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SING A NEW SONG: THE SPIRIT OF CISTERCIAN LITURGICAL REFORM AND THE 1147 HYMNAL

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2017

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by

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(USA)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Dane Miller**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

Traditional accounts of the competitive interaction between twelfth century monastic reform movements in the Western church often focus on the role of individual actors, drawing on letter collections or treatises as source evidence. Building on that approach, this thesis takes one aspect of Cistercian liturgical reform, the 1147 hymnal as reconstructed by Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO, to understand how the Cistercians constructed and attempted to maintain a distinctive monastic identity through liturgical practice. It examines first the voices of three Cistercian monks to understand how liturgical and theological views coalesced within the order, then sets the Cistercian perspective against the views of two other reformers, Peter the Venerable and Peter Abelard, particularly through their interaction with Bernard of Clairvaux and their own liturgical activities. Finally, it examines the hymnal evidence itself in comparison against practices at Cluny and the Paraclete to show how the Cistercian hymnal set itself apart and how it overlapped with hymnal traditions elsewhere. In spite of Cistercian efforts to reform their practices to reflect their own interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, the hymnal revision evidence shows that they continued to be influenced by outside trends that moderated their attempt to create a distinctive identity and that other monastic groupings adapted the Cistercian hymnal for their own use.

Acknowledgements

It would take more space than I have here to acknowledge everyone who has helped me in writing this thesis. I particularly want to thank my supervisor, Gábor Klaniczay, for his encouragement, the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU for providing a cordial academic environment, the Gabrielli Choir Budapest for allowing me to join my voice with theirs, and St. Margaret's Anglican Episcopal Church for their fellowship. I also want to thank my family in Denmark, for being my home away from home, and my family in the US, particularly my sister Whitney, who provided invaluable comments, and my parents, for their unfailing support. Finally, I would like to thank Professor Irit Kleiman, who gave me the nudge I needed to take the dive.

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Introduction

> The hymns of the church *are* theology. They are theological statements: the church's lyrical, theological commentaries on Scripture, liturgy, faith, action, and host of other subjects which call the reader and singer to faith, life, and Christian practice. – S.T. Kimbrough, Jr., "Hymns Are Theology"[1]

From the early beginnings of Christianity, belief has followed practice. Indeed, liturgical practice preceded written evidence of the new faith. What Christians believed about God was shaped by how they pray. This fact was not lost on the church fathers, and Prosper of Aquitaine summed it up as early as the fifth century.[2] In the Catholic tradition, the liturgy provides the structure of prayer. It has taken shape through subsequent generations of codification, as new understandings and new traditions emerged.[3] This study aims to understand the liturgical reform process within the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century by situating the revised hymnal in its broader context. Though only one part of the greater reform program, the revised Cistercian hymnal is a strong indicator of how the order attempted to create a shared sense of identity based on textual community across its broad network and what ideas and beliefs underlay that identity.[4]

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[1] S.T. Kimbrough, Jr., "Hymns are Theology," *Theology Today* 42, no. 1 (1985): 59.

[2] *obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respiciamus, quae ab apostolis tradita, in toto mundo atque in omni catholica Ecclesia uniformiter celebrantur, ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*. PL 51:209-10. More recently, David W. Fagerberg has written extensively on the topic, which he defines under the framework of liturgical theology, in "Liturgical Theology," in *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, ed. Alcuin Reed (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 3-20.

[3] A standard reference for the historical overview of the development of the Eucharist is still Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (West Minster: Dacre Press, 1945). For a historical overview of the Divine Office, see Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986).

[4] I am especially indebted to the concept of textual community as developed in Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). For a useful criticism on literacy theories and the continuing role of oral culture, see Matthew Innes, "Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society," *Past & Present* 158 (1998): 3-36. Derek Kreuger has also effectively applied these ideas to the formation of individual liturgical identity in the Byzantine context in *Liturgical Subjects Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: UPenn Press, 2014).

The 12th century: Renaissance or Crisis?

Since the publication of Charles Homer Haskins' *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* almost a century ago, the European twelfth century has received numerous critical reevaluations.[5] Haskins' basic thesis—that the revival of classical learning reinvigorated cultural and intellectual life—has, with few exceptions, not been rejected outright, but several modifications have since been proposed. R. I. Moore, for instance, has pointed to the period as one of rising intolerance for difference.[6] More recently, Bisson has suggested the period was marked by crisis as much as by renewal.[7] It has also become fashionable to speak of other renaissances.[8] Whether the period was marked by continuity or change, dynamism or instability, depends as much on one's interpretive lens and the sources examined, as on any intrinsic or objective historical reality.

The political situation across Western Christendom during the period was far from even. Although the migrations of previous centuries had largely subsided, struggles for political stability had not. The brigandage that had spurred the Peace of God movements in the late

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[5] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928). The theme has received an updated and broader treatment in, among other places, Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). For a summary of the debate on the topic, see C. Stephen Jaeger's opening footnote in "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century 'Renaissance'," *Speculum* 78, no. 4 (2003): 1151, n1. For a review of new directions in scholarship, particularly after the influence of the "linguistic turn," see Leidulf Melve, "'The Revolt of the Medievalists.' Directions in the Recent Research on the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 231-52.

[6] Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

[7] Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[8] For a definition of the Carolingian Renaissance see Walter Ullman, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London: Methuen, 1969), 1-20. The idea of an Ottonian Renaissance has also gained currency. Claudia Ott, Joachim Ott, and Volker Schupp, "Ottonian Renaissance," in *Brill's New Pauly, Antiquity,* vol. 4, ed. Hubert Cancik, and Helmuth Schneider, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), accessed April 12, 2017, doi:http://dx.doi.org /10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1510590. In a footnote, Bernard McGinn traces the idea of the three medieval renaissances back to nineteenth century French scholar Jean-Jacques Ampère, "Renaissance Humanism, and the Interpretation of the Twelfth Century," *The Journal of Religion* 55, no. 4 (1975), 445, n1.

eleventh century was still widespread.[9] Dynastic disputes in the wake of the Norman Conquest of England were evident, and the now legendary Becket affair pitted crown against church.[10] In the Iberian Peninsula, the counts of Barcelona were expanding their power and forming new alliances with Aragon. In the response to Germanic expansionary tendencies, the Scandinavian and Central European kingdoms were consolidating their own counterbalancing identities.[11] The period witnessed the formation and expansion of states, the rise of new dynastic powers, and the growth in power of the lesser nobility.[12] The renewed study of Roman law at Bologna and elsewhere permitted increasing political organization.[13] The period also saw the proliferation of new market towns which would thrive in the thirteenth century. Demographic shifts and new trends in production were slowly opening up the older locally-oriented agricultural order to alternative systems of economic and political power while established European powers were expanding and colonizing new areas.[14]

The ideology and innovations of the twelfth century have had a lasting impact on religion. Traditional ways of learning centered on monastic environments and liturgical experience that had matured in the Carolingian period were finding competition in the rise of the cathedral schools and universities.[15] As students sought out masters in cities, the Benedictine emphasis on stability lost some of its dominance. In the realm of theology a revival of patristic study

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[9] R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

[10] Paul Dalton, "The Topical Concerns of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regnum Britannie:* History, Prophecy, Peacemaking, and English Identity in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 4 (2005): 688-712. For a summary of the Becket affair and the Cistercian attempt to mediate, see Martha Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 191-219.

[11] Sverre Bagge, *Cross and Scepter: The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms from the Vikings to the Reformation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[12] Joseph Strayer, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955), 89-127. For the influence of the nobility on religious reform in the period, see John Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 2 (1988): 317-39.

[13] Strayer argues that although the twelfth century remained less state oriented than the thirteenth, this attempt to rationalize the legal system provided the impetus for later organizational developments. Joseph Strayer, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[14] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[15] See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 37-83.

challenged inherited tradition, just as intellectual influences from the Muslim world were also beginning to be felt. An inherited system of Platonic and Pseudo-Dionysian thought would be assailed by an increasing shift towards Aristotelianism.[16] Within the realms of Western Europe, Jewish intellectual revivals were in direct contact with Christian thought and practice creating a mutual exchange.[17] A staid emphasis on collective worship and sacramental experience was broadening to include more expressions of individual piety and a return to apostolic evangelism. As in most generational shifts, traditions were being both challenged and reinvigorated.

Consolidation of Ecclesiastical Power

By the late eleventh century, Cluny had established itself as arguably the most powerful force in Latin Christendom. In the span of two centuries, the Burgundian monastery had promoted its interpretation of Benedictine monasticism through a vast patronage network. The network had strong ties to the nobility and had developed a gift-based economy and liturgical system whose influence, if not exclusive, had become hegemonic across a wide geographic area.[18] Evidence of the power of Cluny could be seen in its grand architecture—Cluny III was the largest church in the Latin West for over 200 years—its land holdings, and its role in

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[16] See especially Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

[17] For parallel developments, see Israel Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (London: University of California Press, 2006); Michael A. Signer, "Rabbi and *Magister*: Overlapping Intellectual Models of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *Jewish History* 22, no. 1 (2008): 115-37. Some have also pointed to the period as one of rising Christian-Jewish polemic, Daniel Lasker, "Jewish-Christian Polemics at the Turning Point: Jewish Evidence from the Twelfth Century," *The Harvard Theological Review* 89, no. 2 (1996): 161-73; Devorah Schoenfeld, *Isaac on Jewish and Christian Altars: Polemic and Exegesis in Rashi and the Glossa Ordinaria* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 14-30.

[18] Gorze is often cited as a countervailing presence to Cluny, as in Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny, Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Rome: Orbis Catholicus, 1950). A more recent treatment of Gorze's impact can be found in Anne Wagner, *Gorze au XIe siècle: Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l'Empire* (Nancy: Brepols, 1995).

determining the direction of ecclesiastical policy.[19] Pope Urban II, famous for launching the first crusade, was a Cluniac monk, and a series of successive abbots had established their right to serve as arbiters on par with Rome.

From the mid-eleventh century, a resurgent papacy had begun to exert itself after centuries of weak authority. The collapse of the Carolingian Empire in the late ninth century had left Rome without a single effective secular leader who could champion its cause. While the two swords theory had held currency since the time of Pope Gelasius, the practical matter of sorting out secular versus spiritual authority had continued.[20] This question came to a head during the so-called Investiture Crisis, which pitted the Holy Roman emperors against the pope. For a time, at least, it seemed the papacy was able to get the upper hand.[21] It is in this period that the papal monarchy of subsequent centuries began to coalesce. Even with the rise of the papacy, however, conflict did not subside. The twelfth century saw more than one papal schism, as contending political factions attempted to secure their own candidates for the Holy See.[22]

The consolidation of spiritual authority was not welcome in all quarters. Numerous emerging movements in the eleventh and twelfth century were deemed heretical by the ecclesiastical hierarchy for challenged prevailing theological notions or clerical authority. Although the Milanese Patarene movement represents an earlier example from the eleventh century, by the twelfth century the Cathars and the Waldenses had become the largest threat in the region.[23]

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[19] See Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

[20] Lester L. Field, Jr., *Liberty, Dominion, and the Two Swords: On the Origins of Western Political Theology (180-398)* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 253-64.

[21] Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century,* trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[22] Bernard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 151-70.

[23] The topic is beyond the scope of this thesis, but a good overview can be found in Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994). For the Patarenes, who presaged a wider movement towards evangelism and renewed apostolic life, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* vol. 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 25-48. Beverly Kienzle provides a more tailored approach to the Cistercian context in *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's*

The defenders of a certain interpretation of Christianity saw their faith embattled, with enemies both internal and external. For those who fell outside of the defined borders of the orthodox—borders that were increasingly enforceable and enforced by the rise of a consolidated church hierarchy—the ability to practice their individual understanding of faith must have ultimately trumped concerns of persecution or expulsion, at least in those cases which have been recorded for posterity. The Cathars were effectively wiped out, and their story survives primarily through the filter of orthodox accounts. The Waldenses, though persecuted, survived the ordeal and some of their ideas were adopted by the mendicant friars and later Reformation theologians.[24]

Competition and Conciliation

Not all new expressions of faith were suppressed, as even within the consolidated church structure there was ample room for diversity at various levels within the hierarchy. When Robert of Molesme struck out to found a new monastery in the closing years of the eleventh century, he could not have been guaranteed to meet with success.[25] Although he was ultimately ordered to return to Molesme, his project survived and blossomed. Evidence of the dramatic rise of the Cistercian Order during the twelfth century is attested in the proliferation of new foundations, in the election of a Cistercian pope, and in the number of offices and bishoprics

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Vineyard (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001). The Cluniac perspective is well summarized in Dominique Ioagna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

[24] For the influence of the Cathars and the Waldenses on the rise of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, respectively, see Barbara Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualties," *Past & Present* no. 63 (1974): 4-32.

[25] Accounts of the origins of the Cistercian Order are based primarily on the "Exordium Parvum" which itself has provided ample room for debate. "Exordium Parvum," trans. Bede Lackner in Louis Leaki, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1977), Appedix 1. Constance Berman Hoffman has questioned the dating of the early narrative accounts in T*he Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). She has vigorously defended her work against criticism from Bouchard and Waddell in "Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: A Response to Bouchard's Review," *The Medieval Review* (May 7, 2001), accessed April 12, 2017, https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/15960/22078.

held by Cistercian trained clergy. In its attempted return to its own interpretation of a stricter observance of the Benedictine Rule, the order posed a direct challenge to Cluny, but one that remained within the range of accepted orthodoxy.[26]

The early period of Cistercian expansion has traditionally been seen as a golden age, with Bernard of Clairvaux often depicted as the charismatic driver of growth. Although the order never entirely disappeared (as did Cluny following the French Revolution), it never again met with the same success. The surrounding world changed, and new challenges and opportunities presented themselves in subsequent centuries. The historiography of the order was long dominated by a paradigm of decline, with attempts to locate its later deterioration in realities such as the loosening standards of observance, the arrival of the commendatory abbot system, or the rise of national identities.[27] Louis Lekai's *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, still a standard resource on the subject given its comprehensive treatment of the various facets of Cistercian life, reflects on this tendency.[28] In more recent decades, the paradigm has been increasingly questioned as scholars seek to understand the early years of the order and draw a more complex narrative.[29]

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[26] Giles Constable has stressed the continuity and commonalities of the reform movement in *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[27] See Peter King, "The Cistercian Order 1200-1600," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 38-49; and Emilia Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 238-284.

[28] Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1977).

[29] Georges Auberger encapsulated the debate in *L'unanimité cistercienne primitive: mythe ou réalité?* Commentarii Cistercienses (Achel: Administration de Cîteaux, 1986). Subsequent scholarship has contributed to various aspects of the picture. Constance Bouchard's study of early Cistercian charters shows the widespread presence of practices that went against the grain of Cistercian legislation, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.) Emilia Jamroziak and Christina Lutter, among others, have also added to the debate by focusing on regional variation, particularly in the east. Emilia Jamroziak, "Centers and Peripheries," in *The Cambridge Companion*, 65-79*;* Christina Lutter, "Locus horroris et vastae solitudinis? Zisterzienserinnen in und um Wien," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 132 (2012): 141-76.

The undisputed focal point of Cistercian life was the *opus Dei*, the daily round of prayer offices centered on the singing of the psalms as laid out by the Rule.[30] Variations within the liturgy, particularly in the chants for the Office, have been attested among bishoprics and among monastic clusters, but the Cistercians were distinctive in their efforts to legislate and enforce uniformity of practice throughout their vast hierarchical network.[31] The first fifty years of the order's expansion witnessed an attempt to form the liturgy and create a workable model that could serve this purpose. This study attempts to understand one part of that reform, the 1147 hymnal recension, within its greater context.

The Source

The current study takes as its starting point the 1147 Cistercian hymnal recension as reconstructed by Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO, in the second half of the twentieth century. The recension is based on the evidence of five manuscripts.[32] As Waddell has pointed out, the hymnal reform was successful enough to erase prior vestiges and few manuscripts attest to earlier periods.[33] Indeed, the work of scholars in the last century to catalogue surviving liturgical manuscripts has thus far turned up limited evidence of the hymnal before the thirteenth century.[34] The year 1147 has been given for the recension based on Waddell's deductive work, and has been accepted for the sake of this study.[35] Although later surviving manuscript evidence demonstrates the addition of hymns over time—particularly to fit the needs of newly adapted order-wide feast days—the scarcity of evidence from this period makes it impossible to say with certainty how effective the reform was among existing or newly founded or incorporated houses.[36] One thing is certain, however, the hymnal continued to form the backbone of Cistercian usage up until and for some time after the Council of Trent.

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[30] See chapters 8-20 on the Divine Office in the Rule, Benedict of Nursia, *La règle de Saint Benoît*, vol. 2, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1972), 508-34.

[31] See László Dobszay, "Reading an Office Book," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 48-63.

[32] Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal*: V*ol. 1, The Milanese-Cistercian Recension and the Bernardine Recension*, Cistercian Liturgy Series 2 (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984). Waddell points to the earlier work of Carl Weinmann, who attempted already in 1905 to reconstruct the hymnal based on two codices, and Bruno Stäblein, who transcribed a twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscript from Heiligenkreuz in his *Hymne*, vol. 1, *Die mittelalterlichen Hymnemelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1 (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1956). The reconstructed hymnal is based on evidence from five sources. Those are Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms Aldini 171; Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, ms Chigi C.V. 138; Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 442; Erlangen,Universitätsbibliothek, ms 118; and Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 441. Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal: Introduction and Commentary*, Cistercian Liturgy Series, 1 (Trappist, KY: Cistercian Studies, 1984), 79-87.

[33] Chrysogonus Waddell, "A Methodology to Recover the Primitive Cistercian Antiphonary and Gradual," in *Liturgie und Buchkunst der Zisterzienser im 12. Jahrhundert: Katalogisierung von Handschriften der Zisterzienserbibliotheken*, ed. Charlotte Ziegler (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2000), 145-48.

Although the Cistercian liturgy survived the reforms instituted at Trent for several generations, it, too, lost its currency during the latter half of the seventeenth century when the order experienced both renewal and division that continues to this day.[37] This was in keeping with trends across the Roman Catholic Church in the post-Tridentine period.[38] Following generations of rationalization and revolution, nineteenth-century religious eventually began efforts at liturgical *ressourcement* as part of a broader Romantic medieval revival.[39] Reforms instituted at Solesme under the guidance of Dom Guéranger and his disciples gave new life to medieval plainchant, while the liturgical movement continued and expanded into the twentieth century across multiple denominations. Waddell's scholarship can also be situated within these trends.

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[34] Various national liturgical manuscript catalogues are digitized and were consulted for the purpose of this study. These include the catalogues for liturgical manuscript holdings in British, French, and German libraries as compiled by the Cantus Planus Project at Regensburg and Austrian, Swiss, and Vatican library holdings. A note on these listings is included in the bibliography. A partial listing of digitized Cistercian chant manuscripts can also be found on the Musicologie Médiévale website, "Chant cistercien: Manuscrits en ligne," accessed April 12, 2017, http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/chant-cistercien/page/manuscrits-en-ligne.

[35] For a discussion on the dating of the R II hymnal in Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary,* 76-79.

[36] Some work on English twelfth century Cistercian missals has been done by D. F. L. Chadd in this regard, Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 250. For the historic development of the Cistercian calendar, see Bernard Backaert "L'évolution du calendrier cistercien," *Collectanea Cisterciensia,* 12 (1950): 81-94, 302-16; 13 (1951): 108-27.

[37] Pius Maurer, OCist, "Giovanni Bona and the Cistercian Liturgy of the Hours," trans. Elias Dietz, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (2015): 145-160.

[38] Szövérffy attributes the changes to the influence of Jesuit reformers who brought humanist thought to bear on the hymns, supplanting the influence previously held by the mendicant orders. Joseph Szövérffy, *Latin Hymns,* Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 55 (Turnhout : Brepols, 1989), 118.

[39] Keith Pecklers, "The History of the Modern Liturgical Movement," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (2015). Accessed online at http://religion.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-19?rskey=5w5tim&result=1.

As will be discussed in the third chapter of this study, there is perhaps nothing new in the interest in retracing the historic origins of hymns, though the aims and methodologies have changed. From their introduction and acceptance in the Western church, hymns have met with varied reception.[40] Born from Latin poetic traditions, they have been seen both as useful pedagogical tools and suspicious entry points for new theological ideas in the liturgy.[41] As new lyrical compositions, hymns are a source of innovation against the backdrop of more fixed scriptural material, and the choice of hymnals can still be fraught today.

A Note on Methodology

The scarcity of surviving manuscript sources from this period presents certain methodological challenges. Although a standard text of the hymnal was at one point made available alongside other liturgical materials, the original was at some point lost.[42] While later hymnals can be compared against Waddell's reconstructed 1147 recension, this approach will never be entirely satisfactory in establishing to what extent liturgical uniformity was achieved across the order

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[40] Joseph Szövérffy provides a good introduction in *Latin Hymns*. A standard reference for medieval hymn research continues to be the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. G.M. Dreves, C. Blume, and H. M. Banister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922; rpt., 1961). A more recent reference work is *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, ed. Joseph Szövérffy (Berlin: Schmidt, 1964-1965).

[41] Hymns were only formally endorsed on a broad scale at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633. Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001), 151.

[42] An exemplar model of all Cistercian liturgical books was created sometime between 1173 and 1191 and is preserved in codex 114, Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon. Unfortunately, parts of the manuscript went missing at some point before the abbacy of Jean de Cirey, who compiled a catalogue of manuscript holdings at Cîteaux ~1480. The missing pieces include the psalter, the canticles of the third nocturn, the hymnary, the antiphonary, and the gradual. See Francois Huot, "L'Antiphonaire Cistercien au XIIe siècle d'après les manuscrits de la Maigrauge," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique Suisse*, 65 (1971), 302-414; and Chrysogonus Waddell, *Cistercian Lay Brothers: Twelfth Century Usages with Related Texts* (Brecht: Cîteaux Commentarii cistercienses, 2000), 358.

in the twelfth century. These later hymnals may be the basis for further scholarship but are not the focus of this thesis.

Following the models set by scholars such as Eric Palazzo, Susan Boynton, and Yitzhak Hen, this study aims to illuminate and understand the 1147 hymnal reform by situating it against contemporary currents through the use of surviving source material.[43] The first chapter of this study will provide a basic theological context for the hymns by exploring the writing of three Cistercian monks. The second chapter will explore competing strands of orthodoxy represented by Peter the Venerable and Peter Abelard, the former a moderating champion of tradition, the latter an ardent supporter of the theological vanguard. The final chapter of this study will serve as a more in depth analysis of the hymnal itself, including attention to the process of revision, its contents, and distribution. The Cistercians, though cloistered, did not live in isolation. Their customs, beliefs, and actions can be seen as a response to the world around them, whether they are understood as accommodation, modification, or rejection. This study sees the hymnal as an emblematic part of the liturgy and as a means of understanding, through a glass darkly, twelfth-century Cistercian religiosity, anchored in this world but with fervent longing for another. In providing breadth, my sincere hope is not to have downplayed the depth of experience these pioneering men and women felt in their search for God.

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[43] See especially Eric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au moyen âge* (Paris: Aubier, 2000); Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006); and Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy.*

Chapter 1 - Cistercian Views on Liturgy

> Behold how good and how joyous it is for brothers to dwell together as one [...] In all these respects, in collectiveness, in likeness, in harmony, in composing a single whole, in indivisibility, in simplicity, the members of the monastic community are to be one with the citizens of heaven. - Ernald of Bonneval, Homily on Psalm 132[44]

To understand the motivations for liturgical reform, contemporary perspectives on liturgy must be taken into account. This task is less obvious than it seems. The liturgy in this time period, particularly in monastic circles, was embedded in the fabric of everyday life to an extent that it acted almost as an invisible presence. Liturgical commentaries survive from as early as the ninth century and continue to be produced in the twelfth, but these texts take the liturgy as a given starting point and are not self-aware, in a modern sense, of liturgy as a field of study.[45] Jean LeClercq, OSB, pointed out this difficulty previously, noting that although liturgy informed theological perspectives as much as it was informed by them, it was not written about as a phenomenon.[46] This should not be taken to mean that people did not form opinions and beliefs about the liturgy, for else reform and particularism would hardly be necessary. Liturgical differentiation was both contested and defended. If authors did not always express their views directly, it is possible nevertheless to glean some sense of them through their writings. It should not be assumed that participants experienced liturgy in exactly the same way even when practicing a uniform liturgy. The customs and uses of a particular diocese,

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[44] Quoted in G. R. Evans, *The Mind of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 5.
[45] For an overview of the development and nature of liturgical treatises from the time of Amalarius of Metz (d. 850) to Guillaume Durand (d. 1296), see Eric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société*, 105-07. Reynolds has also written extensively on the connection between liturgical commentaries and canon law. Roger Reynolds, *Law and Liturgy in the Latin Church, 5th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994).
[46] Jean LeClercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 233.

monastic house, or order may have shaped the theological perspectives of its faithful constituents in certain directions, but it does not follow that the faithful would have developed identical perspectives.

This chapter will draw out some of the different views on the Cistercian liturgy among twelfth-century contemporary observers. Three Cistercian authors will be considered—Idung of Prüfening, Aelred of Rievaulx, and Bernard of Clairvaux—to form an image of the congruence of internal perspectives. In the following chapter, these will be contrasted against two non-Cistercian writers—Peter the Venerable of Cluny and Peter Abelard—who both were familiar with the Cistercian rite and who were in correspondence with Cistercian figures.

1.1 Idung of Prüfening: Dialogus duo monachorum

Idung of Prüfening is an interesting case study of interior conflict. The biographical information surrounding the author is uncertain, but he appears to have begun monastic life as a Cluniac around the year 1144. Like many of his contemporaries, he was drawn to the ideals of the Cistercian Order and quit his monastery to become a white monk, entering a Cistercian house sometime around 1154.[47] Just as little is known about Idung, his surviving works are few in number. His best known work is the *Dialogus duo monachorum*, which Huygens has dated to around 1155.[48] This dating would place the *Dialogus* after the liturgical reform and Bernard's death. Idung is well-aware of the polemics between Cîteaux and Cluny. The work takes the form of a dialogue between a Cistercian and a Cluniac monk. Both sides are seen

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[47] For a fuller discussion of Idung's biography and a dating of the work, refer to Jeremiah O'Sullivan's introduction in Idung of Prüfening, *Cistercians and Cluniacs: The Case for Cîteaux* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 3-21.

[48] R.B.C. Huygens, *Le Moine Idung et ses deux ouvrages : "Argumentum super quator questionibus" et "Dialogus duorum monachorum"* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull' alto Medioevo, 1980), 9.

making criticism of the other and providing arguments in defense of their respective positions, though it is not surprising that the Cistercian voice comes out ahead.

The Cistercian argument against Cluny hinges on its interpretation of the Rule as laid out by Benedict of Nursia. Benedict is compared with Moses as a lawgiver, and the Cistercian voice sees Cluniac alterations and dispensations from the Rule as violations of this law.[49] Accretions to the Rule are also seen as impermissible.[50] Both the manner and content of the liturgical celebration at Cluny are contested: "Where it [the Rule] orders that we read and chant 'with humility and dignity,' St. Ambrose in his book *On the Duties [of the Clergy]* also forbids them in the following words: 'Let the voice be full with manliness and not pitched like a woman's.' Contrary to the respected canonical decrees, you make use of such voices in new and frolicsome songs on your new and unauthorized feast days."[51] Here he singles out the Feast of the Transfiguration and of the Holy Trinity as unnecessary, as both are venerated every day in hymns, songs, and in the doxology.[52] Elsewhere Cluny is charged with changing the times of day when certain offices are performed, although, from the Cistercian perspective, the words of the hymns themselves specify the proper time to perform the offices.[53] The Cistercian monk justifies his criticism in the name of charity, a concept that will be developed more fully further on.[54] It should be seen as a corrective, and not as an outright condemnation on Cluniac monasticism.

Even if the Cluniac monk in the dialogue is seen as a straw man, the criticism is not one-sided. The Cluniac monk challenges the Cistercian for calling out his fellow monks, also quoting Ambrose of Milan: "It is much safer to be silent than to speak, because many sin when they speak, few do so by remaining silent."[55] In his view, the Cistercians are guilty of Pharisitic behavior. Where the Cistercian believes Cluny is led astray by interpretation, the Cluniac suggests the Cistercians "follow the letter that kills."[56] For Idung, who switched sides, the treatise may be an externalization of an interior dialogue. As a man who was intimately aware of liturgical practices in both traditions, he is prepared to defend the Cistercian model as a purer iteration. There is little room for innovation of any kind in this perspective. The Rule is divinely inspired, and like Mosaic Law, its edicts should be sacrosanct, including liturgical prescriptions. Monks who have made a profession to follow the Rule are bound to do so without deviation. Defenses of Cluniac uses are considered but rejected. There is no consideration of why the law exists, only a defense of its obedience.

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[49] Idung, *Cistercians and Cluniacs*, 1.13.
[50] Ibid., 1.2.
[51] Ibid., 1.40.
[52] Ibid., 1.42.
[53] Ibid., 2.11.
[54] Ibid., 1.23.

1.2.1 Aelred of Rievaulx

Much more is known about Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, than about Idung. A disciple of Bernard of Clairvaux, Aelred was able to attract his own following as the head of an important monastery in northern Yorkshire.[57] In addition to his own writings which include histories, treatises, vitae, and sermons, there is also a Vita of Aelred to draw from in filling out a biographical image.[58] Aelred became the abbot of Rievaulx in 1147.[59] The two works considered here both come from the period of his abbacy and have been selected as representative of two important concepts in Aelred's theological worldview: *caritas* (charity)

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[55] Ibid., 1.20. The advice of Ambrose of Milan is found in *On the Duties of the Clergy*, 2.5.

[56] Idung, *Cistercians and Cluniacs*, 3.19 and 3.15, respectively.

[57] David Knowles has given an extensive treatment of the founding of the Cistercian houses in the Yorkshire. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 227-267.

[58] A translated version of Aelred's Vita can be found in Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, trans. F.M. Powicke (New York: Medieval Classics, 1950).

[59] For biographic questions and dating of his work see the Douglass Roby's introduction in Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 3-44.

and *amicitia* (friendship).[60] Based on evidence from Aelred's vita, the dating for the *Mirror of Charity (Speculum caritatis)* is generally given as sometime around 1142-43 and thus very near the period of liturgical reform under study here; as such, it gives strong clues to the ideas circulating behind the reform.[61] The second of the two works, *Spiritual Friendship (De spirituali amicitia)* was written some twenty years later. It builds on the previous work but offers additional insights.

1.2.2 *Mirror of Charity*

If Aelred's own account is to be trusted, the *Mirror of Charity* was commissioned by Bernard of Clairvaux as a response to some disciplinary challenges arising within the order. Monks chafing at the strict observance of the rule were seeking dispensations, and the work should be seen in the light of attempts to quell these rebellious instincts. The treatise is divided into three books, which define charity and its centrality to the Cistercian life. Men and women pursue the monastic vocation, according to Aelred, to draw closer to God: "To join one's will to the will of God, so that the human will consents to whatever the divine will prescribes, and so that there is no other reason why it wills this thing or another except that it realizes God wills it: this surely is to love God."[62] Charity is, in its true sense, a love of God that leads believers to submit to the divine will as expressed in scripture and the Rule. It is the foundation on which and for which the monastic life is built. Aelred is not making exclusive claims about Benedictine life. He allows for difference of Rules and agrees that those without laws are not

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[60] A more thorough treatment of both concepts as they relate to Aelred's original theological contributions can be found in Nathan Lefler, *Theologizing Friendship: How Amicitia in the Thought of Aelred and Aquinas Inscribes the Scholastic Turn* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2015), 43-88.

[61] See the introduction and notes of Charles Dumont in Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Mirror of Charity*, trans. Elizabeth Connor (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 11-68.

[62] Aelred, *The Mirror of Charity*, 2.18.53.

bound to them. For those who have made vows, however, the Rule should be followed to the letter, "since the reason for the institution itself is the safeguard of charity and the correction of vices."[63] Dispensations, in as much as they differ from the Rule, should be avoided for charity's sake. They are no simple thing for Aelred; they go to the very heart of the matter.

For Aelred, this not an abstraction, but a very real presence in the daily practice of the monastery. Moving from love of self to love of neighbor is a necessary progression on the path to God. In book three of the treatise, he develops the notion of three sabbaths, "Let love of self, then, be man's first sabbath, love of neighbor the second, and love of God the sabbath of the sabbaths."[64] True happiness, he believes, can only be found in coming to rest in God, which is to be attained through the practice of charity. In the perfect sabbath, "All that is bodily, all that is sensible, and all that is mutable are reduced to silence."[65] Life in the world is marked by division, not only of God from man, but between men. For the fallen man, the perfect sabbath is out of reach, but charity is offered as the means to salvation:

> Charity joins the lowest to the highest, binds in harmonious peace contraries, cold to hot, wet to dry, smooth to rough, hard to soft, so that among all creatures there can be nothing adverse, nothing contradictory, nothing unbecoming, nothing disturbing, nothing to disfigure the beauty of the universe, but that all things should rest, as it were, in utterly tranquil peace, with the tranquility of that order which charity ordains for the universe.[66]

The Cistercian monastic life is meant to strengthen charity to the point that no division persists between monks of the same house or between monks of the same order. The last and longest section of book one offers an emotional glimpse of Aelred's own experience of this love as he

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[63] Aelred, *The Mirror of Charity*, 3.35.95.

[64] Ibid., 3.2.4. The connection between the three Sabbaths and charity is further developed in Brian Connolly, "Mirror of Charity: A Reflection on Aelred's Humane Spirituality," *Mystics Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1990): 123-32.

[65] Aelred, *The Mirror of Charity*, 3.16.17.

[66] Ibid., 1.29.59

expresses his grief over the loss of a recently deceased brother. The intensity of the communal bonding experience on display here is evidence of how charity operated in his own life.

1.2.3 *Spiritual Friendship*

Spiritual Friendship was written later in Aelred's career as abbot and reflects a progression of thought from his earlier work. The structure of the work—a dialogue between Aelred and some of his closest monastic companions—parallels its theme. Through the course of these conversations, he expands on his previous development of charity to include friendship as a further progression toward God.[67] Charity is still seen as the essential core of the monastic vocation, with the liturgy providing the basic foundation for its cultivation. Here, however, friendship is allowed to play a special role. In a prelapsarian world, there would be no difference between these two experiences, but he admits that some friendships go beyond the basic level of charity. Reflecting on his own experience, he also gives advice on how to distance oneself from an unsuitable companion without breaking the basic bond of charity. Aelred emphasizes the return to unity while acknowledging its impossibility given man's sinful nature. It is possible to love one's fellow monk without feeling the special bond of friendship: "More are to be received into the bosom of charity than into the embrace of friendship."[68] This closer spiritual bond should not be confused for particularism. As abbot, any sign of favoritism must be carefully avoided. True friendship is different from charity in that it admits of "no divisions

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[67] Aelred, *Spiritual Friendship*, 2.18.

[68] Ibid., 1.32.

of minds, affections, wills or judgments."[69] Friendship in his vision mirrors the oneness of God more closely than charity, even if it remains only a shadow.[70]

The two works examined here, one coming before the liturgical reforms and one after, both contain traces of the reform spirit. In both cases, charity is seen to be the guiding principle, and the attempt to remove divisions between monks can be read into the efforts to establish a uniform liturgy. This is not the strict legalism found in Idung. In Aelred's more generous view, the promise of spiritual friendship rewards a strict adherence to the monastic vocation as laid out by Benedict. That these views were not shared by everyone within the Cistercian Order is evident in the motivation behind writing them. Aelred is using his influence as the abbot of an important house to give a certain direction to his monastic brethren. The influence of his own mentor is evident throughout. It is to Bernard that we now turn.

1.3.1 Bernard of Clairvaux

More than one monograph and countless articles have been written about Bernard of Clairvaux. The scholarly study of his life and works goes at least as far back as the seventeenth century, and even an attempt to synthesize the changing perspectives on one of the most well-known men of the twelfth century could fill its own volume.[71] Seen by some as the apotheosis of Cistercian spirituality, Bernard played an unquestionably pivotal role in the rapid expansion

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[69] Ibid., 3.6.

[70] The purpose of affective spirituality and its focus on friendship does not supplant the individual's own search of God. On the Cistercian's difficult balance between contemplation and life in community, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Cistercian Conception of Community: An Aspect of Twelfth Century Spirituality," *The Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975): 273-86; and eadem, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing," *The Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 279-80.

[71] An overview of the historiography can be found in the introductory chapter to Adriaan Bredero, *Between Cult and History* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1996), 1-23. For an overview of Bernard's *oeuvre*, see Jean LeClercq, "General Introduction to the Works of Saint Bernard (III)," Cistercian Studies Quarterly 40, no. 4 (2005): 365-93.

and influence of the order. He left ample evidence of his prodigality in the form of letters, sermons, and treatises, but his influence was not limited to his writings. Among other responsibilities, the General Chapter entrusted the process of liturgical reform to Bernard's supervision. Given the overwhelming task of trying to piece together Bernard's liturgical views—which, one might add, likely evolved over the course of his prolific career—this section will necessarily limit itself to a few sources.

1.3.2 *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem*

Bernard's *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem* has been roughly dated to the 1120s and has been placed at the center of the debates between Cluny and the Cistercians.[72] In it, Bernard primarily expresses his views toward visual arts, arguing against the excesses he finds in practice at Cluny. Images, he argues, are a distraction from the purpose of contemplation. He does not attack the use of images elsewhere in the church; on the contrary, he is prepared to accept their usefulness is certain settings: "We know that since [bishops] are responsible for both the wise and the foolish, they stimulate the devotion of a carnal people with material ornaments because they cannot do so with spiritual ones."[73] The common man may have need for visual aids to bring his mind back to God, but the monk, whose work is contemplation, should not need them. For Bernard, the proliferation of art in the monastic setting is more likely to detract than to add to devotion. Speaking of clothing, he provides a succinct view of the matter: "Exterior excess is an indication of interior emptiness."[74] The monk should live in moderation in all things in

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[72] A fuller discussion on the background of the *Apologia* has been provided by Rudolph Conrad, *The "Things of Greater Importance:" Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990). An edited and translated version of the text can be found in the appendix to the work, 232-87.

[73] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia,* 12.28.

[74] Ibid., 10.26.

order to keep his mind fixed on God. Although he only skirts around the issue of liturgical excess here, his views on the subject can be extrapolated.

1.3.3 *Letter 430*

Liturgical moderation should not be confused with rigidness. Bernard is known to have composed new offices for saints. In the undated Letter 430 to Abbot Guy and the Brethren of Montier-Ramey, he draws attention to a request for a new office in honor of St. Victor.[75] Although not Cistercian, the monks at Montier-Ramey have turned to Bernard for help in venerating St. Victor, whose body was interred at the monastery. Bernard expresses his humility in completing the task: "What capacity or what eloquence do I possess that from me, of all people, joyous and pleasing prayers and hymns should be required?"[76] He goes on to show what cares he has taken in composing the office and what concerns he has kept in mind:

> If there is to be singing, the melody should be grave and not flippant or uncouth. It should be sweet but not frivolous; it should both enchant the ears and move the heart; it should lighten sad hearts and soften angry passions; and it should never obscure but enhance the sense of the words. Not a little spiritual profit is lost when minds are distracted from the sense of the words by the frivolity of the melody, when more is conveyed by the modulations of the voice than by the variations of the meaning.

The liturgy has a clear purpose and its form and tenor should be made to match. It should create a certain emotional and spiritual environment while remaining intelligible. The form should not detract from the sense. Above all, he has taken pains not to create anything that could be seen as frivolous, at least according to his own standards. The task he has been given is not

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[75] Adrien Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints, et l'histoire des festes de l'année*, vol 4 (Paris: Roulland, 1724), 163.

[76] Bernard of Clairvaux, "Letter 430," in *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Chicago: Regnery, 1953), 501-2.

impossible, only laden with challenges. It is likely he kept the same prescriptions in mind whenever there was need for liturgical innovation.

1.3.4 *De Consideratione*

Bernard's influence was not limited to abbots, but reached to the very top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which was particularly true when his former disciple at Clairvaux was raised to the papacy as Eugene III. His advice to Pope Eugene contained in the *De Consideratione* provides a more complete view of how his monastic practice and theological views were intertwined.[77] As the title of the work suggests, it is centered on consideration, for which Bernard insists the pope must set aside time in spite of, or rather because of, the numerous worldly affairs that are filling his schedule.[78] He defines piety not simply as worship of God, following Augustine, but as taking time for consideration.[79] Consideration is seen as purifying, allowing men to discern the truth and form right judgment. Bernard reminds the pope, still a Cistercian monk, not to forget his training. Liturgical practice (worship) is worthy inasmuch as it praises God, but it also serves to change the practitioner, as it "controls the emotions, guides actions, corrects excesses, improves behavior, confers dignity and order on life, and even imparts knowledge of divine and human affairs." [80] He repeats the centrality of consideration in book two of the work, underlining the fact that man is not born with these virtues but arrives at them through practice.

It is not God which is changed through monastic practice nor is worship done for God's sake. For Bernard, the purpose of consideration is to help man arrive to the higher things through a deepening understanding for what God is and what God is not: "God is not formed, he is form.

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[77] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five Books on Consideration* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976).
[78] Ibid., 1.6.7.
[79] Augustine's views on piety and worship are found in *City of God (Book X).*
[80] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Consideration*, 2.11.20.

God is not affected, he is affection. God is not composite, he is pure and simple. And so you may clearly know what I mean by simple: it is the same as one. God is simple as he is one."[81] He is careful to explain God's oneness in Trinitarian terms. He attempts to demonstrate how unity can exist in multiplicity through a number of analogies, including monastic life: "There is the unity of accord when through charity among many men there is one heart and one soul."[82] This, for Bernard, is the purpose of monasticism: to join together as one, as God is one. Liturgical worship is integral to his vision. In this light, liturgical uniformity may be seen as a means of accomplishing his mystical goal.

Conclusion

By moving between the writings of three Cistercian monks who were situated differently in the order, both geographically and hierarchically, this chapter has done two things: first, it has shown how monks sharing a common Rule and sense of connectedness formed consensus around certain ideals while differing in their understanding of those ideals; second, it has shown how liturgical practice was intimately tied to a distinctly Cistercian theological perspective. With a shared focus on individual salvation through strict observance of the Rule, the three men nevertheless arrive at different interpretations. For Idung, perhaps more than just an ordinary monk but not a leader, the strict observance comes across as legalism, pure and simple. Benedict is a latter day Moses who has given a law to be obeyed, liturgical prescriptions included. As the abbot of an important community in North Yorkshire, Aelred is differently situated and must concern himself more intimately with the spiritual lives of those under him. His gift is to see beyond the letter of the law to articulate how obedience leads the monk past a

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[81] Ibid., 5.6.17.

[82] Ibid., 5.8.18.

focus on self to a focus on others and ultimately on God. The Rule creates a space for the growth of *caritas* and *amicitia*, nurtured by uniform practice. Aelred's work reveals the influence of Bernard, mouthpiece for the Cistercian Order at mid-century, who sees the perfection of brotherhood as the imperfect earthly reflection of the soul's divine union with God. The union of souls is achieved through a unified practice. However differently articulated, the order's cohesion was maintained through a shared vision and belief that liturgy is not only a reflection of that vision but the vehicle which drives it.

Chapter 2 – Alternative Views on Liturgy

II
I was of three minds,
Like a tree
In which there are three blackbirds.
-from Wallace Stevens, "Thirteen Ways of Looking at Blackbird"

In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to provide some idea of the internal liturgical views of the Cistercian Order as gleaned from the writings of three of the Order's fervent champions around the time of the new hymnal recension, with Bernard of Clairvaux serving as the leading figure. Through a shared life in community under the same vow and with at least an ostensible attempt to streamline practices, the outlines of a theological consensus had taken shape around his teachings. As successful as the order came to be, however, even at the height of their growth around 1150, they continued to represent only a small fraction of the entirety of Latin Christendom. Limiting the view to the monastic scene, they also represented only one view out of many. The same reforming fervor could also be seen in the heart of Burgundian Benedictine monasticism at Cluny where Peter the Venerable was serving as abbot of what was still the largest monastic cluster in the West. Not too distant, Peter Abelard had left his own community of nuns under the leadership of his former pupil and wife Heloise. No history of any of these three men and the movements they led would be complete without the other two. In this chapter, I will show where the three overlapped in their activity, particularly regarding their views on hymnal reform, and where they parted ways.

2.1.1 Peter the Venerable

Peter the Venerable, whose abbacy of Cluny lasted from 1122 to 1157, is sometimes considered the last major abbot to serve over what had de facto become the most powerful religious institution in the former Carolingian realms. Before the reconsolidation of papal power, begun under Gregory VII, reached its zenith, Cluny rivaled Rome for its influence.[83] The Cluniac monastic network stretched across a large geographic expanse, and included houses that were both directly under the influence of the abbot of Cluny and those that were more loosely affiliated but not subject to the same customs. To be a monk in the line of Cluny initially meant taking the vow of obedience at the mother house in Burgundy, but the concept expanded over time as the order grew. Due to the looser network structure of Cluny, it is difficult to put exact figures on the number of houses or monks living under its jurisdiction.[84] At Cluny alone, the period of Peter's abbacy marked an exponential growth in the number of monks.[85] Peter the Venerable was the spiritual authority over this vast web of human lives, and the surviving evidence from his abbacy suggests that he was not afraid to exercise that authority, particularly in liturgical matters.

2.1.2 The *Statuta Petri Venerabilis*

Maintaining a sense of orderliness and adherence to a common interpretation of the Benedictine Rule was no easy task given the distances between monasteries and the tendency for local customs to spring up. Two hundred years after the foundation charter was issued for Cluny, the

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[83] Scholars have emphasized various interpretations for the rise of Cluny's influence. Boynton and Ioagna-Prat both emphasize the role of various papal privileges, whereas Rosenwein and Bouchard focus on the relationship between the local nobility and Cluny. Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 106-43; Dominique Ioagna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 26-95; Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister* (London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[84] Estimates range from 200 to 2,000 houses. Hunt explains the problematic task of counting the number of Cluniac houses. Noreen Hunt, "Cluniac Monasticism," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. eadem (Hamden: Archon Books, 1971), 1-10.

[85] Constable suggests a growth from 60-80 monks in the mid-eleventh century to 300-400 under Peter the Venerable. Giles Constable, *Cluniac Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), ii. Similar figures are given in John van Engen, "The Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum* 61, no. 2 (1986): 277.

network had expanded and adapted numerous times.[86] In some houses, a certain laxity of observance was observed and challenged by monastic reformers.[87] Peter the Venerable exhibited an awareness of these challenges and a willingness to take hold of the situation. Although annual general chapter meetings on the Cistercian model were not mandated by the papacy for all monastic orders until the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the Cluniacs had already begun to hold periodic universal chapter meetings by the twelfth century.[88] The first known chapter general held during Peter's abbacy was in 1132, as described by Ordericus Vitalis.[89] There, he attempted to institute reforms "rivaling the Cistercians" though later, "he was softened and agreed with the view of his subordinates; and mindful of discretion … and merciful, he came to the aid of the weak and omitted many of the stern decrees which he had proposed." The best evidence of these reforms is found in the collection of statutes compiled around 1147 and which have been preserved in four known manuscript copies. These statutes were likely drafted over the course of Peter's career, only coming together as a collection towards the end of his abbacy, nearly contemporaneous with the appearance of the Cistercian hymnal recension. As Constable points out, Peter did not claim unilateral authority in composing the statutes, but as stated in the preface to the collection: "I made this not by my own decision but, in accordance with the Rule, by the counsel of certain God-fearing and wise monks. I made this with the assent of the universal chapter."[90] The consensus of at least a

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[86] Boynton provides a good overview of the organizational shifts and the relationship between Cluny and one of its dependent houses. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 106-143. The progression from monastic customaries in the eleventh century to collections of statutes in the twelfth century is examined in Gert Melville, "On Re-Examining Cluny's *Consuetudines* and Statutes," in *From the Dead of Night to the End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 67-83.

[87] The *Dialogus duorum monachorum* and Bernard's *Apologia* analyzed in the previous chapter are clear examples of this type of polemic coming from the Cistercian perspective.

[88] The General Chapter was regularized slightly earlier by Abbot Hugh V in 1205/6. Giles Constable "Monastic Legislation at Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Cluniac Studies,* 151-61.

[89] Quoted in Giles Constable, "Introduction: The Statutes of Peter the Venerable," *Corpus Consuetudinum Monsaticorum*, vol. 2, ed. Kassius Hallinger (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1983), 22. Writing on the English Cluniac scene, Knowles suggests that the attempt to summon abbots to a general chapter met resistance from the English houses and questions whether any attended. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 194.

[90] *Feci tamen hoc non solo meo arbitrio, sed iuxta regulae praeceptum, quorumdan deum timentium ac sapientium fratrum consillio. Feci hoc tandem capituli universalis assensu,* 17-19. Peter the Venerable, "Statuta Petri

majority of the abbots present at the general chapter is given as a legitimating factor in the attempt to redirect the dependent monasteries towards greater conformity with the Rule.

The *Statuta*, which have been edited by Giles Constable for the *Corpus Consuetudines Monasticorum* series, reveal not only the reforming concerns of Peter and his supporters, but provide rationale for the reforms in the form of causa. Echoing Benedict, items of common concern with Cistercians include everything from bedding and clothing to the observance of silence.[91] A significant portion, which are clustered at the beginning and end of the collection, are dedicated to liturgical practice. Hymns are specifically referenced in statutes 68, 74, and 75. In statute 68, Peter orders that proper hymns for particular feast days should be drawn from the hymnaries of Ambrose and of Prudentius, echoing Cistercian attempts to restore authoritative hymns.[92] In statute 74, he makes it clear that new hymns are not necessarily to be shunned, so long as they are good, though no criteria are given for his judgment.[93] Statute 75 sets out specific hymns for the feasts of the cross, suggesting that there may have been some variety of practice in the selection of hymns between houses. Although Peter does not go to the same lengths in imposing hymns as the Cistercians, he demonstrates some concern for uniformity on certain occasions and asserts, though not categorically, the validity of authoritative tradition.

Venerabilis: Abbatis Cluniacensis IX (1146/7),” trans. Giles Constable, in *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticorum*, ed. Kassius Hallinger (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1983), 19-106.

[91] The relevant statutes in the Cluny case are 16-18 and 19-22 respectively, ibid. In the case of the Cistercians, an index of progressive legislation on these matters can be found in *Twelfth Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Brecht: Cîteaux, Commentarii Cistercienses 2002), 875, 920.

[92] *Statutum est, ut hymni proprii de sancto Stephano primo martyre, de sancto Ioanne evangelista, de sanctis Innocentibus, de sancto Laurentio, de sancto Vincentio, sumpti ex hymnario sancti Ambrosii vel hymnario Prudentii docti et religiosi viri, in eorumdem sanctorum solemnitatibus amodo a nostris, qui eos habere potuerint, ubique cantentur*, Statute 68.1-6, “Statuta Petri Venerabilis.”

[93] i*uxta cantum novi quidem sed boni et iam publici versus illius, qui in Nativitate beatae Matris Domini a multis canitur, Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius eius*, Statute 74.17-20. Ibid.

2.1.3 *Letter 28*: Correspondence with Bernard of Clairvaux

As abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable's correspondence was necessarily wide and included recipients of high status in the monastic, ecclesiastical, and lay establishment.[94] The surviving collection includes 165 letters to seventy-seven recipients.[95] Of these, twelve are addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux. The nature of the relationship between the two men has been the source of scholarly debate. Some would find evidence for a bond of mutual esteem and affective friendship, in spite of the at times acrimonious competition.[96] Others question the ability to say anything substantial about their relationship, looking closely at the language and structure of the letters in comparison with the whole body of correspondence and the epistolary norms of the time period.[97] As leaders of large and powerful monasteries, the two men likely had much in common. Although it is impossible to say how the two felt about each other, it is clear that they had a working relationship that at times reveals antagonizing tones.

Peter's lengthy letter to Bernard defending Cluniac practices against criticism – commonly referred to as Letter 28 – is evidence of the combative quality of their interaction. It is often seen as an indirect response to Bernard's *Apologia*.[98] In his edition of the letter collection, Constable questions the proposed relationship between the *Apologia* and Letter 28, arguing that the letter was written sometime in the 1130's, well after the date given for the Bernard's

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[94] A discussion of the characteristics and importance of letter exchange during the time period can be found in Giles Constable, "Dictators and Diplomats in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Medieval Epistolography and the Birth of Modern Bureaucracy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 37-46.

[95] *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, Harvard Historical Studies 78 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). For the edited Latin text of Letter 28, ibid., 52-101. For a useful consideration of Peter's other letters in a social context, see Gregory A. Smith, "Peter the Venerable on Violence in Twelfth-Century Burgundy," *Speculum* 77, no. 1 (2002): 1-33.

[96] See Brain Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350-1250* (Kalamazoo, MI: 1988), 253-70.

[97] Gillian Knight has written a monograph on the subject, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: A Semantic and Structural Analysis* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1988). For an analysis of Peter's use of terms of friendship in his letters and the possible political and practical considerations involved, see Julian Haseldine, "Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking in the Twelfth Century: The Politics of Friendship in the Letters of Peter the Venerable," *The English Historical Review* 126, no. 519 (2011): 251-280.

[98] Knight, *Correspondence*, 27.

work.[99] It is clear, however, that Peter felt the need to defend the customs of Cluniac monasticism against the Cistercian claims of authority. The letter lays out twenty charges brought against Cluniac practices and a considered reply to each of them.[100] The charges range in severity, and include everything from sartorial matters to doctrinal concerns. Peter's style reflects a warmth and alacrity one might expect from a successful administrator and leader. Although addressed to Bernard, the letter reads more as a treatise, as Constable suggests, and was likely widely circulated within the Cluny network as a defense of its traditions. The Rule, he agrees, exists to guide religious on the path to salvation, but it is the right and duty of the abbot to modify and interpret according to the demands of charity. He accuses the Cistercians of adapting the Rule to their own understanding. The differences between the two approaches are laid clear in the letter, reflecting a difference in terms of spiritual orientation. Constable summarizes the divergence:

> Whereas the monks of Cluny performed a functional and to some extent impersonal role in the larger workings of medieval society, the monks of Cîteaux sought individual salvation by direct spiritual experience, which involved not only an external rejection of the secular world but also an internal self-examination culminating in an awareness of God's presence in the soul.[101]

Although similarly motivated, Peter reveals himself to be less concerned with externalities than Bernard, taking a more tolerant and flexible approach designed to be more inclusive of the society around him.

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[99] Constable, *Letters*, vol. 2 270-4.

[100] An analysis of the points of argument can be found in Whitney Mae Mihalik, "Correcting Faults and Preserving Love: The Defense of Monastic Memory in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* and Peter the Venerable's Letter 28," M.A. Dissertation (Akron, OH: University of Akron, 2013), 58-81.

[101] Giles Constable, "From Cluny to Cîteaux," in *Georges Duby: L'Ecriture de l'histoire*, ed. Claudie Duhamel-Amado and Guy Lobrichon (Brussels: De Boeck-Wesmael, 1996), 320.

2.2.1 Peter Abelard

In the history of the twelfth century, the contentious relationship between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Abelard has also provided much ground for scholarship.[102] The two have been depicted as foils, with Bernard representing the traditional learning of the monastic schools and Abelard the champion of the free(r)-thinking early scholastic movement.[103] Abelard, who was Bernard's senior by roughly fourteen years, was famously condemned by Pope Innocent II to perpetual silence following the Council of Sens in 1141, where Bernard accused Abelard of promoting heretical teachings. Abelard ended his days under the protection of Peter the Venerable at Cluny, seemingly defeated after a brilliant and controversial career, but neither his legendary character nor his teaching ever left popular memory, and his theological approach, if not his theology, was increasingly vindicated over the course of the following centuries. Writing today, Marenbon has suggested that there was hardly much radical thinking in Abelard's work, and indeed, Abelard never left the church even if his theology departed from officially sanctioned views of the time.[104] From this perspective, Abelard carried on the patristic traditions of the Catholic Church and did not question the basic tenets of his faith. Bernard, for his part, must also be seen as far more nuanced in his reasons for stifling Abelard.[105] In spite of their differences, the two figures shared similar impulses. One domain where this similar approach is most apparent is in their attempts to reform the liturgy.

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[102] Portrayals of these events tend to be related in works dedicated to the life and works of either Bernard or Abelard. Bredero gives scant attention to the trial, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, 235-36. Broader treatment can be found in Clanchy and Mews. M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 307-26; Constant J. Mews, *Abelard and His Legacy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 73-110. A review of the scholarship can be found in Constant J. Mews, "The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the Fear of Social Upheaval," *Speculum* 77, no. 2 (2002): 343, n2.

[103] This perhaps overly-simplified characterization is not universally accepted. For the role of both men in the emerging scholastic movement, see Ulrich Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. Michael J. Miller (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 16-73.

[104] John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[105] Mews argues, for instance, that Bernard may have felt compelled to repudiate Abelard's teaching for fear of another schism emerging within the church or of political instability. Constant J. Mews, "Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Abelard," in *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 133-68.

2.2.2 *Historia Calamitatum*

As with Bernard, much of what is known about Peter Abelard stems from his own writings.[106] There is, in the first instance, the *Historia Calamitatum* which Abelard penned around 1132 and which relates his early misfortunes in life leading up to his castration at the hands of Heloise's relatives.[107] If his own account is to be trusted, the piece was written to console a friend who had also suffered adversity, but the Augustinian style autobiography is revealing as much for the events he relates as it is for his attempt to process them. Although the castration must have been a harrowing experience, Abelard presents himself as justly punished for his sin. It is not the physical pain he experiences most vividly, but the shame of the ordeal: "I endured more from their expressions of sympathy than from the suffering caused by the mutilation. I felt the embarrassment more than the wound and the shame was harder to bear than the pain."[108] For Abelard, there was more at stake than injured pride.

Abelard spent his career building a public reputation for himself that was tied to his intellectual work. He sees himself elevated by his disputes with his school masters, first with his master of philosophy, then with his master of divinity.[109] Their criticisms catapulted his career and brought him a larger following. As a master himself, he championed a certain approach to faith that must have struck a chord among his supporters:

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[106] For a summary of the debate regarding attribution of Abelard's writings, see Lorenz Weinreich, "Peter Abelard as Musician – I," *The Musical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 *(1969)*, 295, n1. In this regard, see also Julia Barrow, Charles Burnett, and David Luscombe, "A Checklist of the Manuscripts Containing the Writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and Other Works Closely Associated with Abelard and His School," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14, no. 1984 (1986):183-302.

[107] All references to the work are based on the translation prepared by Muckle. Peter Abelard, *The Story of Abelard's Adversities*: *A Translation with Notes of the Historia Calamitatum*, trans. J. T. Muckle (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982).

[108] Ibid., 39.

[109] Ibid., 19, 24.

> They had kept asking me rational and philosophical expositions and insisting on what could be understood and not mere declarations, saying that a flow of words is useless if reason does not follow them, that nothing is believed unless it first be understood and that it is ridiculous for a man to proclaim to others what neither he nor his pupils can grasp by their intelligence.[110]

It was this reasoned approach that brought him trouble in his confrontation with Bernard, who purportedly denigrated Abelard's "theology" as "stultology."[111] For Abelard, the defense of his work was more important than the personal tribulations. It is the fear that his teaching will be discredited by his public disgrace that brings him more consternation than any personal injury, "I considered my former betrayal of little moment when compared to this injustice and I bemoaned the damage to my reputation far more than that to my body; the latter was the result of some sin while a sincere intention and love of our faith which compelled me to write had brought this open violence upon me."[112] From his own perspective, he accepts the personal consequences of his failings but is unable to accept that the truth of his teaching might be imperiled by them.

2.2.3 Hymns for the Paraclete

Entire volumes have been dedicated to exploring what Abelard's teachings consisted of, and it cannot be assumed that they were consistent over the course of his career. Like Bernard, there is a clear development of thought as Abelard goes through life. Like Bernard, this development of thought is also channeled into liturgical practice. In the *Historia Calamitatum*, Abelard expresses his concern for the liturgical development of his community of nuns:

> I often said to myself amid sighs: justly do I suffer this since I deserted the Paraclete, that is the consoler, and thereby thrust myself into sure desolation,

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[110] Ibid., 43.

[111] Peter Abelard, "Letter 15", *Letters of Peter Abelard, Beyond the Personal,* ed. Jan Ziolkowski (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 109.

[112] Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, 52.

> and to avoid threats ran into certain perils. This further thought tortured me most that, having abandoned my Oratory, I was unable to provide, as I should, for the celebration of the Divine Office there since the extreme poverty of the place would scarcely support even one man.[113]

As the founder of the community, he sees it as his responsibility to provide a firm liturgical basis for the development of the nuns' faith.

One place where Abelard's liturgical influence is clearly evident is in the hymns he composed for use at the Paraclete. In his preface to the first book of hymns, he expresses some reluctance to venture into hymn composition, "Certainly I considered it redundant for me to draft new ones for you, seeing that you had a wealth of old ones; and it seemed almost blasphemous to promote new songs of sinners before old ones of saints or even to treat them as equal."[114] His expressed modesty in composing new liturgical material might be compared to Bernard's Letter 430, as seen in the previous chapter. Like the community at Montier-Ramey in the case of Bernard, however, Heloise prevails upon Abelard to help reform the hymnal.[115] Abelard paraphrases the objections raised by Heloise to the existing hymnal, which bear a striking resemblance to the criticisms raised by the Cistercians about their own hymnal. Heloise questions the canonicity of certain hymns, suggesting they are sung on the basis of custom rather than authority; she questions hymns whose texts do not fit their melodies properly; she calls for hymns for saints who have been omitted; and she laments that the current hymns force the singers to speak falsehoods because they are not sung at the proper hour of the day, the emotional content does not correspond to the state of the singers, and the claims about saints are overstated.[116] There was clearly a perceived mismatch between the religiosity as

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[113] Ibid., 67.

[114] "Preface to the First Book of Hymns," in Peter Abelard, *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 40.

[115] For a gendered discussion of the agency of Heloise in the role of the reform at the Paraclete, see Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 19-45.

[116] Peter Abelard, "Preface to the First Book of Hymns," 42-45.

experienced by the nuns at the Paraclete and the hymns that they had received. As founder and protector of the community, Abelard is called on to rectify the situation.

In the prefaces to the second and third book of hymns, Abelard sets out a systematic defense of the enterprise and a structure for their use. He cites the authority of scripture as the basis for hymn singing and draws on Eusebius for evidence of new hymn composition. Notably, he does not cite the prescriptions from the Rule as the basis for hymn use. Some hymns, he notes, are based on canticles and psalms and thus carry the weight of scriptural authority, while others "were written subsequently at different points by many people, especially in accord with the variety of appointed times and hours or of feast days."[117] In a departure from the traditional office structure, he suggests four hymns for each feast day, one for each of the night offices, and one for lauds. Hymns for ferias should be adequate for the whole week. He also introduces five hymns for the cross, one to be sung before each hour, and justifies the inclusion of hymns for singing after meals, with a reference to Matthew 26:30. The prefaces to the hymnal books provide valuable insight into the rationale behind the composition of new hymns, which can form a basis of comparison for other hymnals of the same period.

2.2.4 *Letter 10*: Correspondence with Bernard

In his only surviving letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, which Ziolkowski dates to the early 1130s, Abelard jealously defends the usages of his community against Bernard's criticism.[118] The letter was written following a visit Bernard paid to the Paraclete on one of his many excursions. According to the letter, Bernard had taken issue at the words of the Lord's Prayer used by the community as they had been established by Abelard. Abelard defends himself against the charge of innovation, claiming the authority of Luke and Matthew in his choice of words. He accepts the presence of different customs within the tradition of the church but claims his authority as abbot to choose between them, quoting Augustine:

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[117] "Preface to the Second Book of Hymns," in Peter Abelard, *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 47.
[118] "Letter 10," in Peter Abelard, *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 79.

> In vain do those who are overcome by reason raise custom as an objection to us, as if custom were greater than truth or as if what had been revealed for the better by the Holy Scripture were not to be followed in spiritual matters. This is plainly true, inasmuch as reason and truth must be preferred to custom.[119]

Abelard sees the challenge to his own authority for what it is and, though respectful, refuses to back down.

In the second half of the letter, Abelard moves from a defense of the customs at the Paraclete to an attack on the liturgical usages among the Cistercians. He calls Bernard out on a number of points, including a perceived failure to properly commemorate Mary and the continued use of the Alleluia through Lent.[120] Above all, however, he criticizes the Cistercian hymnal, "You have rejected the usual hymns and you have instituted certain ones unheard of among us, unknown to almost all the Churches and less adequate."[121] The letter was written before the second recension and must be referring to Stephen Harding's first recension from the early years of the New Monastery. Rather than acknowledging the hymnal as a return to older practice, he turns Bernard's weapons against him, inveighing against novelty among the Cistercians:

> To be sure, you, as if newly arisen and rejoicing greatly in your newness, contrary to the custom held by all clerics as well as monks far in the past and

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[119] Ibid., 91. The reference to Augustine is from *On Baptism, Against the Donatists (Book VII)*, Chapter 27.52, in which Augustine quotes and refutes Felix of Buslaceni: "In admitting heretics to the Church without baptism, let no one place custom before reason and truth; for reason and truth always exclude custom," accessed May 10, 2017. http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14087.htm. Augustine echoes Cyprian of Carthage, "Hence it is in vain that some who are overcome by reason oppose to us custom, as if custom were greater than truth; or as if that were not to be sought after in spiritual matters which has been revealed as the better by the Holy Spirit." *Epistles of Cyprian*, Epistle 72.13, accessed May 10, 2017. http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0278/__PAM.HTM. Thanks to Zsuzsa Reed for pointing out the reference.

[120] The last charge also reflects a different approach to tradition on the part of the Cistericans. According to Hen, the singing of the Alleluia was prohibited from Septuagesima to Easter only at the Council of Aachen in 816/17. Yitzakh Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul*, 25.

[121] "Letter 10," in Peter Abelard, *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 93.

> enduring now too, established by certain new decrees that the divine office should be conducted otherwise among you. And yet you consider that you are not to be faulted then, if this novelty or uniqueness of yours departs from the old habit of others, seeing that you believe it to accord very much with the principle and tenor of the Rule, and you do not care with however much astonishment others are disturbed concerning this and mutter, so long as you obey your principle (as you think it).[122]

In particular, he is critical of the repeated use of the same hymn throughout the liturgical year; where the Church uses proper hymns for feast days, he claims the Cistercians have falsely limited themselves. Without the same institutional backing, Abelard has met Bernard's challenge with one of his own. There is no surviving response to the letter from Bernard, though some response may be read in the revision of the Cistercian hymnal that follows and the confrontation at Sens to come.

Conclusion

When considering Peter the Venerable, we find an organizational mindset on par with Bernard of Clairvaux. The Rule continued to be the guide for monastic life for Peter, but he acknowledged the need for reform and the willingness to codify the Cluniac interpretation of the Rule to ensure conformity. The continuing expansion of the Cluniac network had led to abuses, and the attempt to take hold of the situation led Peter to adapt some of the practices instituted by the Cistercians, though not to the same level of regularity or rigor. As the head of an older institution with its own traditions and patterns of authority, Peter's influence was tempered by other voices. In the *Statuta,* he demonstrated an even-handed rationality, which was also applied to hymn selection. Rather than creating uniformity, however, Peter aimed to set certain standards to govern Cluniac practice. If Peter the Venerable represented a moderate approach, Abelard appears to have stood on the other side of a spectrum when compared with

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[122] Ibid.

Bernard. It would be an exaggeration to say that reason preceded faith for Abelard, for he did not reject the authority of the church, but instead, he saw faith without reason as an imitative and empty ritual. He came to tradition with his own reasoned approach and was not afraid to introduce new practices or liturgical material if they could be supported by proper reasoning. Nor was Abelard afraid to take the offensive against Bernard when attacked. Each of these three figures had their own criteria for reform, which was shaped in contact with competing views. How that reform played out in concrete terms when it came to the creation of hymnals is the focus of the next and final chapter.

Chapter 3 – The Reform Process and Hymnal Analysis

Magnum plane unitatis vinculum, in unum chorum totius numerum plebis coire.

– Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio psalmorum XII 1.9*[123]

The previous chapters have relied on the voices of individual monks to examine different perspectives on monastic reform in the twelfth century. As emblematic figures, they were each able to encapsulate certain ideas behind which entire communities stood. They were also able to defend the choices of their communities against critics. As articulate as these individual are, they should not obscure the larger processes taking place around them. This chapter will focus on the Cistercian hymnal itself, taking into consideration various factors involved in its formation, editing and dissemination. As I have argued in the previous chapter, the development of a distinctive Cistercian identity did not take place in isolation. The Cistercian hymnal will be compared here against other trends, particularly at the Paraclete, to determine how it reflected the order's reforming ideals and its greater impact.

3.1.1 The Cistercian Hymnals

The first section of this chapter will discuss the various iterations of the Cistercian hymnal, from the earliest version as received from Molesme to the 1147 version, which forms the natural focus.[124] The discussion will be limited here to the most relevant points when considering the reform process. After exploring the development of the 1147 hymnal, attention will be given to questions of content and distribution.

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[123] "It is clearly a great bond of unity, when the entire community comes together in one choir." Quoted in Jan den Boeft, "Delight and Imagination: Ambrose's Hymns," *Vigiliae Christianae* 62, no. 5 (2008): 433.

3.1.2 The pre-1147 Cistercian Hymnal

When Bernard of Clairvaux was tasked with revising the hymnal in 1134, a task that appears to have fallen to Abbot Guy de Cherlieu and Richard of Vauclair, later abbot of Fountains, there was never a question of a complete overhaul.[125] The existing hymnal had already undergone considerable revision under the abbacy of Stephen Harding. As Harding's monitum to the first hymnal recension reveals, the primary concern had been fidelity to the Benedictine Rule.[126] When speaking of hymns, the Rule refers directly to *ambrosianum*, a term which Harding literally interpreted to mean hymns as composed by Ambrose, originator of the hymn tradition in the western church.[127] Scholarly consensus has since shown that only a fraction of these hymns can be attributed to Ambrose of Milan with any certainty, but the criteria of the nineteenth and twentieth century were not those of the twelfth, nor were the same research tools available. For the monks of the New Monastery and its daughter houses, the attempt at fidelity may have mattered more than objective certainty. The hymnal should, according to the logic of the reformers, at least plausibly contain only material composed by Ambrose.

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[124] An excellent commentary and analysis of the hymnal, including comparisons of the different versions, has already been carried out by Chrysogonus Waddell.

[125] *A Commentary on the Cistercian Hymnal/Explanatio super hymnos quibus utitur order Cisterciensis: A Critical Edition of Troyes Bib. Mun. MS. 658*, ed. John Michael Beers (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1987).

[126] Chrysogonus Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*, 18-19. The monitum survives in one manuscript, Nantes Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 9. Waddell dates the monitum to between 1108 and 1112. A transcription of the text is found in Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal*, 12.

[127] The relevant sections of the Rule are 9:4 *Inde sequatur AMBROSIANUM…*, 12:4 *Inde benedictiones...AMBROSIANUM, versu…*,13:11 *Post haec...AMBROSIANUM, versu…*, 17:8 *Post quibus...AMBROSIANUM, versu…* The lines are cited in Waddell, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete: Introduction and Commentary*, Cistercian Liturgy Series: Eight (Trappist, Kentucky: Gethsemani Abbey, 1989), 86.

While monks were sent to Metz to copy the Carolingian antiphonary under the assumption that they would find there the most faithful transmission of the Gregorian tradition, an attempt was made to adopt the hymn tradition directly from Milan, former seat of archbishop Ambrose. The end result, at least in as far as it has been possible to reconstruct it, was a hymnal consisting of thirty-four hymns and not more than nineteen melodies, all but two of which are in the iambic dimeter of the Ambrosian tradition.[128] Given that the Cistercian order for the Divine Office calls for one hymn at each of the office hours—that is to say eight hymns a day year in and year out—this restricted repertoire may have seemed too limiting, and indeed criticism was not lacking.[129] At the same time, it was evidence of the Cistercian willingness to set their own course.

The Molesme hymnal in use before the revision, as Waddell argues, was likely indebted to the tradition at Marmoutier, which itself had been reformed by Cluny at the end of the tenth century.[130] The more extensive hymnal was nearly three times as large and reflects influences both of Cluny in its inclusion of hymns composed by Odo of Cluny to St Martin and of older Carolingian practice.[131] By stripping away these progressive layers of tradition, the Cistercians attempted to purify their liturgy of more recent influences which reflected custom more than authority. They were not without their imitators. In reaching backwards, however, they made

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[128] Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*, 18-70. The two hymns that fall outside of this pattern are *Almi phropheta progenies pia*, which is in Alcaic hendecasyllabic meter and *Christe, cunctorum Dominator alme*, which is in Sapphic adonic meter. For a table listing the hymns in the RI and RII hymnal, as well as comparison with the received tradition from Molesme and the Paraclete hymnals, see Appendices A and B.

[129] The order for the twelfth-century Cistercian office can be found in *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XIIe siècle*, ed. Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet (Reiningue: Documentation Cistercienne, 1989) 40-41; a reproduction is offered in Appendix C. For criticism of the hymnal, see Abelard's Letter 10 in the previous chapter. Due to the notably exclusive nature of Cistercian monastic space, Abelard's knowledge of Cistercian liturgical practice may have been somewhat second-hand. For a discussion of this question, including how the Cistercian hymnal may have come into use at the Paraclete, see Waddell, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, 88-95.

[130] Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*, 10-12.

[131] For the increasing use of legend and local tradition in the hymn composition among Cluniac monasteries, see Joseph Szövérffy, *Latin Hymns,* 126-41.

an assumption that time had stood still in Milan. Even without intending to, they were no longer reforming but striking out in a new direction.

3.1.3 Development of the 1147 Hymnal

The new direction ultimately proved untenable, at least in part. As the order continued to expand, the shortcomings in the hymnal must have been apparent, particularly for the monks who did not begin their monastic career as Cistercians.[132] Without direct evidence, it is possible only to speculate that at some monasteries in the network, daily practice may have never perfectly aligned with official standards. Once learned, hymns are incredibly easy to remember and transmit, even without written texts or melodies.[133] The call for a revised hymnal may be read as evidence of a formal recognition of the problem among the leadership. More than one abbot may have wondered how to adapt to the need without sacrificing Cistercian fidelity to the Rule. As fortune would have it, Bernard was able to provide something in the way of an answer. Further reflection on the Rule revealed that the use of *ambrosianum* was mandated only for lauds and vigils, which left the other office hours open for alternative hymns.[134] With the new freedom to expand the hymnal beyond what was perceived as the most authentic and traditional repertory, a new challenge arose. The crafters of the revised hymnal were left with the unhappy task of deciding what criteria to use for inclusion.

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[132] Cistercian practice notably differed from previous Benedictine practice in prohibiting child oblation, Constable, "From Cluny to Cîteaux," 319. Adult novices were, it seems, increasingly common at Cluny as well, Susan Boynton, "Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 136-37. The question of adult conversion to monastic life is given fuller treatment in Charles de Miramon, "Embrasser l'état monastique à l'age adulte (1050-1200): Étude sur la conversion tardive," *Annales. Histoire, Science Sociales* 54, no. 4 (1999): 825-49.

[133] Boynton suggests this is exactly why they served as powerful didactic tools, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 185.

[134] Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*, 71-104.

The 1147 hymnal recension reflects the deliberative process. From the pared down first recension, the hymnal expanded to include eighteen additional hymns. All but one of the added hymns were present in the Molesme hymnal, thus the hymnal signals a partial return to practices found at Cluny and elsewhere. As Waddell points out, hymns attributed to Ambrose were to remain untouched, barring corrections from other manuscripts that might prove to be more faithful transmissions.[135] Newer hymns could be emended on a more flexible basis if they were not in conformity with perceived notions of accuracy. The practice of "divisioning"—that is, of marking breaks in certain hymns that could be divided across Vigils and Lauds—was introduced widely. Perhaps partially as a response to Abelard's criticism, hymns were introduced for specific liturgical seasons, particularly the major feasts of the temporal cycle and for Marian feasts. According to Waddell's reconstruction, the melodic repertory expanded to include thirty-seven melodies, with seven original Cistercian compositions. Certain principles were also set out for the melodies.[136] As Stäblein has noted, the outcome of Cistercian melodic principles was a tendency toward greater emotiveness compared against the received Milanese or Gallic tradition.[137] The updated hymnal was able to build on the sturdy framework set out by the first recension, while molding it into a more distinctive collection. The end result was neither Milanese nor Ambrosian, nor was it Carolingian or Cluniac; it was rather a uniquely Cistercian synthesis of these different traditions.

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[135] Ibid., 47.

[136] LeClercq gives the following list of Bernardine musical principles based on Bernard's prologue to the Cistercian antiphonary: modal unity, with incipits and finalis in the same mode; suppression of b flat to reduce ambiguity; respect for ambitus; elimination of non-authentic songs, text and musical repetition, and excessive embellishment. See Jean LeClercq, "La Mise en Catalogues des Manuscrits Cisterciens: Problèmes Réalisations, Perspectives," in *Liturgie und Buchkunst der Zisterzienser im 12. Jahrhundert: Katalogisierung von Handschriften der Zisterizienserbibliotheken*, ed. Charlotte Ziegler (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), 87-101.

[137] An analysis of the melodic composition of the Cistercian hymnal can be found in Bruno Stäblein, ed. *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, vol 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956). Stäblein's findings are summarized throughout Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*.

3.1.4 Distribution of the 1147 Hymnal

Once the new hymnal became available, the challenge of distribution remained. By the order's own accounts, the responsibility of providing new foundations with the required liturgical material fell to the mother house of the new plant.[138] Mother houses were thus left with the practical task of assuring uniformity of practice as spelled out by the founding documents and in early legislative texts.[139] For new houses, the matter was perhaps simple enough; though the expanded size of the hymnal would have come at some cost in terms of materials and man hours required for production, the other required liturgical books would have been the greater labor.[140] For houses with many new daughters, the ability to complete the reform suggests large scriptoria. A network analysis of the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century shows different strategies of expansion among the four main daughters of Cîteaux: Clairvaux, Morimond, La Ferté, and Potigny.[141] With by far the most direct daughters, Clairvaux must have concentrated

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[138] The requirement is summarized in capitulum IX.4-10: *Non mittendum esse abbatem novum in locum novellum sine monachis ad minus duodecim, nec sine libris istis: psalterio, hymnario, collecteneo, antiphonario, gradali, Regula, missali*. This command is codified in statute XII of the *Institua Generali Caputli apud Cistercium* Uniformity of books is reiterated in capitulum X. The edited Latin texts can be found in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999), 187, 330.

[139] Statue II in the *Instituta Generali Capituli apud Cistercium* repeats the injunction for unity of observance of the Rule and in books of the Divine Office found in the *Carta Caritatis*. Statute III mentions specifically which books should be uniform: *Missale, textus, epistolare, collectaneum, gradale, antiphonarium, hymnarium, psalterium, lectionarium, regula, kalendarium, ubique uniformiter habeantur*, ibid., 326.

[140] Bouchard has suggested the important link between Cistercian pastoral rights and the production of parchment. Constance Bouchard, "The Cistercians and the 'Glossa Ordinaria,'" *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, no. 2 (2000): 189. For a study of parchment production and the use of scriptoria to foster elite identity formation on the periphery of the Cistercian network, see Marie Holmström, "Alvastra in Östergötland, Sweden: A Medieval Politcal and Religios Center of Power," in *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Karen Stöber (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 81-110.

[141] Parker Snyder, "Cistercian Network Analysis: A Road Map through the Mental Imagination of the First Generation of Monks," M.A. Dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2008).

its resources or, more likely, delegated its responsibility to ably provide for and oversee adequate provisioning (see figure 1). [142]

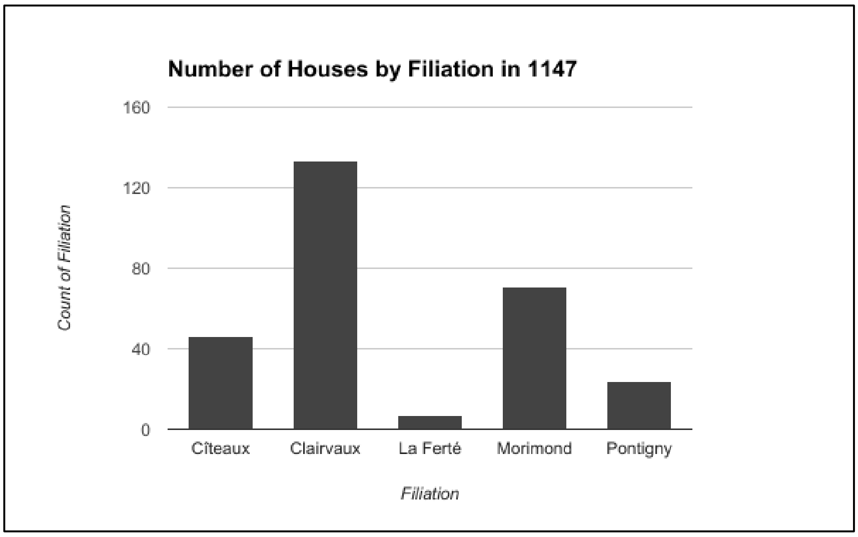

Figure 1: Number of male Cistercian houses in 1147 by filiation.

Bernard's travel schedule, as full as it may have been, could not have allowed him to visit all of the houses which would have fallen under his abbatial oversight annually, as would have been his right and traditional duty as spelled out by the *Carta Caritatis*.[143] By fostering intimate relationships with his subordinate abbots, however, it seems that he was able to expand his influence to far off houses.[144] Given his role in the hymnal reform, it is not unreasonable to speculate that Bernard was able to use his personal influence to make sure the new hymnal met success in the Clairvellan line of monasteries.

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[142] Information based on Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium* (Vienna: Alfred Hoelder, 1877). Unfortunately, his work on female houses was never completed. For the question of female Cistercian religious, see Constance H. Berman, "Were there Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns?" *Church History* 68, no. 4 (1999): 824-64. Janauschek's work provides a partial basis for the useful online database of Cistercian monasteries created by Certosa di Firenze, "I Cistercensi," accessed May 8, 2017, http://www.cistercensi.info/index.php.

[143] *Semel per annum visited abbas maioris ecclesie omnia cenobia que ipse fundaverit; et si amplius visitaverit, inde magis gaudeant, Carta caritatis prior,* in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux,* 277. The reference to abbatial visitation is reiterated in item 7 of the *Carta Caritatis Posterior*: "Once a year the abbot of the mother-house shall visit all the moasteries that he himself has founded, either in person or through one of his co-abbots." Trans. Bede Lackner in Lekai, *The Cistercians,* 461-66.

[144] Bernard's broad network of correspondence, as well as his close ties with figures such as Malachy in Ireland and Eskil of Lund suggest the level of influence he could command in more distant regions. For his ties with the latter, see James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992), 67-69; and Brian Patrick McGuire, *The Difficult Saint,*107-33. His close ties with the former are suggested in the vita he composed for the deceased abbot, *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman,* trans. Robert T. Meyer (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1978); and are examined in McGuire, *The Difficult Saint*, 75-107.

The other three daughters of Cîteaux may have pursued the problem of distribution differently within their lines of filiation. As Snyder points out for Morimond, the second most successful in terms of new plants, the network structure was marked less by a single house supervising many direct daughters, as was the case for Clairvaux, as it was by an evenly distributed system that achieved depth with daughters spawning more daughters. While this model may have reduced Morimond's ability to pool resources at the top and directly manage the affairs of its network, it also may have made it less dependent on the leadership of a single figure. At this stage in the development of the Cistercian network, however, there is no reason to suspect that the transmission of the hymnal to new houses would have been any less successful in any of the lines of filiation.[145] Within roughly a decade of the reform, no less than fifty new houses were founded. With a Cistercian pope in Rome and the continued influence of Bernard and his core of disciples, the period was a high point for the order, ripe for the introduction of this kind of reform.

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[145] The mostly unanswerable question is how the new hymnal was met in each of the houses. Waddell found evidence of alternative hymns and addenda in two of the five manuscripts used for his edition. This includes a hymn for the Feast of the Holy Trinity, which the order officially adopted in 1175 (in spite of the earlier resistance seen in chapter one of this study). Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*, 167.

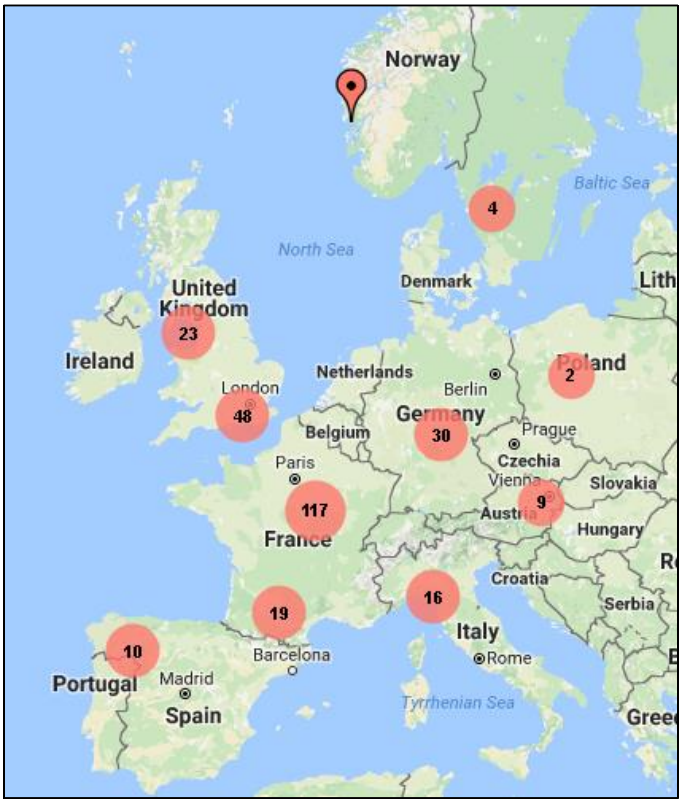
Norway
Baltic Sea
4
North Sea
Denmark
Lith
United Kingdom
23
Ireland
Netherlands
Berlin
Poland
2
London
48
Belgium
Germany
30
Prague
Czechia
Paris
Vienna
Slovakia
117
Austria
9
Hungary
France
Croatia
Serbia
16
19
Italy
Rome
10
Barcelona
Portugal
Madrid
Spain
Tyrrhenian Sea
Gree

Figure 2: Geographic distribution of the Cistercian Order in 1147.

The dissemination of the new hymnal among existing houses in the order may have been more problematic. 1147 is sometimes considered an *annus mirabilis* for the Cistercians, as it is the date given for the incorporation of houses in the line of Obazine and Savigny into the order, swelling the number of monasteries to nearly three hundred.[146] Evidence suggests that the new hymnal was not necessarily warmly received by the newly incorporated monasteries. According to the Vita of Stephen of Obazine, the hymnal was a source of no little frustration, as the monks had just finished bringing their liturgical materials in line with Cistercian practice when the reform was promulgated.[147] Without further direct evidence, it is impossible to say whether the new hymnal met resistance in other quarters, but with houses spread from the

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[146] Constance Hoffman Berman has argued that the rapid growth of the network was primarily the result of absorption of existing monasteries rather than the foundation of new monasteries, which would suggest that many monks came to Cistercian practice with prior exposure to other hymnal repertories. Some detractors also blamed the incorporation of Savigny and Obazine for the introduction of aberrant practices. See Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, 142-48.

[147] Waddell, *Introduction and Commentary*, 76-78.

Iberian Peninsula to the Kingdom of Hungary, one wonders how much of a priority the reform may have seemed to those already set in their practice. One should not forget the role of the annual General Chapter meetings in maintaining the standards of uniformity, but as the order continued to expand geographically, the attendance of every abbot each year was far from guaranteed.[148] Without further evidence, it is impossible to say whether the 1147 hymnal reform was met as a relaxation of standards or as a reflection of the existing reality. Depending on the individual monastic community, it may have been either.

3.2 Other Approaches to the Hymnal: Cluny

The Cistercian hymnal reform reflects only one of many attempts to reshape liturgical practice among twelfth-century monastic circles. In its *ad fontis* orientation, it may be considered conservative compared with either the work of Peter the Venerable or Peter Abelard who we have seen in the previous chapter. Cluniac liturgy can be seen as steering something of a middle course in the period, building on the Carolingian New Hymnal tradition.[149] There are few surviving eleventh century notated chant books from Cluny, but the presumed influence of the Cluniac liturgy on the early practices at the New Monastery through the Molesme hymnal has already been demonstrated. The problem of surviving liturgical material is not limited to Cluny's earlier centuries. Due to the wide-scale destruction of Cluny's manuscript collection

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[148] Abbots had been exempt from the General Chapter from the outset for reasons of serious illness, with later allowances for those coming from remote locations. A statue exempting Scottish abbots can be found already in 1157. By the end of the century, statutes for exemptions include Ireland, Scotland, Sicily, Syria, Cyprus, Norway, Greece, and Hungary. These exemptions are reiterated and expanded across the thirteenth century, though in theory, there should always be two abbots present from each kingdom. Waddell, *Twelfth Century Statutes*, 37-39. Evidence of the reality of delinquent abbots is suggested by legislation imposing penances, ibid., 883.

[149] The so-called New Hymnal (NH) represents a broader collection than the Old Hymnal, with around 100 hymns compared to less than thirty in the Old Hymnal. The NH includes hymns for Matins, Lauds, and Vespers, one hymn for each of the Little Hours, and two for Compline. For an overview of the differences between the New Hymnal and the Old Hymnal tradition, see Warren Anderson et. al. "Hymn," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 8, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1993), 836-51.

between the sixteenth and eighteenth century, it is difficult to say anything with certainty regarding chant practice.[150]

Investigation of liturgical books from other monasteries within the Cluny network provides an alternative avenue for understanding practice at Cluny. Though not as restrictive as the Cistercians in their repertory or introduction of new hymns, closer study of variations between local traditions at individual houses reveals a fairly stable core of hymns with limited adoption of hymns specific to local traditions. As mentioned previously, the attempt to streamline practices in Cluniac monasteries through the use of statues was likely not as strictly enforced or enforceable as in the Cistercian Order. Indeed, studies demonstrate that liturgical statues were not uniformly observed.[151] While Cluny is known for its liturgical abundance, there is little evidence for composition of new hymns.[152] For greater flexibility, one must look to the Paraclete.

3.3 Other Approaches to the Hymnal: The Paraclete

Peter Abelard was an outlier in many respects, and his approach to hymnals is no exception. As seen in the prefaces to the hymnal in the previous chapter, Abelard obliged Heloise and the community of nuns at the Paraclete by composing new hymns. Like Peter the Venerable and Bernard and his followers, Abelard and Heloise were concerned with singing appropriate hymns for the liturgical occasion, office hour, and mood, though theological correctness remained the primary criteria. Unlike the Cistercian approach, however, the Paraclete hymnal

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[150] According to some estimates, over 5,000 manuscripts were destroyed during the period. Lisa Colton, “Reconstructing Cluniac Music,” *Early Music* 34, no. 4 (2006): 675-77.

[151] Constable, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monsaticorum*, 24.

[152] Michel Huglo, “Cluniac Monks,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* vol. 4, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1993), 502-4.

was not limited to a narrowly defined core of hymns. As Waddell points out, the Paraclete hymnals were a composite of various strands: the first recension Cistercian hymnal was readily adopted, combined with hymns from the Gallican tradition and Abelard's own hymns.[153] The end result was a hymnal over twice the size of the Cistercian hymnal or of most surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic hymnal repertories, with Abelard's own hymns making up the bulk of the collection.[154] The expanded repertory would have given ample material to meet the demands of Abelard's suggested alternative order to the office, as seen in the previous chapter, which multiplies the number of hymns compared with traditional Benedictine practice.

Editions of Abelard's hymns have been made available for over a century, with a fair amount of attention given to what sets them apart from other contemporary strains in hymnody.[155] Abelard's legendary stature can easily distort the picture. Although his theological ideas are a precursor to later developments, his hymn compositions are not necessarily as avant-garde. Waddell finds an almost archaizing tendency toward monosyllabic rhyme in Abelard's hymns, but a high degree of experimentation with strophic forms. The variation in forms suggests an emphasis on each cycle having a proper strophic form. These include separate strophic forms for, among others, apostles, feasts of the Lord, saints, evangelists, female saints, martyrs, and an entirely unique form for the Holy Innocents.[156] This incredible variety of forms would, of necessity, have required an equally creative array of new melodic compositions.

Unfortunately, nearly all of Abelard's hymn melodies have been lost, though the surviving *O Quanta Qualia* hymn melody suggests at least some Cistercian influence. As Weinreich shows,

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[153] Waddell, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, 141-42.

[154] Waddell suggests that the Paraclete collection included an estimated 187 hymns as compared to the basic repertory of 90 to 100 hymns found in most surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century hymnals. Ibid, 3.

[155] Waddell, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, 13-23.

[156] Ibid., 37-45. A table of strophic forms found in in the Paraclete hymns can be found 24-27.

the Cistercian abbey of Rheinau adopted the hymn, thus transmitting the melody. As he further points out, it is similar to other twelfth-century French hymns and can be compared with melodies in the Cistercian hymnal regarding irregular disposition of melismas.[157] There is perhaps some irony in the transmission of Abelard's sole surviving melody through a Cistercian source. The lack of surviving melodies otherwise points to the relatively limited adaptation of Abelard's hymns outside of the Paraclete. Based on surviving manuscript evidence, Waddell suggests that within the Paraclete many of the new hymns passed out of use by the end of the thirteenth century.[158] It seems that the trailblazing influence of a figure like Abelard notwithstanding, the primitive Cistercian hymnal provided a more stable core of texts for the nuns of the Paraclete, a core which they supplemented with Abelard's hymns and with hymns preserved from the Gallican tradition as deemed appropriate. In many respects, this process mirrored what occurred within the Cistercian Order.[159]

The comparison with the Paraclete hymnal tradition is illuminating for placing the Cistercian hymnal in its contemporary context, but it is not entirely helpful. The aims and audiences of the two hymn collections were markedly different. An expansive hymn collection may have well served the purposes of one community of nuns but may have been overabundant for a large network that maintained its corporate identity by sharing in uniform liturgical practices. The practicalities of copying and transmitting an expanded hymnal should not be ignored: Abelard's compositions could be adapted into a single community with greater ease and without threatening orderliness in a way that simply could not have been achieved among all the daughters of Cîteaux. Small, independent laboratories for liturgical innovation by their

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[157] Weinreich, "Peter Abelard as musician – I," 302.

[158] Waddell, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, 4.

[159] Six houses came under the observance of the Paraclete following the death of Abelard. Similar to Cluny and Cîteaux, a set of statutes appear to have developed in response to the need to streamline practices between the houses. An edited version of the text, which survives in one manuscript (Troyes, Bibliotheque Municipale, ms 802), is provided along with commentary in *The Paraclete Statutes: Institutiones Nostrae*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1987). Alongside Abelard's own rule, Waddell suggests that the Cistercian Institutes of 1136/1146 served as one source for redaction of the Paraclete statutes, ibid., 62-66.

nature can absorb new material in a way that a broad network simply cannot.[160] On the one hand, Abelard sought to examine the liturgical tradition and expand on it; on the other, the Cistercians were working to preserve the tradition and promote unity. The former approach permits far greater flexibility than the latter, but even under the influence of Abelard, the nuns of the Paraclete more readily used the stable tradition preserved in the first Cistercian hymnal.

Conclusion

In spite of the perceived competition and differentiation, one must ultimately conclude that the hymn tradition among Cistercians, Cluniacs, and the nuns of the Paraclete had more in common than not, and that over time, these practices tended to converge rather than differ. From an organizational viewpoint, this may not be so surprising. Boynton suggests hymns were written in common meters (iambic, trochaic, sapphic), which allowed new texts to be sung to pre-existing melodies.[161] The conservative nature of the tradition made it relatively easy for new hymns to be written and memorized. Before the twelfth century, melodies were rarely written, although the increasing proliferation of liturgical books and the standardization of musical notation techniques made it easier to transmit new hymns.[162] Bernard was willing to introduce new hymns on a limited basis, so long as they followed certain principles and did not become a distraction in themselves. Most of the “new” material introduced into the 1147 hymnal was

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[160] Another twelfth-century example of this type of inspired liturgical creativity can be seen in Hildegard von Bingen, whose musical compositions have also received much attention in recent decades. Similar to Abelard, Hildegard’s primary focus was also a single community. The two extant twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Symphonia* contain jointly text and notated music for seventy-seven songs. Barbara L. Grant, “Five Liturgical Songs by Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179),” *Signs* 5, no. 3 (1980): 557-67. Hildegard is sometimes seen as a pioneer in, for example, her movement between modes in one song, though some scholars would compare her work to other contemporary composers. Jennifer Bain, “Hildegard, Hermannus, and Late Chant Style,” *Journal of Music Theory* 52, no. 1 (2008): 123-49.

[161] Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 184-229.

[162] For the proliferation of liturgical books, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey (Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986). A discussion of the standardization of notation during the period can be found in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 340-401.

in fact a restoration of the Gallican tradition inherited from Molesme, likely, though indirectly, tracing back to Cluny. Abelard introduced new material abundantly as long as it maintained the principles of a reasoned faith. The single community of nuns proved to be a more appropriate setting for his liturgical experimentation; however, when it comes to community practice, new is not necessarily better. Offered more variety, the nuns of the Paraclete appear to have satisfied their needs with less material and ended up favoring the Cistercian hymnal.

Conclusion

The first chapter of this thesis provided a sampling of contemporaneous Cistercian voices variously situated within the hierarchy and the geography of the order. It is in no way comprehensive. In comparing three voices against each other – a monk, an abbot, and the order's most prominent spokesperson – it is clear that something like a consensus was formed among the members of the order, but that the essence of what one might call a Cistercian worldview or theology was understood differently. An Idung of Prüfening does not articulate his views in quite the same way as a Bernard of Clairvux. This should be obvious, but it nevertheless bears stating since the creation of a group identity is as much driven by those at the top as it is by those lower in the hierarchy. In Idung, we see Cistercian identity as compared and differentiated against Cluny. His is a defensive position, which tries to justify his own choice of Cîteaux over Cluny. Aelred of Rievaulx suggests that it is through the group that one defines one's own relation to God. His focus on *caritas* and *amicitia* as tools for individual salvation speaks to his understanding of the importance of interpersonal relationships. Bernard's vision, as expressed in the texts examined here, is one that constantly tries to reorient itself to the contemplation of God. It assumes a hierarchical world order that finds its reflection in cenobitic monasticism as conceived by the Rule and views salvation as a linearity, with Cistercian monasticism serving as the vehicle of ascent towards mystical oneness with the divine. Through the use of treatises, these three authors defined and defended a conceptual universe in which other members of the order could situate themselves. The influence of these works was not limited to those within the order, and further work would do well to explore the reception of these texts.

One way of understanding the impact of Cistercian ideas is through the voice of its critics. As much as the process of self-definition can be understood internally, it should also be seen in the light of external influences. Peter the Venerable and Peter Abelard were equally capable of articulating a strong vision of monastic life based on the Rule that significantly differed from the Cistercian model. Seated atop the most powerful monastic network in Western Christendom, Peter the Venerable might be considered a defender of tradition, but it is clear he was also interested in reforming Cluniac monastic life. The creation of statutes through the authority of a universal chapter paralleled closely the mechanisms employed by the Cistercians, though the level of organization remained much more diffuse. There was nevertheless a shared sense of rationalization. Peter was forced into a defensive position, but he demonstrated his capacity to explain and support Cluniac customs. Peter Abelard took the reasoned approach to new level, seeking the principles behind the tradition. He refused to accept an unexamined faith and was not afraid to innovate if the spirit underlying the change was appropriate. Abelard's willingness to experiment can be seen in his composition of new hymns following his own principles that both drew on tradition and expanded the range of possibilities. Without his direct influence, however, the nuns of the Paraclete took a more conservative approach in the long term, only maintaining his hymns selectively.

Any view of Cistercians as champions of conservativism or traditionalism is challenged in light of the hymnal revision. There can be no doubt that the initial revision under abbot Stephen Harding represented a bold departure from the inherited tradition. However much the stated aim of the revision was meant to follow more faithfully the precepts of the Benedictine Rule, the overly literal interpretation resulted in a hymnal that was neither Ambrosian nor adequate for the twelfth century religious community. Nevertheless, in the early years of the fledgling order, it may have helped to differentiate the reform-minded monks from their Cluniac brethren. By the time the second recension arrived, the distinctiveness of the new order could no longer be doubted, and there may have been less need to maintain the rigid boundary between the order's hymnal and Gallican tradition. The bold attempt to beat a new path was moderated in time. Once out of the shadow of Cluny, the need to maintain the boundary may have been felt less strongly. The hymnal revision should also be viewed in light of the theological ideas that were developing in the expanding order, some of which have been outlined above.

The Cistercians were not alone in their attempt to revise their hymnal. Peter the Venerable's efforts to address some of the criticisms leveled against Cluny reflect some of the same principles energizing the Cistercian spirit. Among these, a willingness to consider the received tradition and provide a reasoned defense for certain practices while changing those that did not meet newly-defined standards. Peter Abelard may have taken this reasoned approach to the limit, but in the final analysis, the Paraclete hymnal and the Cistercian hymnal turned out quite similar. Does this mean Heloise's nuns and Bernard's religious found more commonality in their theology than one might otherwise suspect? Not necessarily. S.T. Kimbrough gives several criteria for how hymns function to support theology.[163] These include the author's intent, the life experience of the person singing the hymn, the liturgical context, the editing of the hymn, and the musical and rhythmic setting of the hymn. Given the same texts and melodies (of course, rhythm is a far more variable factor), and the same order for the office, the nuns of the Paraclete would surely have experienced the hymns differently. In the greater context of their religious life, the Cistercians could no more replicate Ambrose's theology by attempting to recover his hymns—which they failed to do, though the failure in itself resulted in an incredibly lasting work in itself—then the nuns of the Paraclete could become Cistercian simply by singing the same hymns. The greater question, and one that is ultimately unanswerable, did the monks and nuns who belonged to monasteries within the Cistercian Order develop a greater sense of corporate identity through the use of the same hymnal? There

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[163] S.T. Kimbrough, Jr., *Lyrical Theology of Charles Wesley* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2013), 23-41.

can be no doubt that this was an intended outcome. The attempt to balance a universal faith against local faith is not particular to the Cistercians, but their solutions to the problem were. More work should be done on later manuscript evidence to explore how the hymnal was adapted for local use, and how this coincided with organizational attempts to preserve unity.

Eric Palazzo suggests that symbolic power rests in the authority of the institution and the validation of the collective.[164] The hymnal revision is a sign of both the authority and collective acceptance of the edicts of the Cistercian General Chapter; edicts which rested upon and helped create a shared monastic identity. As distinctive as the Cistercians tried to be, they were both a product and driver of larger changes surrounding them. Their structured approach was enabled by broader social changes, but their innovative project struck a nerve that continued to resonate beyond the limits of the order.[165] The hymnal itself may have been intimately tied to their theological self-fashioning, but it proved to be a sturdy model even as the first generations of Cistercian monks left this world.

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[164] Eric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société*, 13.

[165] Some of these have been mentioned in the body of this thesis. As for the hymnal, the Dominicans would later take up it up for their own use. Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 608-621.

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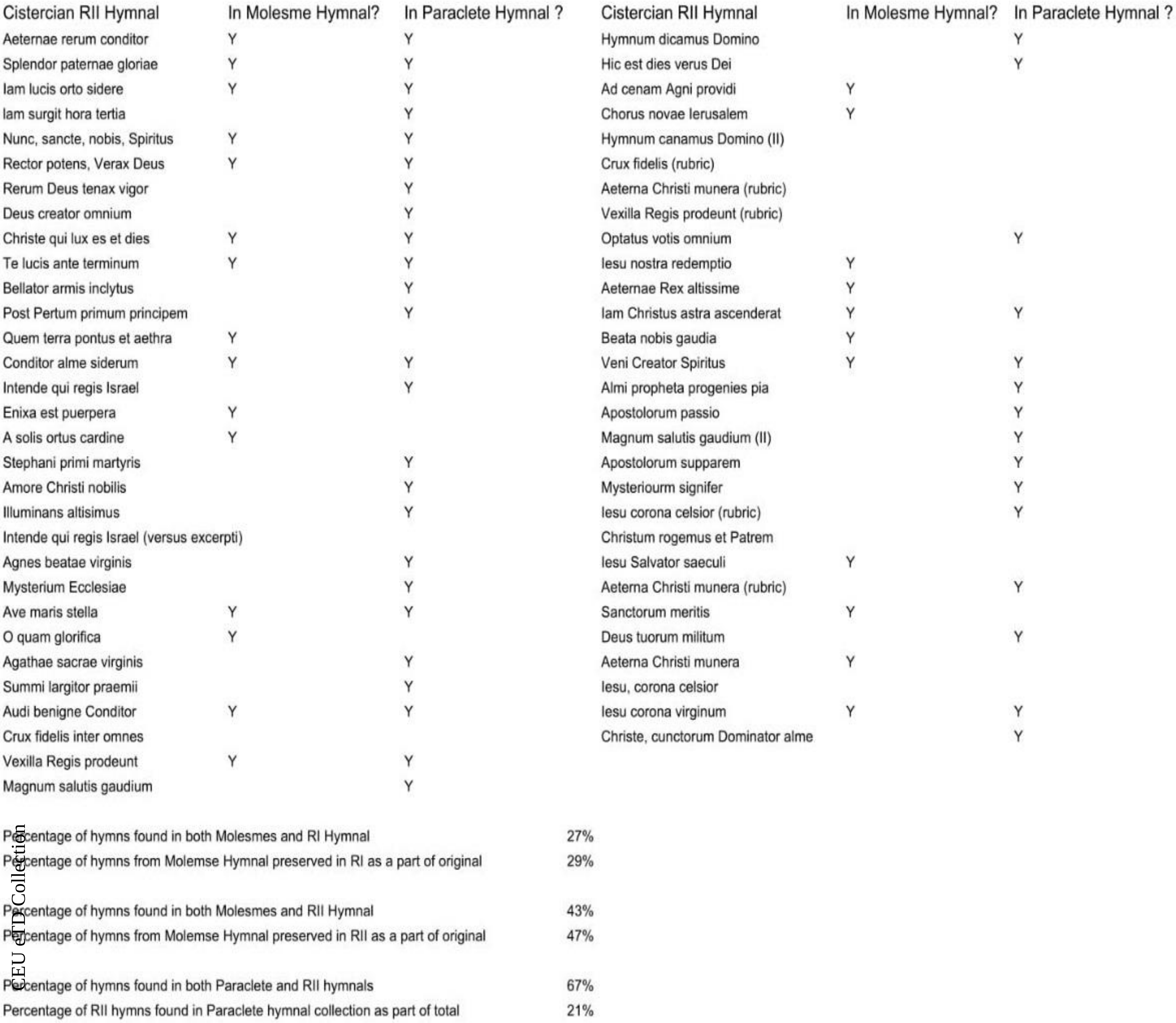
Appendices

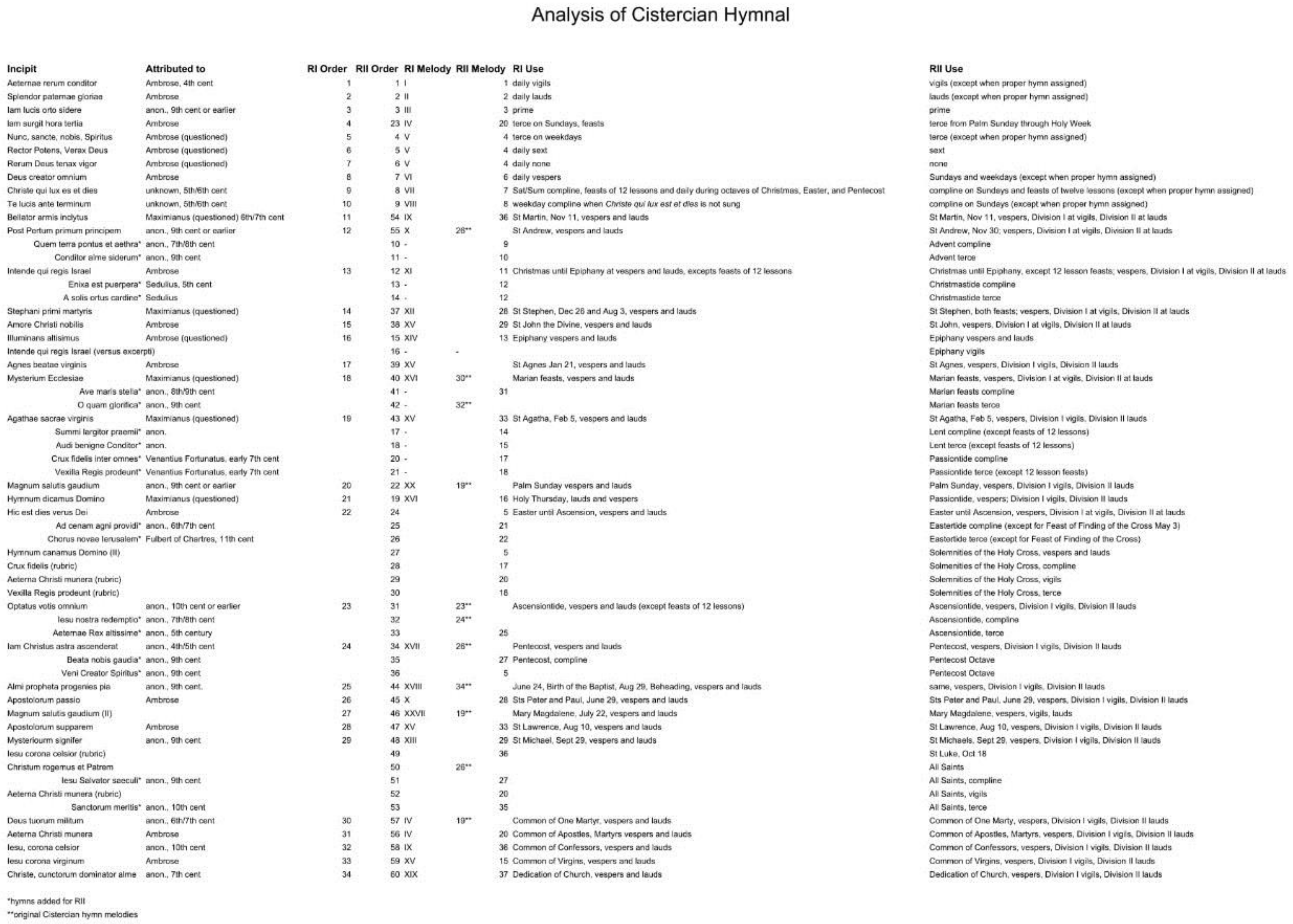
Appendix A: Hymnal Comparison Table



Cistercian RII Hymnal	In Molesme Hymnal?	In Paraclete Hymnal ?
Aeternae rerum conditor	Y	Y
Splendor paternae gloriae	Y	Y
Iam lucis orto sidere	Y	Y
Iam surgit hora tertia		Y
Nunc, sancte, nobis, Spiritus	Y	Y
Rector potens, Verax Deus	Y	Y
Rerum Deus tenax vigor		Y
Deus creator omnium		Y
Christe qui lux es et dies	Y	Y
Te lucis ante terminum	Y	Y
Bellator armis inclytus		Y
Post Pertum primum principem		Y
Quem terra pontus et aethra	Y	
Conditor alme siderum	Y	Y
Intende qui regis Israel		Y
Enixa est puerpera	Y	
A solis ortus cardine	Y	
Stephani primi martyris		Y
Amore Christi nobilis		Y
Illuminans altisimus		Y
Intende qui regis Israel (versus excerpti)		
Agnes beatae virginis		Y
Mysterium Ecclesiae		Y
Ave maris stella	Y	Y
O quam glorifica	Y	
Agathae sacrae virginis		Y
Summi largitor praemii		Y
Audi benigne Conditor	Y	Y
Crux fidelis inter omnes		
Vexilla Regis prodeunt	Y	Y
Magnum salutis gaudium		Y
Hymnum dicamus Domino		Y
Hic est dies verus Dei		Y
Ad cenam Agni providi	Y	
Chorus novae Ierusalem	Y	
Hymnum canamus Domino (II)		
Crux fidelis (rubric)		
Aeterna Christi munera (rubric)		
Vexilla Regis prodeunt (rubric)		
Optatus votis omnium		Y
Iesu nostra redemptio	Y	
Aeternae Rex altissime	Y	
Iam Christus astra ascenderat	Y	Y
Beata nobis gaudia	Y	
Veni Creator Spiritus	Y	Y
Almi propheta progenies pia		Y
Apostolorum passio		Y
Magnum salutis gaudium (II)		Y
Apostolorum supparem		Y
Mysteriourm signifer		Y
Iesu corona celsior (rubric)		Y
Christum rogemus et Patrem		
Iesu Salvator saeculi	Y	
Aeterna Christi munera (rubric)		Y
Sanctorum meritis	Y	
Deus tuorum militum		Y
Aeterna Christi munera	Y	
Iesu, corona celsior		
Iesu corona virginum	Y	Y
Christe, cunctorum Dominator alme		Y

Percentage of hymns found in both Molesmes and RI Hymnal	27%
Percentage of hymns from Molemse Hymnal preserved in RI as a part of original	29%
Percentage of hymns found in both Molesmes and RII Hymnal	43%
Percentage of hymns from Molemse Hymnal preserved in RII as a part of original	47%
Percentage of hymns found in both Paraclete and RII hymnals	67%
Percentage of RII hymns found in Paraclete hymnal collection as part of total	21%

Appendix B Cistercian Hymnal Analysis



Analysis of Cistercian Hymnal

Incipit	Attributed to	RI Order	RII Order	RI Melody	RII Melody	RI Use	RII Use
Aeternae rerum conditor	Ambrose, 4th cent	1	1	I	1	daily vigils	vigils (except when proper hymn assigned)
Splendor paternae gloriae	Ambrose	2	2	II	2	daily lauds	lauds (except when proper hymn assigned)
Iam lucis orto sidere	anon., 9th cent or earlier	3	3	III	3	prime	prime
Iam surgit hora tertia	Ambrose	4	23	IV	20	terce on Sundays, feasts	terce from Palm Sunday through Holy Week
Nunc, sancte, nobis, Spiritus	Ambrose (questioned)	5	4	V	4	terce on weekdays	terce (except when proper hymn assigned)
Rector Potens, Verax Deus	Ambrose (questioned)	6	5	V	4	daily sext	sext
Rerum Deus tenax vigor	Ambrose (questioned)	7	6	V	4	daily none	none
Deus creator omnium	Ambrose	8	7	VI	6	daily vespers	Sundays and weekdays (except when proper hymn assigned)
Christe qui lux es et dies	unknown, 5th/6th cent	9	8	VII	7	Sat/Sum compline, feasts of 12 lessons and daily during octaves of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost	compline on Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons (except when proper hymn assigned)
Te lucis ante terminum	unknown, 5th/6th cent	10	9	VIII	8	weekday compline when *Christe qui lux est et dies* is not sung	compline on Sundays (except when proper hymn assigned)
Bellator armis inclytus	Maximianus (questioned) 6th/7th cent	11	54	IX	36	St Martin, Nov 11, vespers and lauds	St Martin, Nov 11, vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Post Partum primum principem	anon., 9th cent or earlier	12	55	X	28**	St Andrew, vespers and lauds	St Andrew, Nov 30; vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Quem terra pontus et aethra*	anon., 7th/8th cent		10	-	9		Advent compline
Conditor alme siderum*	anon., 9th cent		11	-	10		Advent terce
Intende qui regis Israel	Ambrose	13	12	XI	11	Christmas until Epiphany at vespers and lauds, excepts feasts of 12 lessons	Christmas until Epiphany, except 12 lesson feasts; vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Enixa est puerpera*	Sedulius, 5th cent		13	-	12		Christmastide compline
A solis ortus cardine*	Sedulius		14	-	12		Christmastide terce
Stephani primi martyris	Maximianus (questioned)	14	37	XII	28	St Stephen, Dec 26 and Aug 3, vespers and lauds	St Stephen, both feasts; vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Amore Christi nobilis	Ambrose	15	38	XV	29	St John the Divine, vespers and lauds	St John, vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Illuminans altisimus	Ambrose (questioned)	16	15	XIV	13	Epiphany vespers and lauds	Epiphany vespers and lauds
Intende qui regis Israel (versus excerpti)			16	-	-		Epiphany vigils
Agnes beatae virginis	Ambrose	17	39	XV		St Agnes Jan 21, vespers and lauds	St Agnes, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Mysterium Ecclesiae	Maximianus (questioned)	18	40	XVI	30**	Marian feasts, vespers and lauds	Marian feasts, vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Ave maris stella*	anon., 8th/9th cent		41	-	31		Marian feasts compline
O quam glorifica*	anon., 9th cent		42	-	32**		Marian feasts terce
Agathae sacrae virginis	Maximianus (questioned)	19	43	XV	33	St Agatha, Feb 5, vespers and lauds	St Agatha, Feb 5, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Summi largitor praemii*	anon.		17	-	14		Lent compline (except feasts of 12 lessons)
Audi benigne Conditor*	anon.		18	-	15		Lent terce (except feasts of 12 lessons)
Crux fidelis inter omnes*	Venantius Fortunatus, early 7th cent		20	-	17		Passiontide compline
Vexilla Regis prodeunt*	Venantius Fortunatus, early 7th cent		21	-	18		Passiontide terce (except 12 lesson feasts)
Magnum salutis gaudium	anon., 9th cent or earlier	20	22	XX	19**	Palm Sunday vespers and lauds	Palm Sunday, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Hymnum dicamus Domino	Maximianus (questioned)	21	19	XVI	16	Holy Thursday, lauds and vespers	Passiontide, vespers; Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Hic est dies verus Dei	Ambrose	22	24		5	Easter until Ascension, vespers and lauds	Easter until Ascension, vespers, Division I at vigils, Division II at lauds
Ad cenam agni providi*	anon., 6th/7th cent		25		21		Eastertide compline (except for Feast of Finding of the Cross May 3)
Chorus novae Ierusalem*	Fulbert of Chartres, 11th cent		26		22		Eastertide terce (except for Feast of Finding of the Cross)
Hymnum canamus Domino (II)			27		5		Solemnities of the Holy Cross, vespers and lauds
Crux fidelis (rubric)			28		17		Solmenities of the Holy Cross, compline
Aeterna Christi munera (rubric)			29		20		Solemnities of the Holy Cross, vigils
Vexilla Regis prodeunt (rubric)			30		18		Solemnities of the Holy Cross, terce
Optatus votis omnium	anon., 10th cent or earlier	23	31		23**	Ascensiontide, vespers and lauds (except feasts of 12 lessons)	Ascensiontide, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Iesu nostra redemptio*	anon., 7th/8th cent		32		24**		Ascensiontide, compline
Aeternae Rex altissime*	anon., 5th century		33		25		Ascensiontide, terce
Iam Christus astra ascenderat	anon., 4th/5th cent	24	34	XVII	26**	Pentecost, vespers and lauds	Pentecost, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Beata nobis gaudia*	anon., 9th cent		35		27	Pentecost, compline	Pentecost Octave
Veni Creator Spiritus*	anon., 9th cent		36		5		Pentecost Octave
Almi prophata progenies pia	anon., 9th cent.	25	44	XVIII	34**	June 24, Birth of the Baptist, Aug 29, Beheading, vespers and lauds	same, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Apostolorum passio	Ambrose	26	45	X	28	Sts Peter and Paul, June 29, vespers and lauds	Sts Peter and Paul, June 29, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Magnum salutis gaudium (II)		27	46	XXVII	19**	Mary Magdalene, July 22, vespers and lauds	Mary Magdalene, vespers, vigils, lauds
Apostolorum supparem	Ambrose	28	47	XV	33	St Lawrence, Aug 10, vespers and lauds	St Lawrence, Aug 10, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Mysteriourm signifer	anon., 9th cent	29	48	XIII	29	St Michael, Sept 29, vespers and lauds	St Michaels, Sept 29, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Iesu corona celsior (rubric)			49		36		St Luke, Oct 18
Christum rogemus et Patrem			50		26**		All Saints
Iesu Salvator saeculi*	anon., 9th cent		51		27		All Saints, compline
Aeterna Christi munera (rubric)			52		20		All Saints, vigils
Sanctorum meritis*	anon., 10th cent		53		35		All Saints, terce
Deus tuorum militum	anon., 6th/7th cent	30	57	IV	19**	Common of One Martyr, vespers and lauds	Common of One Marty, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Aeterna Christi munera	Ambrose	31	56	IV	20	Common of Apostles, Martyrs vespers and lauds	Common of Apostles, Martyrs, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Iesu, corona celsior	anon., 10th cent	32	58	IX	36	Common of Confessors, vespers and lauds	Common of Confessors, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Iesu corona virginum	Ambrose	33	59	XV	15	Common of Virgins, vespers and lauds	Common of Virgins, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds
Christe, cunctorum dominator alme	anon., 7th cent	34	60	XIX	37	Dedication of Church, vespers and lauds	Dedication of Church, vespers, Division I vigils, Division II lauds

*hymns added for RII

**original Cistercian hymn melodies

Appendix C: Order for the Cistercian Divine Office

Vigils (12 lessons, Sundays and Feasts)[166]

-regular prayer
-v/ DEUS, IN ADIUTORIUM
-v/ DOMINE, LABIA MEA (3 times)
-psalm 3, with GLORIA PATRI
-psalm 94, with invitatory antiphon
-hymn
-6 psalms with antiphons
-verse
-4 lessons and respond, preceded by a benediction
-6 psalms with antiphons
-verse
-4 lessons and respond, preceded by a benediction
-3 canticles with antiphons
-verse
-4 lessons and respond, preceded by a benediction and verses from the Gospel
-TE DEUM LAUDAMUS
-Gospel read by the abbot
-TE DECET LAUS
-collect

Vigils (feria and ordinary days)

-regular prayer
-v/ DEUS, IN ADIUTORIUM
-v/ DOMINE, LABIA MEA (3 times)
-psalm 3, with GLORIA PATRI
-psalm 94, with invitatory antiphon (*)
-hymn
-6 psalms with antiphons
-verse
-3 lessons and respond (**), preceded by a benediction
-6 psalms with antiphons
-verse
-short lesson from Acts, (without benediction)

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[166] The following order for the Cistercian Divine Office is translated from the French original, found in *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XIIe siècle, e*d. Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet (Reiningue: Documentation Cistercienne, 1989), 40-41.

-supplication KYRIE ELEISON…
-silent prayer (PATER)
-ET NE NOS…
-collect

(*) during summer, alternatively without invitatory antiphon

(**) during summer, short reading and partial respond

Lauds

-regular prayer
-DEUS, IN ADIUTORIUM
-psalm 66
-psalm 50 with antiphon
-2 psalms
-1 canticle
-lauds (psalms 148 & 150)
-short reading or capitule
-partial respond
-hymn
-verse
-Gospel canticle
-supplication KYRIE, ELEISON…
-PATER NOSTER outloud
-collect
-BENEDICAMUS DOMINO
-commemoration of the Virgin

Vespers

-regular prayer
-DEUS, IN ADIUTORIUM
- 4 psalms with antiphons (4 times)
-short reading or capitule
-partial respond
-hymn
-verse
-Gospel canticle
-supplication KYRIE, ELEISON…
-PATER NOSTER outloud
-collect
-BENEDICAMUS DOMINO
-commemoration of the Virgin

Little Office Hours (Prime, Terce, Sext, None)

- regular prayer
- DEUS, IN ADIUTORIUM
- hymn
- 3 psalms with antiphon
- short reading or capitule
- verse
- supplication KYRIE, ELEISON…
- silent prayer (PATER NOSTER)
- ET NE NOS…
- collect
- BENEDICAMUS DOMINO

Compline

- collatio in the cloister
- DEUS, IN ADIUTORIUM
- 3 psalms without antiphons
- hymn
- short reading or capitule
- verse
- supplication KYRIE, ELEISON…
- silent prayer (PATER NOSTER)
- ET NE NOS…
- collect
- BENEDICAT…
- regular prayer