercian documents, including the *Exordium Parvum* purportedly written in 1119, were in fact creations of the later twelfth century. Berman's thesis has potentially profound ramifications for our understanding of the development of Cistercian attitudes to art and architecture. It depends on detailed technical analysis of texts and manuscripts, and has provoked considerable controversy and not a little disagreement.[4] These are deep waters for the art-historian, and this is certainly not the place to plunge into them. But it is worth observing that the whole debate about the early development of the Order is not merely one which art historians need to be aware of when considering Cistercian monuments from the twelfth century: it is one to which they can potentially contribute through a careful analysis of a Europe-wide body of physical evidence.

A parallel set of questions concern the role of Bernard of Clairvaux in matters artistic, in particular the significance of Bernard's *Apologia* and the so-called 'Bernardine' plan – topics which are discussed in the Introduction and in the chapters by Christopher Brooke and C. H. Talbot. Here too not everything is as straightforward as is often thought. There is no doubt

1 Rudolph 1987; see also Rüffer 1999, 105-13.
2 Waddell 1999 which, remarkably, failed to mention the article by Holdsworth in this book; Waddell 2000a; Waddell 2002.
3 Holdsworth 2000; Berman 2000.
4 See e.g. McGuire 2000, Waddell 2000b, Berman, Waddell and McGuire 2002, and the remarks by Holdsworth 2004, passim and notes on pp. 48-9, 78 and 82, by Burton 2006, xxv-vii and xxxii-xxxiii andBurton 2008.

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that the *Apologia* came to be widely disseminated; and the final section on church buildings and their decoration has been frequently cited and discussed as evidence for Cistercian aesthetic attitudes.[5] Yet Bernard's intentions in writing this section of the *Apologia* remain elusive, and the impact of his views on art and architecture during his lifetime is questionable. Even the date of the *Apologia* is uncertain: Holdsworth has pointed out that the traditional date of *c*. 1124-25 is based on unreliable evidence, and prefers a date between 1121 and 1125, perhaps early in that period.[6] At the time Bernard was a young abbot of a struggling community, scarcely known as an author; and Anne Lawrence has suggested that his opinions on art were actually derived from William of Saint-Thierry, who arguably cared more about such matters than Bernard himself.[7] Certainly, Bernard never returned to the subject again in his writings. The demise of the so-called '1134 collection' of statutes demolishes the notion that Bernard imposed his views on the Order following the death of Stephen Harding in that year. Similarly, the thesis (to summarise ruthlessly) that it was the death of Stephen Harding which enabled Bernard in 1135 to undertake the reconstruction of the monastery at Clairvaux with its famous church of 'Bernardine' plan (Clairvaux II), to impose his architectural views on the Order, and to disseminate the new model throughout Europe, will not stand scrutiny. There is no actual evidence that Bernard was responsible for devising the 'Bernardine' plan of Clairvaux II, or that he inflicted it on the rest of the Order: the *Vita Prima*, as Christopher Brooke points out, scarcely encourages the notion that Bernard was much engaged in such matters. There is no evidence of a causal relationship between Stephen Harding's death and the construction of Clairvaux II: indeed, work may have started on the new church before Stephen died. The similarities in plan among Cistercian churches across Europe is unarguable, but the implications of the term 'Bernardine' plan too often go unquestioned.[8] As for the idea propounded by Panofsky, in the famous introduction to his edition of Abbot's Suger's writings on art, that Suger had in mind Cistercian objections to his rebuilding campaign at Saint-Denis, it finds no external support. On the contrary, the recent demonstration that Bernard actually supplied Suger with jewels for his great cross at Saint-Denis gives pause for thought on the activities and attitudes of both famous abbots.[9]

The majority of Cistercian houses in Britain and Ireland during Bernard's lifetime belonged to the affiliation of Clairvaux, as can be seen from the Tables of Cistercian Affiliations at the end of the book. Their number was further swelled in 1147 with the incorporation, with active support from Bernard, of 16 Savigniac houses, which meant that, out of 65 houses in existence by 1153, 52 were of the family of Clairvaux. Recent historical work, notably

5 See notably the book-length study by Rudolph 1990; Untermann 2001, 95-118.
6 Holdsworth 1994a, 48-52; Holdsworth 1997.
7 Lawrence 1995; see also Rüffer 1999, 113-20.
8 Gajewski 2004 reviews the evidence for Bernard's attitudes and the stone church at Clairvaux. Gajewski 2007 gives a useful analysis and critique of the idea of the 'Bernardine' plan; and see Untermann 2001, 129-32, 144-50 and 305-31.
9 Norton 2006b.

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by Janet Burton, has helped elucidate the circumstances of the foundation of many of these early houses, and the early sources relating to them. The Savigniac houses and the Yorkshire monasteries have been the object of several studies,[10] and Rievaulx and Fountains have received special scrutiny.[11] Bernard maintained close links with both monasteries from the time of their foundation in the early 1130s until his death. It is a matter of great good fortune that they are two of the best-preserved early Cistercian houses anywhere in Europe, and, along with the Clairvaux foundation of Mellifont in Ireland, have been the subject of some of the most detailed and thoughtful architectural analysis of any Cistercian houses. They are important witnesses to practice within the Clairvaux affiliation while Bernard was abbot.

Richard Halsey's paper on the earliest Cistercian churches was written before the excavations in the south transept at Fountains Abbey had been published. These revealed clear archaeological evidence of a major fire which can be dated from historical sources to 1146/7, probably 1146.[12] This crucial discovery not only demonstrated that the present south transept post-dates 1146, considerably later than had been supposed; it revealed a previously unsuspected earlier stone church; and it produced some of the first archaeological evidence for early Cistercian timber buildings. A number of post-holes have been interpreted as the remains of an initial timber church and an adjacent domestic building. More extensive remains of timber buildings have subsequently been published from Sawley Abbey, underlying the stone buildings of the south claustral range and adjacent structures.[13] The first stone church at Fountains had a small south transept with two chapels on the east side, the inner one apparently projecting further east than the outer one. Part of the central vessel adjacent to the transept was also revealed. As first published, the church was reconstructed with a short, aisleless nave (see Figs. 2 and 20); but the church destroyed in the fire of 1146 has more recently been envisaged as a longer, aisled structure.[14] At Rievaulx, Fergusson and Harrison have argued that the large church of the mid twelfth century whose remains still stand was preceded by two earlier stone churches. The first of these, revealed by geophysical survey seems to have been a small aisleless structure. Similar early aisleless churches are known from Waverley, Tintern and elsewhere (see Fig. 1).[15] At Mellifont, founded from Clairvaux in 1142, the church is aisled and spatially more developed (Fig. 11), but it departs in a number of important respects from the so-called 'Bernardine' plan. This appears for the first time at Rievaulx,

10 Burton 1999; Burton 2006; Burton 2009; Freeman 2002; Holdsworth 2004; Rüffer 2004a.
11 Holdsworth 1985a; Burton 1998; Burton 1999, 98-125; Burton 2004; Jamroziak 2005; Norton 2004; Norton 2006a, chs 3 and 4; Rüffer 2000.
12 Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986, 151-4 and 174-5; Coppack 1993, 19-21. The excavators, followed by Norton 2006a, 120, preferred 1146 to the 1147 date given in this book. Further traces of the fire were found during subsequent excavations in the east and west ranges.
13 Coppack, Hayfield and Williams 2002, 29-45; Coppack 2004; see also Ferguson 1984, 23-5.
14 Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986, 154-8 and 175-83 and figs 3 and 14-16; Fergusson 1984, 41. Coppack 1993, 28-32 argued that the early aisleless church was extended in length and given aisles in the mid 1140s; see also Coppack 2004, 43-5 and Fergusson and Harrison 1999, fig. 15. Rüffer 2002 reviews the evidence.
15 Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 45-50: see also Fergusson 1984, 25-9, and Robinson 2006, 55-60.

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now dated no earlier than the late 1140s, followed shortly afterwards by the second church at Fountains (Fig. 2). From then on, variants of the 'Bernardine' plan occur regularly.[16]

Claustral buildings developed *pari passu* with the churches. Both Fountains (Fig. 20) and Rievaulx retain elements of early stone claustral complexes dating to no later than the mid 1140s. The buildings contrast notably in scale, in architectural ambition and in quality of masonry from the grandiose structures that arose in the second half of the twelfth century. An early example of the latter was the unique aisled, apsidal chapter house at Rievaulx erected by Abbot Aelred in the 1150s (Fig. 2). This is unlike any other chapter house, Cistercian or non-Cistercian, and demonstrates an individual creativity and originality of architectural design not normally associated with the Cistercian Order.[17] Quite characteristic, on the other hand, are the refectories at Fountains and Rievaulx.[18] Originally constructed at both sites *c*. 1140 along the south side of the cloister on an east-west axis, both were subsequently rebuilt on a north-south alignment following a major rethinking of Cistercian monastic planning which, as Peter Fergusson demonstrated in his article in this book, can be traced at a number of English houses of the Order from *c*. 1160 onwards.

The nuances of phasing and dating of these early buildings continue to be a matter of discussion, but the broader picture is clear: the two Yorkshire houses with the closest links to Bernard of Clairvaux exhibit a continuous process of architectural expansion and development which encompassed the claustral buildings as much as the abbey churches. This raises a number of questions, the thrust of which can be simply put. How many other Cistercian sites underwent similar, hitherto unsuspected developments in their early years? The question needs to be asked of monasteries right across Europe. And what are we to conclude about the origins and dissemination of the 'Bernardine' church plan and, by extension, of the fully developed Cistercian claustral plan, which are generally traced back to the stone monastery constructed at Clairvaux in Bernard's lifetime. If the 'Bernardine' plan was already fully developed at Clairvaux by the early 1130s, why did it take fifteen or twenty years for it to be adopted at Rievaulx and Fountains? Does this reveal something about the relative unimportance of architectural issues in Bernard's mind, or the limits of Cistercian uniformity at this time? Or might it suggest that the architectural history of Clairvaux itself needs to be reconsidered? The recent discoveries at Rievaulx and Fountains open up the possibility of a profound re-evaulation of early Cistercian architecture. Instead of an architectural schema which had been fully developed in the Cistercian heartlands by the 1130s, should we envisage one which emerged much more gradually in response to changing circumstances? Such a model would accord far more closely with that which has emerged in recent decades for the institutional development of the Order.

16 Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 69-81; Robinson 2006, 61-76. At Kilbeggan, a daughter house of Mellifont, a recent resistivity survey revealed the plan of the church to incorporate a short square-ended presbytery and two straight-ended chapels in each transept. This has yet to be published.

17 Fergusson and Harrison 1994; Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 83-102.

18 Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986, 176-83; Coppack 1993, 28-32; Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 45-54.

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For over fifty years the early written sources have been the subject of intense scrutiny and re-evaluation by historians: it is perhaps time for architectural historians to apply a similarly searching critique to the accepted nostrums of early Cistercian architecture.

The British and Irish sites are therefore relevant to issues that are in no sense insular, but go to the heart of questions concerning the development of Cistercian architectural thinking and practice in the early years of the Order, their dissemination across Europe, and Bernard's role in the whole affair. The next generation of Cistercian churches evince international connections of a different kind. In his article in this book, Christopher Wilson demonstrated the widespread adoption by the Cistercians of northern England of Gothic architectural ideas which were developed into a distinctive regional form of early Gothic, and argued for Cistercian priority in introducing these ideas into the region. Early Gothic in the North has been the subject of intense research in recent years, and individual studies of a number of key sites have helped fill out the picture.[19] The destruction of a number of major monuments and the difficulty of establishing the exact chronology of a number of closely- related buildings mean that the precise role of the Cistercians in the transmission of Gothic forms into the North, and the date at which they first appear, remain open for discussion;[20] but the quality and vitality of their architectural achievement is beyond doubt.

Continuing into the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Cistercians of northern England continued to erect substantial new church buildings which, in the case of the enlarged east ends of Rievaulx and Fountains, rival anything to be found in other monastic orders or among secular communities at the time.[21] Indeed, in spite of inevitable losses, the northern houses provide one of the richest case-studies anywhere in Europe of sustained Cistercian architectural activity on a regional level. From the thirteenth century onwards, as Nicola Coldstream has made clear, Cistercian church building exhibits little in the way of continental connections: rather, it conforms for the most part to insular trends in architectural development. Recent years have seen updated studies on some of the more impressive of the surviving churches, including Abbey Dore, Tintern and Melrose,[22] and two of the four Cistercian churches with apsidal east ends (see Fig. 17), at Beaulieu and at Croxden, have been re-examined.[23] The later Cistercian churches in Ireland and Wales have been analysed by Roger Stalley and David Robinson in their respective monographs, while the work of Richard Fawcett has done much to further understanding of late medieval Cistercian architecture and sculpture in Scotland. These and other studies show

19 Fergusson 1984, 54-90; Harrison 1998; Harrison 1999; Harrison and Barker 1987; Harrison and Barker 1999.

20 Wilson summarised his views on the priority of the Cistercians in transmitting Gothic ideas into the North in Wilson 1990, 73-7. For alternative views, see Thurlby 2000 and Draper 2006, 108-114. Wilson has returned to the question of the earliest arrival of French Gothic influences in this country from a southern perspective in Wilson 2010.

21 Hoey 1995b; Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 151-74; Coppack 1993, 55-63; Wilson 1991; Draper 2006.

22 Harrison and Thurlby 1997; Harrison, Morris and Robinson 1998; Robinson 2006, 77-143; Fawcett and Oram 2004.

23 Jansen 1984; Hoey 1993; Hall 2007.

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an increasing awareness of the importance of liturgical practice for a fuller understanding of Cistercian churches. This has been matched by a growing interest in the daily routines of Cistercian life beyond the church, in both its mundane and its symbolic aspects Following on from Peter Fergusson's article on the form and architectural symbolism of refectories and Nicola Coldstream's survey of other monastic buildings, recent years have seen a burgeoning of studies of Cistercian monastic buildings, from chapter houses and infirmaries through to gatehouse chapels, mills and granges.[24] Here too an increasingly clear awareness of the distinctive features of Cistercian life compared to other forms of Benedictine monasticism has been evident. The architectural history of the Cistercians cannot be written in the churches alone; and the evidence from Britain and Ireland is of international importance. The dissolution of the monasteries had the paradoxical effect of preserving, in more or less ruinous state, the claustral and other monastic buildings which were commonly rebuilt at the continental houses of the Order in the post-medieval period.

Turning now to the painted decoration of the buildings, the essentially 'Cistercian' character of the simple white masonry pattern and other ornament characteristic of the early period was emphasised in David Park's contribution to the present volume. It is indeed a striking feature of many of their early buildings. But it was not apparent in 1986 how standard plain white masonry pattern was in *non-Cistercian* buildings of the period, as has since become clear from the work of scholars such as Jürgen Michler at Chartres and Géraldine Victoir in Picardy; at Noyon, the white decoration also includes other simple ornamental motifs.[25] Moreover, two striking early parallels for Cistercian decoration of a more elaborate type survive in English wall painting itself, though neither of these has yet been fully investigated. One is the design of white interlaced circles on a window at Tysoe, discussed below in the context of Cistercian glazing.[26] The other is the late twelfth-century decoration of intersecting circles painted in 'semi-grisaille' (white, but also with some colouring) in the south transept of Ripon Minster, a building with notably close affinities to Byland and other northern English Cistercian churches. Such decoration must have been much more common before the ruthless 'scraping' and restoration suffered by so many English churches in the centuries following the Reformation. It thus appears that even when the Cistercians produced decoration in white of a high degree of elaboration, as in the recently studied radiating designs around the windows of the thirteenth-century infirmary at Ourscamp, they were working within a long-established tradition.[27]

Of later Cistercian decorative painting in England, extensive investigation, recording and conservation work undertaken at Cleeve Abbey over the last two decades has led to a much

24 See for instance Stalley 1987, 153-78; Fergusson 1990b; Holdsworth 1994b; Harrison 1997b; Coppack 1998; Bell 1998; Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 66-8, 103-50; Hall 2001; Cassidy-Welch 2001, reviewed by Rüffer 2004b; Bell 2004; Hall 2004; Williams 2004; Robinson 2006, 147-220.

25 Michler 1989; Victoir 2005; Victoir, forthcoming a; see also Autenreith 1997.

26 See below, 000.

27 For Ourscamp, see Victoir, forthcoming b.

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better understanding of the elaborate thirteenth-century scheme in its chapter house, and also of the decoration in the dormitory which is now known to be partly original but partly associated with later alterations.[28] Study of the paintings at Cleeve has also demonstrated how late medieval figurative examples, which may appear to have no distinctive Cistercian characteristics, can nevertheless be very revealing in the choice of subject-matter. In 1986 the meaning of the scene of a man on a bridge in the 'Painted Chamber' (Pl. 88) remained unrecognised, but Miriam Gill has now shown that it illustrates an *exemplum* in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and that as an allegory of the monastic life it is highly appropriate to its location in the abbot's quarters.[29] The earlier allegorical and other paintings at Tre Fontane in Rome have been studied in recent years by Joan Barclay Lloyd;[30] other particularly significant studies of Cistercian figurative painting on the Continent include Mikkel Scharff's monograph on the fourteenth-century altar frontal at Løgum (Denmark),[31] and Annegret Laabs's general survey of Cistercian painting and sculpture of the period 1250 to 1430.[32] Two notable examples of figural painting have come to light in England since 1986, both dating from the first half of the fourteenth century: the kneeling figures recorded for the first time in the *capella ante portas* at Merevale, perhaps originally adoring an image in the stained glass of the oculus above;[33] and the Crucifixion with unusual iconographical features discovered in 1991 in the dormitory undercroft at Forde.[34] Major advances have also been made in the understanding of Irish Cistercian wall painting, often in association with conservation work, but also through systematic recording.[35] In particular, a lengthy conservation campaign in the chancel at Clare Island has revealed the most complete scheme of medieval painting in Ireland.[36] These remarkable paintings, including many small figures of huntsmen, musicians and animals as well as prominent fictive vault ribs, evidently date from two different periods, probably the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, though their precise dating remains unclear. Moreover, to what extent these strange paintings on the edge of the known world can be regarded as truly 'Cistercian', as opposed to reflecting the tastes and priorities of the local Gaelic chieftans, is one of the questions raised in Stalley's paper in the volume devoted to Clare Island's architecture and painting.[37]

28 Cather *et al*. 1999, with useful reconstruction drawings.
29 Gill 2000.
30 Barclay Lloyd 1997.
31 Scharff 1986.
32 Laabs 2000.
33 Austin 1998, 131-2.
34 Another significant survival at Forde is the now-hidden painting in the abbot's lodging constructed shortly before the Dissolution by Thomas Chard; this includes the motto 'Thinke and Thanke' in splendid Renaissance lettering, and is comparable to the remains of Chard's glazing discussed by Richard Marks (see Park and Cather 2004, 225; Marks, below, 220).
35 Morton 2004; Morton 2007. For a summary of the earlier state of knowledge, see Stalley 1987, 214-16. Stalley's book provides excellent coverage of all aspects of Cistercian art in Ireland.
36 Manning *et al*. 2005.
37 Stalley 2005.

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The study of stained glass in England has benefited enormously from Richard Marks's general survey of the material published in 1993, which includes a discussion of the Cistercian glass in a wider context.[38] Both English and continental Cistercian glass has been published in detail in the burgeoning series of volumes constituting the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. One of the most important of these covers the abbey of Santes Creus in Catalonia including its extensive scheme of early grisaille glazing, the only major such scheme not covered in Zakin's study of 1979.[39] The later medieval figurative and historiated glazing of German Cistercian houses has also attracted much scholarly attention since 1986, with a very useful bibliography in the recent study by Daniel Parello.[40] Likewise of major importance is the ambitious interdisciplinary research project begun in 2007 on archaeological window glass from Cistercian abbeys throughout Europe, with the vast collection of excavated fragments from the Abbaye des Dunes in Flanders as its starting-point.[41]

In terms of glazing, it is of course for their early grisaille windows that the Cistercians are most famous. But already in 1986, Marks queried whether 'there had ever been a distinctively Cistercian glazing style',[42] and he has since explored this question further in relation both to their early grisaille glass with the designs formed by the leading, and to the later type consisting of white glass with painted designs. Without reaching a firm conclusion, he has nevertheless shown that examples of the first type existed from an early date even in parish churches, while also demonstrating that the latter type was indistinguishable from the glazing of such great churches as the cathedrals of Lincoln and Salisbury.[43] Curiously, some of the best evidence that – as in wall painting – the Cistercians were indeed following models that were already available appears in a fourteenth-century context at York Minster. Here, the clerestory windows of the nave contain grisaille panels with typically 'Cistercian' interlace and other designs formed by the leading; and although some of these panels may be fourteenth-century copies of Romanesque originals, the majority at least appear to have been reused from the nave of the late twelfth-century Minster, or even to derive from its early Romanesque predecessor completed by *c*.1100.[44] That such designs in grisaille were current in glazing contexts by *c*.1100 is indicated by the painted decoration on the splays of a window in the parish church of Tysoe (Warwicks.). Comprising interlaced circles in white closely resembling some of the grisaille glazing at York and Obazine, this painting doubtless reflects the designs of grisaille glass already appearing in parish churches in the early Romanesque

38 Marks 1993, 128-9.
39 Ainaud i de Lasarte et al. 1992; see also Vil-Grau 1993.
40 Parello 2004.
41 Wouters *et al*. 2008.
42 Marks, below, 217.
43 Marks 1993, 127-9; Marks 2001, 176.
44 Norton 1993-4, 529, fig. 15; see also Brown 1999, 17. The Romanesque glass at York is the subject of current PhD research by David Reid of the University of York.

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period.[45] Even in the Carolingian period, semi-grisaille interlace patterns appear on window splays in the celebrated wall painting scheme at Müstair (Switzerland),[46] and bear a notable resemblance to later Cistercian designs in the Obazine glass and in the Reuner Musterbuch. More generally, Zakin has demonstrated that many of the designs in Cistercian glass can be found in Carolingian sculpture and Roman mosaics, just as Norton has pointed to parallels for early Cistercian tile designs in Romanesque, Carolingian and earlier pavements.[47]

Tile studies have advanced considerably in recent years. Illustrated catalogues of all known tiles from Wales, Ireland and northern England have been published, along with a survey of all the Scottish material.[48] Further south, assemblages from individual sites have been analysed. This great corpus of material demonstrates continuing investment by the Cistercians in tile pavements right through to the sixteenth century. For the period up to the middle of the thirteenth century, which is the focus of Christopher Norton's paper, there have been systematic studies of many of the individual sites. Jennie Stopford's monograph on northern England deserves special mention, since it presents for the first time a full picture of the remarkable survivals from the northern English houses, and confirms their close connections with the tiles at Newbattle and Melrose in Scotland.[49] On the Continent too there have been important advances. A catalogue of the medieval tiles in Denmark has demonstrated the strength of the relief-tile tradition across the North Sea, which helps explain the generally eastern distribution of relief tiles in this country.[50] Relief tiles have also been found at the Abbaye des Dunes in Flanders, from where the full set of early counter-relief tiles (see Fig. 31b and c) have now been published.[51] The continental evidence for the origins of the two-colour technique, which appears at English Cistercian sites as early as the 1240s (Fig. 37) has been published;[52] and in Burgundy Magali Orgeur has initiated the systematic study of one of the richest tile-producing regions in Europe, including the early material from Citeaux itself, from Pontigny and from Fontenay.[53] All this work fleshes out, but does not fundamentally alter, the picture of early Cistercian tiles outlined in this volume, though the precise dating of most of the early tiles remains open for discussion. At the same time, renewed interest in luxury stone and marble pavements, both geometric and figurative, at cathedrals and at some of the wealthiest Benedictine monasteries across Europe, underlines the Cistercians' rejection of such ornaments, which had been famously

45 The Tysoe painting is as yet unpublished, except for a brief and inaccurate reference in *VCH Warwicks*., V, 1949, 179.
46 Goll *et al.* 2007, 86, 255, Abb. 66.
47 Zakin 2001; Norton 1983b.
48 Eames and Fanning 1988; Norton 1994; Lewis 1999; Stopford 2005.
49 Stopford 2005; see also for sites discussed in the text Eames 1988, Baker 1993, Norton 1994, Vince 1997 and Harcourt 2000.
50 Hansen and Sorenson 2005.
51 Van Nerom 1986 and Van Nerom 1993.
52 Norton 1986.
53 Plouvier and Orgeur 1998; Orgeur 2006a and 2006b.

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mocked by Bernard in his *Apologia*. As with the other monumental arts of wall painting and stained glass, the evidence suggests that in their pavements the early Cistercians were adopting existing models of a relatively simple type, rather than inventing entirely new forms.

Cistercian manuscript illumination has been the subject of intensive research in recent decades. Especially noteworthy are Yolanta Załuska's study of ninety-five twelfth-century manuscripts surviving from Cîteaux, and her subsequent publication of the books from Cîteaux, Clairvaux and elsewhere now at Dijon.[54] Together with a website currently providing images of hundreds of the Clairvaux manuscripts,[55] these publications make many of the most important Cistercian manuscripts properly available for study for the first time. Some of the earliest books from Cîteaux, such as the great Bible at Dijon (Bibliothèque Municipale MSS 12-15), are justly celebrated for their lavish decoration with figure-subjects. Of particular interest from an English perspective are the stylistic and iconographical influences from English manuscript illumination, presumably due to Stephen Harding's abbacy in these years.[56] The meaning of the famous figural initials in the copy of St Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, completed at Cîteaux in 1111, have been the subject of a detailed study by Conrad Rudolph.[57] Also extremely useful is the coverage of the Cistercian material in Walter Cahn's general survey of French Romanesque manuscripts.[58] Elsewhere on the Continent, particularly important studies are Nigel Palmer's publication of the manuscripts from Eberbach,[59] and Natasa Golob's study of the important group of late twelfth-century manuscripts from the Slovenian monastery of Sticna (Sitticum).[60]

The insular material has also benefited from recent studies. Understanding of Cistercian book collections has been given a major boost by David Bell's edition of surviving library catalogues.[61] Anne Lawrence's paper in the present volume has been followed by her important article revisiting the question of the legislation and its interpretation in England,[62] and by her major book on manuscript production by the various monastic orders throughout northern England in the Romanesque period.[63] While underlining distinctive aspects of the Cistercian books, Lawrence also shows a surprising interaction with the other orders, and especially the Benedictine monastery of Durham, with one Fountains artist even providing coloured decoration for a Durham book.[64] Manuscripts were certainly travelling from Durham and other monasteries to Cistercian houses, so it is not always clear where they

54 Załuska 1989; Załuska 1991.
55 http://patrimoine.agglo-troyes.fr/
56 See also Dodwell 1993, 211-13; Heslop 2007, 70-1. As Heslop comments elsewhere, more research remains to be done on English influences on the iconography of the Cîteaux manuscripts (Heslop 1992).
57 Rudolph 1997.
58 Cahn 1996.
59 Palmer 1998.
60 Golob 1996.
61 Bell 1992.
62 Lawrence 1995.
63 Lawrence-Mathers 2003.
64 Lawrence-Mathers 2003, 213, 260-1.

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were actually produced. A fascinating case is provided by a late twelfth-century copy of St Augustine's *Enchiridion* studied by Mary Carruthers. This was certainly at Holm Cultram by the early thirteenth century, and shows connections with other books of that house, but is decorated with an exceptional series of marginal drawings enclosing *tituli* and marginal notations to the text.[65] Undoubtedly the most famous northern manuscript of this period with Cistercian connections is a collection of historical, geographical and other texts now divided between two manuscripts in Cambridge (Corpus Christi College MS 66 and University Library Ff.1.27). It is lavishly illustrated with very unusual full-page drawings and illuminations, including a Wheel of Fortune, a diagram *Imago ecclesiae*, geneaologies and a *Mappa mundi*, and it bears the date 1188. The two parts of this manuscript were reunited in a small exhibition of Cistercian art held in Cambridge in 1983 at the time of the conference associated with the present book. It used to be attributed to the small and impoverished Cistercian monastery of Sawley in Lancashire, on the basis of an *ex-libris* of *c*. 1200, and the idea of a whole 'Sawley school of historians' was promoted. On textual and art-historical grounds, however, this manuscript has now been firmly attributed to Durham.[66]

Nevertheless, just such full-page drawings, albeit only lightly tinted, appear in one of the most interesting manuscripts from Buildwas. Remarkably, forty-nine manuscripts survive from Buildwas – more than from any other English Cistercian house – and these previously little-studied books have now been the subject of a meticulous monograph by Jennifer Sheppard.[67] Most of the Buildwas books have no more than simple initials, but the late twelfth-century manuscript just referred to (Lambeth Palace Library MS 107), comprising two works by Hugh of Fouilloy, includes full-page drawings illustrating his *De rota verae et falsae religionis*. Each of these drawings is based on a Wheel of Fortune, and they depict the good and bad abbot described in the text.[68] It is clear from its ornament that this book is a Cistercian production, very likely made at Buildwas itself. The drawings are extremely close to those in a twelfth-century manuscript at Heiligenkreuz, which however was produced at a Burgundian Cistercian house, possibly Morimond.[69] They must depend on a common model, and this, like other aspects of the Buildwas manuscripts, requires further art-historical investigation. Another recent monograph which has thrown up surprises, this time in terms of scribal practices, is Robert Patterson's study of the scriptorium of Margam.[70] In this Welsh Cistercian house, founded by the earl of Glamorgan in 1147, almost half the choir monks were practising as scribes by the first quarter of the thirteenth century, catering not only for the abbey's own secretarial needs but also those of others, notably the earldom of Gloucester, in a manner that might rather have expected of a Benedictine

65 Carruthers 2008, 310-15.
66 Norton 1998.
67 Sheppard 1997.
68 Sheppard 1997, cat. 18, pp. 94-5, fig. 29; Robinson 2010.
69 Cahn 1996, cat. 78, pp. 95-6, ills. 185-6.
70 Patterson 2002.

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monastery. Two important but very different later Welsh Cistercian manuscripts – the thirteenth-century Tintern Abbey Bible, and the collection of poems comprising the fourteenth-century Hendregadredd Manuscript – have been studied in detail by David Huws.[71]

As discussed by Jane Geddes in this volume, silver gilt was permitted from the outset by the Order's legislation specifically for chalices and for the eucharistic reed, though by the later Middle Ages precious metalwork of all kinds was to be found in Cistercian houses. Regrettably, virtually nothing of this survives in Britain, though one possible example – the magnificent silver-gilt Dolgelly chalice and paten of *c*. 1230-50, found near Cymmer Abbey – was the subject of a useful discussion by Marian Campbell in the catalogue of the *Age of Chivalry* catalogue.[72] Roger Stalley has provided a valuable overview of the Irish material, including a late medieval processional cross and other objects found near Mellifont.[73] Disappointingly, the spectacular but enigmatic copper gilt and enamel medallions from Warden Abbey (Pl. 125) have yet to receive the further investigation recommended by Geddes in 1986. Of the more mundane objects discussed by her, such as spouts and ventilator strips, various examples have featured in exhibitions in York and Paris.[74] Much more significant has been the advance in the study of decorative ironwork represented by Jane Geddes's own masterly survey published in 1999, covering the English medieval material generally, and setting the Cistercian examples in this wider context.[75] On the Continent, examples of Cistercian decorative ironwork have also been the subject of further study, such as the magnificent armoire from the abbey of Pforta near Naumburg, perhaps dating from the thirteenth century.[76] Finally, since 1986 a prodigious amount of work has been undertaken throughout Europe on Cistercian metal industry. In England, particularly noteworthy are the excavations at Bordesley Abbey, which uncovered the remains of several water mills dating from the twelfth century onward that were used for making and repairing small items of iron and other metalwork, and which provide some of the earliest evidence for water-powered metalworking in Britain.[77]

A notable product of the metalworker's art was the seal matrix. The fine late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century example from Grace Dieu Abbey is now known to be of gilt brass,[78] while a particularly splendid silver matrix of before 1449 from Coupar Angus showing the Virgin above a kneeling abbot has been published by Virginia Glenn.[79] Pierre Bony's study of

71 Huws 2000, 158-68 and 193-226, for papers first published in 1990 and 1981-2 (the latter in Welsh).
72 Alexander and Binski 1986, no. 258, pp. 307-8.
73 Stalley 1987, 220-23.
74 Coppack 1988; Pressouyre and Kinder 1990, 216-19.
75 Geddes 1999. This also corrects the attribution of the door ironwork at Whalley in the present volume (263, Pl. 132) from the abbey gateway to the parish church (Geddes 1999, 184, 344, 382).
76 Pressouyre and Kinder 1990, no. 59, pp. 220-1.
77 Astill 1993.
78 Williams 1993, cat. D13, p. 24.
79 Glenn 2003, 125-6 and colour plate.

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