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**PURITY OF PURPOSE: THE AESTHETICS OF BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX
BASED ON HIS MONASTIC ANTHROPOLOGY**

by

Daniel Marcel La Corte

**A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Medieval Institute**

**Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan,
April 1991**

PURITY OF PURPOSE: THE AESTHETICS OF BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX
BASED ON HIS MONASTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Daniel Marcel La Corte, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1991

Questions concerning Bernard of Clairvaux's view of art and architecture have been answered primarily from his words on monastic art found in his work the *Apologia*. Some scholars have taken these statements out of context to their intended audience. Others have placed them firmly within the framework of his monastic vocation. More recently, scholars have analyzed the treatise in a broader context by using the *Apologia* to explore the role of art in the Middle Ages. None of these scholars question the fundamental motivation for Bernard's view on art and the role it plays in the hierarchy of the Saint's overall thought.

This paper will place Bernard's ideas on art and architecture within the context of his other views, drawing on his spiritual texts, letters and sermons. Addressing the issue from a broader reading will allow for an understanding of the place of art within the Saint's focused world view. Bernard's words on art and architecture in the *Apologia* must be understood in light of his understanding of human salvation and the process of purification in the monastic life. An investigation of these principles will lead to a discussion of Bernard's monastic anthropology and soteriology. Bernard's actions and words must always be viewed in reference to these two priorities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express sincere thanks to the many patient people at the Medieval Institute of Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo--above all, to Professor Otto Gründler, the Director. They have provided assistance through their humor, computer help, and support--both financial, and emotional. I should also like to acknowledge a lesser-known but equally important asset of Western Michigan University, the Institute for Cistercian Studies, which has provided not a few sources which should otherwise be unavailable.

Throughout the Medieval Studies program, many friends have provided a combination of financial support, food, shelter, encouragement, and advice--as well as much-needed racquetball games. These include: Dr. Solomon Samuels, Ann D. Humphrey, the family Condic, Juleen Eichinger, and Sang Lee.

Among many fine Cistercian scholars, I am especially indebted to Jean Leclercq, Chrysogonus Waddell, David Bell, Michael Casey, and Emero Stiegman. Their work in Cistercian studies has helped me enormously. I must thank Professor Brian P. McGuire for his input and the inspiration to begin this project; without him I should not have entertained the idea of beginning the work. A special word of thanks goes to Professor Marsha Dutton for her encouragement and help, and to Professor Mark Jordan for his assistance in his role as motivator.

Acknowledgments--Continued

I wish to express my thanks to John R. Sommerfeldt, who has acted as an academic father to me. I thank John for all the years he invested in what seemed at first a questionable venture. He has not only been a fine example of a teacher and scholar, but has provided an outstanding model for true charity and friendship. I am honored to call John a friend.

I owe a great debt to my advisor, E. Rozanne Elder, for having patience with me while reading too many drafts of this work. Dr. Elder provided constant encouragement and it is privilege to study with such a fine mind and generous mentor. The thanks are indeed too numerous to note.

I lovingly thank my parents, Roland and Cynthia, for having unshakable faith in my abilities. Their sacrifices and love have been a constant source of motivation throughout my life. Everything I am I owe to their nurturing and commitment.

With all my heart I thank my Leslie, my best friend, who gave me constant support, always much needed, and loving counsel, often unwarranted, which greatly contributed to the conclusion of this project.

And finally, thanks to the Heavenly Father through whom all things come.

Daniel Marcel La Corte

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

General Abbreviations

CF	<i>Cistercian Fathers</i> series. Spencer, Massachusetts; Washington, D.C.; Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1969-.
Cîteaux	<i>Cîteaux in de Nederlanden; Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses.</i> Westmalle, Belgium; Nuits-Saints-Georges, France, 1950-.
CS	<i>Cistercian Studies</i> series. Spencer, Massachusetts; Washington, D.C.; Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1969-.
CSt	<i>Cistercian Studies</i> (periodical). Chimay, Belgium, 1961-.
MTm	<i>Sermons For the Seasons and Principle Feasts of the Year.</i> Trans. A priest of Mount Melleray. Reprint, Westminster, Maryland: The Carroll Press, 1950.
RB	<i>Regula monachorum sancti Benedicti.</i>

The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux

SBOp	Jean Leclercq <i>et al.</i> (edd.), <i>Santi Bernardi opera.</i> Rome: Editiones Cisterciensis, 8 vols. in 9, 1957-1977.
Apo	<i>Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem</i>
Conv	<i>Sermo ad clericos de conversione</i>
Csi	<i>De consideratione</i>
Dil	<i>De diligendo Deo</i>
Div	<i>Sermo de diversis</i>
Ep	<i>Epistola</i>
Gra	<i>De gratia et libero arbitrio</i>

Table of Abbreviations--Continued

Hum	<i>De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae</i>
Nat	<i>Sermo in nativitate Domini</i>
OS	<i>Sermo in festivitate omnium sanctorum</i>
Pre	<i>De precepto et dispensatione</i>
QH	<i>Sermo super psalmum "Qui habitat"</i>
SC	<i>Sermo super Cantica canticorum</i>
Sept	<i>Sermo in septuagesima</i>

Biblical Abbreviations

Acts	Acts
1 Co	1 Corinthians
2 Co	2 Corinthians
Eph	Ephesians
Heb	Hebrews
Jn	John
Lk	Luke
Mt	Matthew
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
Ph	Phillipians

Abbreviations--Continued

Ps	Psalm
Sg	Song of Songs
Sir	Ecclesiasticus; Sirach
1 Tm	1 Timothy

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the teaching of art history, there persists an outdated interpretation of Bernard of Clairvaux's theory of art and beauty. Some art historians who propose negative interpretations of Bernard's words on art have even asserted that Bernard saw the physical world, and human artistic creations, as inherently evil because they were symbols of corrupting sin in the temporal world. For example Erwin Panofsky, a prominent art historian, suggests that Bernard "banished art . . . because it belonged on the wrong side of a world that he could see only as an unending revolt of the temporal against the eternal, of human reason against faith, of the senses against the spirit."¹ This passage and this sort of interpretation of Bernard's attitude toward art in general suggests that Bernard saw the spiritual and the temporal worlds forever at odds, and that he held a contemptuous view of the temporal. Others have suggested that Bernard had simply no use for art and beauty, or harbored hostility towards things beautiful.²

These views find their source in Bernard's words on monastic abuses in his *Apologia* to Abbot William of St. Thierry. Those who interpret Bernard's words negatively insist or imply that Bernard's apparent position in the *Apologia* is also reflected in all of his works. They also overlook the fact that the *Apologia* was written for a monastic audience. In addition, to support this negative interpretation,

these art historians rely heavily on only one section of the *Apologia*, that pertaining to art and architecture. They cite these passages out of the context of a multi-faceted work.

Some scholarship has challenged these negative interpretations of Bernard's aesthetic views. These more positive studies suggest that Bernard's views do not express an overall contempt for artistic expression, but rather reflect his understanding of monastic simplicity.³ Scholarship allowing a positive interpretation of the saint's aesthetic theory develops an understanding of his words on art with a view to his monastic theory, and base this interpretation on the whole corpus of Bernard's writings, including his biblical commentaries, liturgical and other sermons, and theological treatises--as well as on his *Apologia*.⁴ This incorporation of Bernard's other works provides a better representation of his aesthetic views because it takes into account a wider spectrum of his thought, and does not take as normative statements found in one highly specific and rhetorically colored source.

Even so, these scholars have not examined the underlying foundation of Bernard's aesthetics and specifically his ideas on monasticism, monastic art, and monastic avarice. Above all, what has not been sufficiently examined is the basic foundation on which Bernard builds his monastic theology and, from that, his aesthetic theory: his anthropology. None of those interpretations based solely on Bernard's *Apologia* adequately consider the intended audience of the treatise nor do they question the ideals for the monastic community to which Bernard wrote. These ideals form the foundation for all of Bernard's thought.

Bernard himself defined his own motives for writing the *Apologia* in the preface addressed to William of St. Thierry, at that time abbot of a Benedictine monastery.⁵

I have taken up the pen, Father, as you asked, and rebuked those of our monks who have been speaking unfavorably of your Order, and I have, at the same time cleared myself of unfounded suspicion on this count. However, there is something more I must say. . . . It is not for belonging to the Order that I rebuke men, but for their vices.⁶

Bernard wrote the *Apologia* in two sections, both of which express specifically monastic concerns. The first part addresses the controversy between Cluniacs and Cistercians, stemming from the arrogance of monks of both Orders: the Cistercians priding themselves for their austere fidelity to the Rule of St. Benedict, and the Cluniacs on their exaggerated respect for monastic tradition. Bernard wastes no words in rebuking both Cistercians and the Cluniacs for their pride and impiety. In the first section of the *Apologia*, Bernard writes specifically to those monks of the Cistercian order who, speaking unfavorably about their brothers in the Cluniac tradition, charged that the Cluniacs had transgressed against the cornerstone of monastic life, humility.⁷ By rebuking his own monks for pride in their voluntary poverty, Bernard demonstrates his respect for the Cluniac way of life and allows himself the authority to expound on the various abuses of certain monastic communities. Bernard has a deep concern for the interior dispositions of monks and will maintain this theme, which speaks to the spiritual condition of the monk, throughout the work.

In the second section, entitled "Against Excesses," Bernard turns his attention to monastic abuses shared by both Cistercians and Cluniacs. It is from the saint's ironic criticism of exaggerated architecture found in this second part that art historians

develop their negative interpretations. As the second section concludes, Bernard unleashes his so-called condemnation of art:

I shall say nothing about the soaring heights and extravagant lengths and unnecessary widths of the churches, nothing about their expensive decorations and their noble images, which catch the attention of those who go in to pray, and dry up their devotion.⁸

In the same vein Bernard sarcastically asks those monks who defend highly ornamented monastic churches: "Tell me "O poor men--if you are really poor men--why is there gold in the holy place?"⁹ Bernard continues his scrutiny of elaborate monastic art by focusing his inquiry on the motivation reflected in the ornamentation of some monastic churches:

Let me speak plainly. Cupidity, which is a form of idolatry, is the cause of all this. It is for no useful purpose that we do it, but to attract gifts. . . . The very sight of such sumptuous and exquisite baubles is sufficient to inspire men to make offerings, though not to say their prayers. In this way, riches attract riches, and money produces more money. . . . Beauty they admire, but they do no reverence to holiness. . . . Do you think such appurtenances are meant to stir penitents to compunction, or rather to set sight-seers agog?¹⁰

Bernard questions not the excessive ornamentation of churches but the greed of providing a sacred space which is intended to elicit donations rather than foster devotion. And finally, in a passage directed against intricate cloister decoration without a didactic purpose, Bernard argues:

What excuse can there be for these ridiculous monstrosities in the cloisters where the monks do their reading, extraordinary things at once beautiful and ugly? . . . All round there is such an amazing variety of shapes that one could easily prefer to take one's reading from the walls instead of a book. One could spend the whole day gazing fascinated at these things, one by one, instead of meditating on the law of God. Good Lord, even if the foolishness of it all occasion no shame, at least one might balk at the expense.¹¹

This impressive art work had obviously captured Bernard's attention, for he expounds in some detail on the diverse sculpture found in some cloisters. Bernard's comments focus not on the quality of the art work or on the intrinsic nature of sculpture but on the fact that the decorations could very easily distract the monk from meditating on the word of the Lord. Meditation, after all, is the proper activity for the cloister.

Bernard's *Apologia* does in fact provide a basis for evaluating his aesthetics, but only within the context of his understanding of humanity and the place of monasticism within the divine plan for human salvation. Soteriology is Bernard's major concern and the guiding principle of all his thought. Examining Bernard's soteriology will lead us to his view of humanity and his theological anthropology will in turn illuminate his monastic theory. The sum of this theology, I believe, finds expression in his comments on art and is reflected in the art and architecture of early Cistercian monasteries, the construction of which Bernard in some cases oversaw and on which he had in all cases strongly expressed opinions. By this I hope to provide a balanced view of Bernard's view of art and its role in the lives of twelfth-century people.

Bernard sees the human person in terms of two basic subdivisions: the body, and the soul.¹² Both body and soul can be discussed either in their ideal conditions, that is, as God created them to be, or in the present fallen state of sin. Sin's effects deform the natural and created condition of the soul, thus masking human gifts and confounding human reason by allowing it to choose vice over virtue. And yet because of Christ's sacrifice and promise of redemption, Bernard believes that the fallen human person can be reformed and perfected to the state God intended.

Discipline he sees as the way to reformation: discipline of the body's senses and actions, discipline of the intellect, and discipline of the will. Bernard's confidence in the human capacity to be reformed and perfected informed his choice of the monastic life and profoundly shaped his insistence on the purity of the monastic environment.

CHAPTER II

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

Bernard built his theory of art on his anthropology. For Bernard, the goal of human existence is union with God which is the ultimate perfection of the human person. This is only possible when one is healed from the effects of one's fallen condition. Bernard knew well that Christ brought the promise of salvation to humanity. Bernard's soteriological ideas find their source in his anthropology. A theory of how a human being is saved necessarily presupposes a view of the nature of the humanity to be perfected. Bernard's anthropology also underlies his monastic theology which, in turn, directly informs his ideas on the role of art and on the place of physical beauty within this theory, and on the purpose of art in human as well as monastic life. His understanding of the nature of the human being in both the prelapsarian and the postlapsarian conditions is far more complex than the theory or theories which have been proposed by some historians¹³ and adopted by art historians.¹⁴

Bernard did not write a specific treatise on the subject of the nature of humanity, but his anthropology can be deduced from the corpus of his writings. Bernard repeats a traditional philosophical definition of man in his advice to Pope

Eugenius III, a former monk of Clairvaux:

You should consider what you are: what you are in nature, who you are in person, and what sort of man you are in character. . . . There is in the definition of man, whom they call a rational animal, the notion that he is mortal.¹⁵

The human person exists with both spiritual and physical characteristics. Bernard explains that the rational faculties reside in the spiritual nature of man or the soul.¹⁶

In the creation of the first man, Bernard believed earth and the breath of God were brought together into one being:

In the first work of our creation, "God formed man of the earth's dirt and breathed into his face the spirit of life." Oh, what an artist, what a compounder of things diverse, at whose command the earth's dirt and the spirit of life are thus intimately welded together!¹⁷

Using the philosophical and theological tradition of his day, Bernard understood man as an excellent and wondrous creation,¹⁸ endowed with a physical nature, the body, and a spiritual nature, the soul.

Man's Physical Qualities

Bernard knew that a person's physical nature has certain requirements for sustenance: food, water, sleep, clothing, and protection. These needs may interfere with purely spiritual concerns:

No doubt the first obstacle and heavy burden is the need of the unfortunate body--demanding at one time sleep, at another food, now clothing, and then something else--which often hinders us from applying ourselves to spiritual matters.¹⁹

Although Bernard sometimes seems somewhat perturbed by the obligation to care for the flesh and laments that its care interferes with spiritual development, he realizes

the necessity of bodily maintenance. He advises that one should not have a hatred for one's body but care for it, because it has positive features as well, for example, existence which comes from the creation, and faculties, such as sense perception, which aid the human being's spiritual nature.²⁰ In addition the body will be reunited with the soul at the final judgment.²¹ Because Bernard accepts physical care as one of life's necessities, then his words of caution above center on the amount of time and energy the flesh requires.

Human physical nature helps a person's spiritual nature by providing the soul with sense data. Conversely the soul provides the body with the rationality necessary to structure that sense data meaningfully: "Souls have a need for bodies and bodies in turn a need for senses, if they are to know and influence each other."²² For this reason, Bernard continues: "The soul sees with the eyes, hears with the ears, smells with the nose, tastes with the mouth, touches with the rest of the body...".²³ The intertwined and inseparable natures of the body and soul depend on one another's powers for their very existence and for their perfection, that is their growth towards God. Not only will the flesh help with the present activities of daily living, but will be an eternal companion in the afterlife. The body and soul are created with specific faculties which can be uncoupled from one another only in death and will be reunited in the afterlife.

Human Spiritual Nature

Bernard's meditations on the *Song of Songs* provide us with insights on his concept of the soul's faculties. The soul, made in the likeness of a triune God, exhibits this triune division:

I discern in the soul three faculties, the reason, the will, the memory, and these three may be said to be identified with the soul itself.²⁴

Most often, this Augustinian division²⁵ is replaced in Bernard's works with another threefold division of the soul:

It is clear that the nature of souls is threefold. For this reason the wise men of old have taught that the human soul is rational, irascible, and concupiscible.²⁶

From this division, human spiritual nature includes a rational faculty which gives humans the use of reason, as well as willing and emotive faculties, which comprise the human soul.

The Rational Soul

The rational faculty of the soul has as its object knowledge; Bernard writes:

"I am endowed with reason; I am capable of knowing the truth."²⁷ And for Bernard, the truth is God.²⁸ The intellect finds its fulfillment or perfection in knowing the Truth, which is God.

Through the use of the intellect, the human being can come to an understanding of Truth by reflecting on creation informed by the physical senses.²⁹

Bernard's understanding of a person's ability to know God through his rational

understanding of things perceived by bodily senses allows for a response to the Creator. Bernard has such confidence in the intellectual faculty of the soul that he believes that if one will use the information provided by the simple daily actions of nature, one may move, through the power of the human intellect, toward God.³⁰ But, before this growth can occur Bernard realizes there must be a pre-condition in one's soul.

Humility

Growth toward God can occur only if one is honest about one's own gifts. Life, the body, and the soul are not one's own accomplishments but God's creation. Bernard writes on the importance of an honest appraisal of oneself and the consequential virtuous condition of humility:

Most assuredly, if you are a just man, you do not take to yourself the glory that belongs to God. . . . For the virtue of justice is related closely to humility.³¹

The intellect provides the basis for spiritual growth, and for this reason Bernard demands that the intellectual virtue of humility become habitual. Knowledge of anything, and most assuredly of Truth, demands honesty. Honest, just self-assessment about one's place in the world is humility. Humility gives one a proper perspective on one's actions, abilities, and deficiencies. Only through humility can one know the truth about one's place within the world in justice and humility. Bernard writes about one's acknowledgement of one's virtues and gifts: "[Man's] knowledge is that by which he acknowledges that this dignity is in him, but that is not of his own making."³² Consequentially, when one knows oneself, one is provided with a

foundation for spiritual maturation and perfection, which is the goal of human life. Self-knowledge then, becomes indispensable to the perfection of the soul. Thus, by the application of the rational faculty of the soul (the intellect) one may grow spiritually. If one is to become humble in order that he be just one must have a truthful understanding of one's self. John Sommerfeldt writes of Bernard's notion of humility: "Humility is a form of knowledge, the faculty which this virtue perfects is the intellect. . . . Humility is the right ordering of one's intellect toward reason, which is attained by reason."³³ This self-knowledge demands the development of the intellect to its highest capacity.

The Will

The rational faculty cooperates with another intellectual faculty, the will, the concupiscible soul. One must make use of reason, according to Bernard, to assess the world and provide information to the will. He writes: "The reason suggests inwardly to the will all these and similar things more insistently as it is perfectly instructed by the light of the Spirit."³⁴ The will is a uniquely human endowment, according to Bernard:

We have life in common with the trees, and sense-perception, appetite, and again, life with the animals. It is, then, what we call the will which distinguishes us from both of them."³⁵

Informed by the intellect, the will makes choices which enable one to be happy and just, or unjust and miserable.³⁶ The will's liberty in choice, when properly informed by the intellect, allows the will to govern one's every action:

The will is a rational movement, governing both sense-perception and appetite. In whatever direction it turns it has reason as its mate, one might even say as its follower. Not that it is moved invariably by reason--indeed it does many things through reason against reason, or, in other words through the medium of reason as it were, yet contrary to its counsel and judgment--but it is never moved without reason.³⁷

The will is responsible for a person's actions. If, as Michael Casey suggests: "Bernard places man in the middle ground--neither totally angelic or totally bestial--but able to move toward either,"³⁸ then it is the will that moves man either towards the irrational state of animals or towards perfection and union with God. The caution Bernard reserves for the temptations of the flesh is based not on a negative view of the temporal world but on his understanding of the power of the will. Bernard knows well that the ills which plague the body and soul are due to a disorderly will, and may ultimately be disastrous for that very soul. The well informed and spiritually oriented will, for Bernard, shall in fact affect both body and soul with positive results, namely, rest in God.

The Irascible Soul

Yet another faculty of the human soul is the irascible element. The soul's irascible function is closely related to the functions of the body: perception, feelings, and emotions. The perfection of the irascible faculty is the peace and joy experienced by the soul when she rests peacefully in God. Bernard writes:

As regards what is called our irascible element, when God will fill it there will be perfect calm within us, and it will be filled with the divine peace which will result in supreme joy and happiness.³⁹

The irascible faculty enjoys perfection when it rests in the Creator. The perfection of the soul comes about when all her faculties, intellect, will and irascible faculty, are filled and fulfilled in the Beatific Vision. Then the soul is complete, humble, just, joyful, and happy.⁴⁰ Bernard writes that the soul is blessed when the soul's faculties find their fulfilling perfection each according to its function: the intellect will be filled with true knowledge and wisdom; the will choose the good, according to justice; and the irascible faculty of the soul will find ultimate peace and joy. This state of total fulfillment is the goal of the human person.

Man the Unity

Because some interpretations of have suggested that Bernard's anthropology was neo-platonic in character, that he understood the body as the prison of the soul,⁴¹ I think it is necessary to investigate the relationship of the spiritual and the physical in his writings. Implicit in Panofsky's assessment of Bernard's aesthetics⁴² is the assignment to Bernard of a negative view of the unity of spiritual and physical natures in the human person. If true, this would certainly effect the way in which scholars view his words on art, as well as on the purpose of life.

Bernard believes that the human person, both body and soul, is a noble creature. He also believes that the combined and inseparable components of the human being place him in an exalted position within creation:

Does it seem to you a little thing that he [God] made you? Think of what quality he made you. For even with regard to your body he made you a noble creature; and still more so with regard to your soul, inasmuch as you are the extraordinary image of the Creator, sharing his rationality, capable of eternal happiness.⁴³

The source of the spiritual nature of man is the Creator, but the human soul shares its most unique features with the same Creator: the human being is created in the image and likeness of God. For Bernard, "Man's nobler gifts--dignity, knowledge and virtue--are found in the higher part of his being, in his soul. . . ."⁴⁴ Bernard exalts in the human condition because of the positive potential for perfection the human receives through the capabilities (power) given him by God. The perfection of the soul provides people with the possibility of sharing in eternal life.

Although Bernard sometimes wrote allegorically of the body and soul in what may seem to be dualistic terms, he nonetheless writes with a positive attitude towards the flesh-spirit union:

O mortal flesh, noble is the guest you entertain, very noble, and on her welfare your own entirely depends. Honor your guest so distinguished. You are residing here in your native country, but the soul which has taken lodging with you is a pilgrim and an exile on the earth. . . .⁴⁵

The host, the body, must provide for the welfare of the soul, not only for the inherent benefit of the soul, but for the benefit of the whole person. Bernard has no doubts that the soul's guardian, the body, serves a positive and useful function which benefits the union of spirit and flesh. Bernard may have reservations about the time spent in care of the flesh but concedes that: "The flesh is clearly a good and faithful partner for a good spirit. . . ."⁴⁶ The flesh is not a prison of the soul; rather, it acts in a custodial partnership. Humanity's physical nature aids the guest-soul by providing it with a proper and ordered hospice. This hostel is "for the good spirit," one unfettered by unnecessary demands of the flesh. Because the flesh is joined with an immortal soul it too can share in the immortality of salvation. Because of this union, the body

can pass beyond the physical realm of its creation.⁴⁷ The created physical body, therefore, acts as guardian, host, protector, purveyor of sensory data, and, ultimately, as the soul's immortal partner in the afterlife.

Certainly, Bernard thinks, the intrinsic nature of the Creator's work is to be viewed with optimism. He lacks no confidence in the nobility of the human's combined temporal and spiritual characteristics: "There is natural unity whereby soul and flesh give birth to one human person."⁴⁸ Bernard's enthusiasm for the wondrous creation called humanity comes not from the gifts of the Creator alone but from the way in which he combined these gifts. It is the intertwining of the two natures of body and soul for which Bernard shows great enthusiasm:

In both body and soul man is the most admirable of all creatures, being integrated with himself by the incomprehensible ingenuity and unsearchable wisdom of the Creator.⁴⁹

The rational faculties, God's likeness found in the soul, are now praised along with the ingenuity of the heavenly artist in his combination of the two. Bernard is overwhelmed with joy that these qualities are cohaerentes (combined) within the human person by the Creator.⁵⁰ A human's mortal nature, the flesh, is combined with an immortal soul, and becomes one composite creature. Yet, the body and soul are not two distinct and autonomous essences coexisting; they are intimately "welded together" to create a uniquely new creature, a mortal rational animal, the human person. The human person is an unity composed of two noble substances, matter and spirit, and Bernard rejoices in this alliance. Bernard's words on the uniting of the body and soul do not display the hostility towards the combination of the two often deduced from his writings and in fact can be viewed as positive.⁵¹ They often are

interpreted negatively on the basis of Bernard's words about man in the fallen state of sin.

The Post-Adamic Condition of the Human

So much for Bernard's theory of the ideal person as created. Bernard certainly has no doubts that the world in which he lives bears the scars of humanity's fall from the adamic condition. What is the source and what is the effect of human sin on humanity as Bernard sees them? The specific source of man's sin Bernard identifies with the uniquely human faculty, the will. He writes: "...[Man] does not sin unless he wills."⁵² And again: "He is not forced to be evil by some other cause, but simply chooses to be so at the behest of his own will."⁵³ Consent to sin does not come from the physical nature of man and Bernard does not describe the physical "flesh" as the source of sin. Instead Bernard considers the physical actions of man as symptoms of an inner malady:

The source of this contamination springs not from outside, but from its [the soul's] own body, and not from elsewhere but from itself. It is something in the soul. . . .⁵⁴

Presented with harmful physical or spiritual inducements, the will freely chooses to consent to sin. Because of consent to sin, disorder then replaces the intended order of created being. The body rebels against the guidance of the faculties of the soul and thus against its intended nature and dignity, and it burdens the soul with undue cares for the temporal world, enslaving it to sorrow and sadness. The human soul becomes betrayed by a disorderly will, confounding the person with sin and placing the soul

in captivity. Bernard knows well that this disorder of the will is not the intended or the necessary condition of man.

Because he understands the disoriented and distracted will as an aberration of nature, Bernard recommends treating sin much as a doctor would treat a malignant growth. He writes:

What is the first thing he should do? Before all else he must amputate the ulcerous tumor that has grown upon the wound and prevents its healing. This ulcer, caused by inveterate bad habits, must be sliced away with the scalpel of piercing sorrow.⁵⁵

In Bernard's metaphor, the growth of the tumor of sin manifests itself in the activities and attitudes of human person as "bad habits." The uncontrolled desires and appetites of one's physical nature are the results of the deformation of the will.

The cancer of visible sin is only a symptom of a still more deeply festering malady. Bernard held that, at its root, sin affects the distinctly human faculties. When one wills to sin, reason, the intellectual faculty of the soul, becomes disoriented and sickly.⁵⁶ Because of the power of sin, the intellect is not whole and healthy; its faculties lose their focus on the truth, which should otherwise be easily viewed. And, with the faculty of reason impaired, the person's view of Truth is obscured. A sinful person also does not recognize his own true worth in the world.⁵⁷ One's ignorance of the Truth, leads one into pride, the vice antithetical to the virtue of humility. The proud human person is then captive to his physical desires and falls from his noble condition; one roams the plains of the world on the level of the animals. This confusion and discord weighs down the soul, but the effects are catastrophic for the entire human being: "[The] soul [is]. . . burdened with sin, enmeshed in vice,

ensnared by the allurements of pleasure, a captive in exile, imprisoned in the body.
 . . .⁵⁸ Impaired in intellect and incapable of true knowledge, one then becomes shackled by things physical, and spiritual growth and inner perfection become impossible. The real "prison" is a disordered will.

Bernard is painfully realistic as he turns his attention to the consequences of sin for the soul's created likeness to God:

Now when Holy Scripture speaks of the unlikeness that has come about, it says not that the likeness has been destroyed, but concealed by something else which has been laid over it. The soul has not in fact put off its original form but has put on one foreign to it. The latter is an addition; the former has not been lost. This addition can hide the original form, but it cannot blot it out.⁵⁹

Bernard always insists that the soul's nobility is not destroyed by sin. Sin hides the truly blessed likeness to God by introducing duplicity into a soul created to be simple. Bernard asserts that this unlikeness is not "inborn but put on, so to speak, with the needle of sin [it is] stitched on to simplicity"⁶⁰ The human person remains forever the image of God.⁶¹ The human person is not without hope for he possesses his likeness to God, although imperfect in their duplicity. The masking of the soul by vices and sin places the human in a state in which his noble origins and purity cannot be recognized even by himself. Bernard is repelled by the defacing of the soul and the complications of sin: "How incongruous is the mixture of simplicity and duplicity! . . . And the co-existence of these increases the confusion."⁶²

Salvation Through Christ

According to Bernard, a person realizes he is lacking something when he reflects on his present disorderly condition and his inarticulate yearnings: "His present state is no pleasure to them. He aspires to something better."⁶³ This realization in turn should motivate him to strive for something "better." But self-knowledge also brings the realization that the recovery of the simplicity and purity of man's created state is beyond one's own, now crippled powers. Bernard confesses: "Indeed, it is easier to know what one ought to do than to do it. . . . Hence, I stand in need of two things: 'instruction and help.'"⁶⁴

Bernard explains the restoration process in a threefold operation of grace: "The first is creation; the second, reformation; and the third, consummation."⁶⁵ The first action of grace is creation itself, and God's love and mercy can be seen in the act of creating. Secondly, grace operates in the reformation of man by stimulating (activating) the process of conversion and perfection of the person. Bernard writes: I recognized myself as impelled to good by the prevenient operation [of God's grace]. I felt myself borne along by it and helped, with its help, to find perfection.⁶⁶ God presents an opportunity which requires a responsive choice. By the consent of the concupiscible soul, the human person accepts the grace that will reform the willing faculty by reorienting it away from the distracting and artificial "necessities" which cause vice and bring disorder to the will. Bernard knows whence his instruction and aid comes.⁶⁷ To restore humanity to his image, the Creator came as a human being to save humanity. Bernard writes: "When Christ came, he brought grace; when truth

is known it brings love. It is to the humble [that] it is known. 'He gives his grace to the humble' [1 Pet 5:5]." Bernard has no doubt that the grace of God accomplishes salvation in the person who accepts salvation through his Son. ⁶⁸

Again Bernard casts humility, the truthful evaluation of one's self, in a leading role in the salvation of the human person. In the restoration of one's soul, grace clears the foundation, the intellect, which Bernard knows to be the spiritual basis for growth and perfection.⁶⁹ To be humble a person must search for both his faults and failings as well as his strengths and merits. Bernard tells us that "This means only that grace sets in order what creation has given, so that virtues are nothing else than ordered affections."⁷⁰ Grace reforms the intellect that has been disorderly; by restoration of the intellect, one may find humility.

Humility, a form of justice, as we have seen above, allows grace to operate in the human soul's other faculties as well. Grace motivates and accomplishes restoration and salvation in man through restoration of his willing faculty. Bernard recognizes that care and restoration of the soul's purity requires a human activity, namely, the will's response to the grace of God. One must not reject grace. One must choose to turn, with the help of God, away from sin, which binds his soul's created virtues in the shackles of sin. Only by willing can man be restored. Grace, with the cooperation with the will, frees the human person from simply choosing between activity and inactivity. Grace restores the nobility of the will,⁷¹ but not without human consent.

The final grace in the restoration of the human person is consumed in the joy felt by the emotive part of the soul. The irascible soul receives its restoration from

grace because of the purification of the will and reason. Reason acknowledges God's gift of salvation, the will desires this grace and the emotions cry out for freedom from sorrow. The emotive faculty then can be restored:

Our intention, bent down from depths, ascends to heights; the affection, languishing in fleshly desires, gradually grows strong into love of the spirit; and our memory, sullied by the shame of former deeds, but now become clean once more with continual good works, reaches each day a measure of joy.⁷²

The memory of past actions are cleansed from sorrow, and the emotions rejoice in happiness at the person's progression towards God accomplished by grace. For God is the ultimate goal of humanity, and the peace that is experienced by the emotive faculty is that rest for which she seeks. It is from grace and by grace and through grace that man acts in a virtuous way in response to God. By God's help one may begin to direct one's will and proceed on the restoration process to God. This process fills the emotive faculty of the soul with joyful elation.

The Physical in Aid of the Spiritual

While Bernard thinks that one could not do anything good without the consent of the will to grace, he does assert that a change of physical habits will help man gain control of his spiritual activities:

If, faithful to the sage's counsel, you turn away from sensual delights [Sr 18:30] and content yourself with the Apostle's teaching on food and clothing [1 Tm 6:8], you will soon be able to guard your love against "carnal desires which war against the soul" [1 Pet 2:11]. . .

⁷³

This passage speaks directly to the monk who has chosen a life of deliberate sensory austerity. The consequence of allowing the passions and sensual appetites to rule

one's members is spiritual stagnation. Bernard's distrust of superfluities in life is based not on a dichotomy between the physical and spiritual, but rather on the importance of maintaining a consistently disciplined life in which natural order, for the good of the soul, is constantly pursued.

Bernard maintains the necessity of simplicity as a means by which the physical nature of humans may help the spiritual nature in growth. To progress on the path towards restoration requires a self-discipline based on prudence. Bernard explains that the principles of prudent action provide one a way of discerning the most simple and efficient means to an end. Bernard recognizes the need for prudence in man's desire for simplicity, reminding his audience: "He [the Master] puts prudence first, for without it, no one can be properly simple."⁷⁴ If one is prudent, one will choose the simple and just course of action, cooperating with God in the restoration of one's will.

A freed will is one without duplicity, truly free and pure. Liberation of the will allows the flesh to be seen in its natural dignity, the intellect to see by the light of Truth, and the emotions to feel joy. Freedom of the will brings hope to the person who desires fulfillment and perfection in God. Bernard proposes to aid this liberation and restoration of the soul by a reliance on simplicity in lifestyle. The foundations for simplicity are not found in an view of the world as inherently evil but hold suspect the immoderate attention and priority placed on things that do not aid in reaching the ultimate end, union with God. Self-discipline greatly aids this desire for restoration. Bernard recognizes humanity's physical and spiritual virtues and found the monastic, austere and simple lifestyle ideal for realizing both. But austerity alone does not suffice; what Bernard sought was consistency from living the simple,

disciplined life in which one makes use of both the physical and the spiritual gifts of the human being in achieving perfection.

CHAPTER III

BERNARD'S LIFE OF LOVE

Bernard accepted monasticism as the most efficacious means of structuring the discipline necessary to remove the cloak of sin and reveal the original likeness of the human soul to her Creator.⁷⁵ His confidence in monastic discipline's importance in reforming the will and removing the duplicity of sin is unshakable. The Cistercian emphasis on simplicity in life, liturgy, and architecture he accepted as means by which the monk orders his will and conforms his soul to Christ. The monastic life inculcates humility and love through communal service and fraternal charity, and these virtues help prepare the monk interiorly for the gifts received in the spiritual activities of prayer, divine reading, meditation, and contemplation. These activities and virtues cooperate to provide an environment centered on spiritual growth. Once restored to simplicity, the soul, undivided and healthy, may grow yet further towards perfection. It is to attain perfection through grace that one leaves the world to join a monastery, and Bernard knows that the didactic value of such a life is compromised when monks are distracted from this carefully integrated life.

Bernard's ideal monastic community provides an environment in which the soul of each monk can respond freely to the Creator in love. When one examines the lifestyle of Bernard and his monks, this, their purity of purpose, must always be remembered. Monastic literature often portrays life as a journey and Bernard reminds

his monks to concentrate their attentions on their own journey to restoration and perfection:

There are many paths that can be taken, for the dwelling places to which we journey are many. Whatever path a man is taking, let him not be so concerned about alternative routes that he lose sight of his destination. Let him be sure that, by following the path he is on, he will eventually arrive at one of the dwelling places and will not be left outside his Father's house.⁷⁶

Bernard writes in the *Apologia* that singlemindedness is necessary in every monastic community or Order if its members are to reach the heavenly goal. The well traveled, ancient pathway of this journey of reformation and perfection is paved with discipline.

Bernard clearly describes a well-disciplined monastic community. The monk's communal pursuit of fraternal love includes even the physically absent. In a letter addressed to the monks at Clairvaux, while he was away Bernard asserted and depicted daily activities of properly focused monks. He describes monastic virtues expressed in external activities:

Any of you who are well disposed, humble, reverent, zealous in reading attentive in prayer, fervent in fraternal love, can be quite sure I am not far away from them. How could I not be present in spirit to those with whom I am thus united in heart and soul?⁷⁷

Fraternal love, fostered by the integration of monastic activities, binds its members together. These external actions of the community evince the virtues which a simple lifestyle under the *Rule* promotes:

You will see one praying, another engaged in meditative reading, this one commiserating, that one correcting. You will see one inflamed with love, another mighty with humility, this one humble in prosperity, that one sublime in adversity. You will see one assiduous in action, another quiet in contemplation.⁷⁸

Prayer, contemplation, and acts of love are practices which flourish in the well-focused community. The spiritual and physical activities of the community re-enforce the restoration of the will and consequentially the entire person. Bernard expresses the ideal outward condition of disciplined monks who reflect the positive inner qualities of their soul.

Bernard knows that, if his monks perform the external, communal activities inattentively, distracted either by interior vices or physical allurements, these actions will not produce the proper disposition which aids in reformation and perfection. The physical symptoms of underlying, destructive sin we saw earlier diagnosed in the individual can spread and infect the entire community and breed disorder among the brothers. And disorder hinders the journey to God. Bernard provides stern words to those monks who are not living up to monastic expectations:

But if there should be any one among you scheming, double-faced, grumbling, rebellious, insubordinate, restless, and flighty, or unblushingly eating the bread of idleness, then even though I were present to such a one in body, yet my spirit would be far from him, in manner of life if not in material space, because he would be alienating himself from God.⁷⁹

Monastic discipline trains the monk's physical, intellectual, and spiritual faculties. External order loosens the will's attachment to the world and directs it to God. Bernard has no doubt that growth and restoration begin in the external monastic observances and habits.⁸⁰ Bernard asserts the continual need for both spiritual and material order.⁸¹ The structure and activities of the monastic life help the monk repair the soul and set in order what was disordered, namely the will. Bernard

describes the many aids to virtues the monastic life provides to the monks at St.

Jean-d'Aups:

Our place is the bottom, is humility, is voluntary poverty, obedience, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Our place is under a master, under an abbot, under a rule, under discipline. Our place is to cultivate silence, to exert ourselves in fasts, vigils, prayers, manual labor, and, above all, to keep that more excellent way, which is the way of love.⁸²

By examining this self-conscious appraisal of Cistercian monasticism, we better understand Bernard. By holding to basic discipline, adherence to manual labor and the spiritual activities prescribed by the *Rule of Benedict*, the Cistercians wished to create a lifestyle that integrated physical, intellectual, and spiritual discipline and enabled personal spiritual growth. Bernard reflects the Cistercian interpretation of the *Rule*, underlining obedience, fastings, voluntary poverty, manual labor, and love as a way to promote humility. He cites prayers and vigils as a means for growth of the spiritual nature of the monk. And, finally, he calls on this disciplined and integrated way of life to promote fraternal love and charity.

Bernard accepts the voluntary poverty, which the Cistercians called simplicity, mandated by the Cistercian founders as a cornerstone of his order. Louis Lekai writes that the early Cistercian insistence on voluntary poverty came about as beneficial to their end, freedom from sinful distraction: "These lovers of virtue soon came to think about poverty which is fruitful to man."⁸³ Voluntary poverty insures simplicity in one's lifestyle by limiting needless material goods. The Cistercian definition of simplicity demanded that needs be met efficiently and according to justice.⁸⁴ Voluntary poverty makes manual labor indispensable to the community. Physical

labor in turn becomes an integral activity of the monastic life because it disciplines the body and promotes the virtues of humility and self-discipline:

You do well when you wear yourself out with all manner of hard work. You do well when, by the austerity of the *Rule*, you put to death whatever is earthly in you.⁸⁵

The physical labor required by the early Cistercian *horarium* afforded little idle time to spend coddling unnecessary appetites and desires of the flesh. With common sense, Bernard advises his nephew, who fled Clairvaux for a laxer monastic routine:

Arouse yourself, gird your loins, put aside idleness, grasp the nettle, and do some hard work. If you act thus you will soon find that you only need to eat what will satisfy your hunger, not what will make your mouth water. Hard exercise will restore the flavor to food that idleness has taken away.⁸⁶

Labor disciplines the flesh in controlling the vices of fastidiousness and lavish living. Through hard work the monk will be satisfied with less elaborate food, thus being sated with simpler fare, upholding simplicity in diet, and curbing vices of the flesh. I think Bernard's point can be understood by anyone who has done hard physical labor; one welcomes a simple drink of water and does not demand wine. Hard work demands physical discipline and results in fatigue. Thus manual labor provides the physical discipline which aids in freeing the will from the vices born of luxury and idleness.

Bernard has great confidence in the spiritual rewards of a will trained by physical discipline. The monastic life disciplines and frees the monk from exterior attachments and thus perfects him inwardly, allowing him respond in all his faculties cooperating with grace to God's call.

The structure of the monastic community also fosters interior growth. Bernard writes:

It is not enough to show ourselves externally obedient to those in authority, unless we also entertain feelings of respect and veneration for them in the interior of our souls.⁸⁷

Bernard's words often focus on the external disciplines of the life lived according to the *Rule*, namely, obedience. His greatest concern for his monks, lay with the attitude these activities were meant to foster. The *Apologia* provides one such example:

But look at God's rule, with which St. Benedict's regulations agree. It says that "the kingdom of God is within you [Lk 17:21]." It does not consist in outward things like bodily clothing and food, but in man's interior virtues. . . . You cast aspersions on the Fathers because of mere outward observances, while you yourself do not bother about the more important spiritual regulations laid down by the *Rule*. . . . A good deal of attention is given to getting a robe and cowl for the body, since a man is not reckoned a monk without them. Meanwhile there is no thought for his spiritual attire, the spirit of prayer and humility.⁸⁸

Bernard contends that, even if his monks keep a strict regimen and frugal lifestyle, if they pride themselves on these actions, they commit the sin of pride, which is a far greater offense to God than gluttony. Virtue is not in the physical action and observances but in the intention and motivation which is of the will.

Because humility is indispensable to human knowledge, humility plays a necessary role in the life of the monk. Life in community clears the sight of one's mind through continual interaction with the truth about oneself; thus there is little room for self deception. The monk cannot escape the scrutiny and correction of others, and this inspection from without should lead him to introspection aiding humility.

Manual labor also takes the form of serving one's brothers in fraternal love.

For example, in the *Rule's* requirement of kitchen service:

The brothers should wait on one another. No one is to be excused from kitchen duty unless he is ill or he is engaged in a task of greater import, for he can thus obtain greater charity and commendation.⁸⁹

The universal requirement of kitchen duty insures that every member of the community do menial labor for his fellow monks. This task assists a practical need, but it also aids in developing an interior spiritual disposition. It creates an atmosphere of equality among the monks by discouraging an individualistic sense of superiority. The individual's humble service in turn fosters an environment whereby the community may grow and benefit from fraternal love.

External observances designed to aid spiritual growth bear their fruit after the soul has been purified of duplicity.⁹⁰ The monastic lifestyle is designed so the individual may move beyond the physical activities of daily living and reap the fruits of the spiritual realm. Bernard explains the relationship between manual labor, fraternal service, prayer, and contemplation found in the monastic horarium:

For we discover Martha as the Saviour's friend in those who do the daily chores. We find Lazarus, the mourning dove, in the novices just now dead to their sins, who toil with fresh wounds and mourn through fear of the judgement. . . . We find contemplative Mary in those who, co-operating with God's grace over a long period of time, have attained to a better and happier state . . . day and night they meditate on the ways of God with insatiable delight.⁹¹

Each monk should be educated in all three levels of activity. But we find Bernard addressing the issue of balance and prudence once again. He says he shall be perfect who is able to perform all three of these devotions, namely, penance, service, and contemplation. He does not advocate a life solely of labor; he does not advocate a

life of pure contemplation or one of continual penitential prayer. Each activity of the monastic experience interacts to provide the monk with the necessary structure, discipline, and environment, both physical and spiritual, for reaching the goal of perfection. Each is indispensable to the journey.

The Activities of Love

The *Rule* requires that certain hours of the day be devoted to prayer.⁹² The daily liturgy is called "the work of God." But the horarium sets aside time for individual prayers and meditation as well. The prayer life of the monk found its source in Scripture, the Word of God. Chrysogonus Waddell reminds us that Bernard had a dynamic understanding of the integral relationship of liturgical and private prayer, personal reflection and awareness of God's presence in his Word. Waddell writes:

reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation, inter-penetrated with the others so powerfully in actual practice that it was more a matter of varying degrees of intensity of contact with the Word than a matter of four distinct though related spiritual activities.⁹³

The monk was in constant contact with the Word of God in the oratory--opus Dei--as well as in the cloister--lectio divina, the refectory and the chapter house. He heard or read the Word almost constantly during his day.⁹⁴

Lectio Divina and Meditation

The daily schedule of the monk required him to make use of some of the early hours of his day, not in the oratory or in the labors of the monastery, but in the

quiet reading of Scripture. This *lectio divina* is not purely an intellectual activity. One slowly pours over the Word of God in a slow and thoughtful manner. Divine reading requires the use of reason not only to understand what is being read but to reflect on all the possible meanings of the text. *Lectio*, then, is more than reading. The physical repetition of the words imprints the words both physically and mentally on the monk. This process allows the text to become part of the memory. Jean Leclercq tells us "The *meditatio* consists in applying oneself with attention to this exercise in total memorization; it is, therefore, inseparable from the activity of *lectio*."⁹⁵ As with communal prayer, there is a physical activity involved with meditation. Medieval monks read Scripture slowly in a low voice, "feeling" every word.⁹⁶ Scripture interacts with human reason. For restoration of the intellect, Bernard provides his monks advice to aid their perfection and salvation of their monastic activities in explication the gifts received by meditation on the Word:

As honey flows from the comb so should devotion flow from the words; otherwise if one attempts to assimilate them without the condiment of the Spirit "the written letters bring death [2 Cor 3:6]." But if like the Apostle you sing praises not only with the spirit but with the mind as well [1 Co 14:15], you too will experience the truth of Jesus' statement: "The words I have spoken to you are spirit, and they are life [Jn 6:64]."⁹⁷

In the same way labor prepares the monk's physical nature for spiritual rewards, the activity of meditative reading demands use of the physical in the aid of the spiritual. The soul's perfection requires the interaction with the Word. The fruits of the monk's readings are directly responsible for his soul's instruction, perfection, and desire for heaven.

By employing reason in one's reflection on the Word of God, reason itself is informed and perfected. Bernard tells us that the Word enters, heals and perfects man through:

the intellect, by which your soul receives its vital spiritual nourishment and communicates it to the inward faculties of the will and the emotions.⁹⁸

Restoration and perfection of the intellect depends on human interaction with the Word being heard, read, and meditated on. The will redirected towards God then allows the intellect to grow in wisdom. Meditation, like physical discipline, assists in redirecting the senses and will to God.⁹⁹ Reason finds its restoration and perfection in wisdom:

The Son of God, the Word and Wisdom of the Father mercifully assumed to himself human reason, the first of our powers. . . . Humility had been born from the union of the Word with human reason. Then the Holy Spirit lovingly visited the second power, the will. . . . Gently he cleansed it, made it burn with affection. . . . The union of the Holy Spirit with the human will gave birth to love. See now this perfect soul, its two powers, the reason and the will, without spot or wrinkle, the reason instructed by the Word of Truth [2 Cor 6:7], the will inflamed by Truth's Spirit [1 Jn 4:6]; sprinkled with the hyssop of humility [Ps 50:9] . . . smoothed of wrinkle by love [Eph 5:27]. . . . Now the reason is no longer preoccupied with itself and the will is no longer concerned with other men; for this blessed soul all is lost in one delight: "The King has led me into his chamber [SC 1:3]."¹⁰⁰

Bernard writes that the faculty of human reason is perfected by its interaction with the Word, and through this interaction one may come to know oneself and become humble. When the rational faculty of man is perfected by reading and meditating on Scripture, the willing faculty of the soul will be cleansed by its contact with the Word. And, finally, according to the three fold operation of grace, the emotive

faculty of the soul, the emotions, inflamed with desire and love, are consumed with love born out of love by the Spirit of the Lord. The intellect, filled with divine wisdom and the Spirit, moves the will to praise and exhort the Creator and Lord in the form of prayer. Scripture reading, then, requires due attention and concentration, and is integrally linked with perfection.

Prayer

The activity of prayer "terminates in compunction, in desire for heaven."¹⁰¹

Bernard reminds his monks that there is a discipline even in the prayers said in community. He insists:

So, dearest brothers, I exhort you to participate always in the divine praises correctly and vigorously . . . not sparing your voices, not leaving words half-said or skipping them . . . but pronouncing the words of the Holy Spirit with becoming manliness and resonance and affection; and correctly. . . .¹⁰²

Bernard reminds his monks that the psalms and praises they sing to God are from words of the Scripture, the same source that presents the Holy Spirit to the human soul in reading and meditation. He exhorts his sons to sing the office with love, affection, and dignity. The whole being must be attentive in the activity of singing Scripture.

Bernard writes of the rewards of communal prayer in *On the Song of Songs*. The interior of the allegorical house which Bernard uses in his sermons *On the Song of Songs* is the kingdom of God. Gaining access to this abode is to know and experience God intimately. Proper interior discipline is required of the monk so that the angels bear his prayers to God:

One who seeks access to the interior of the home goes round to the intimate friends or members of the household to attain what he desires. In this present instance who might these people be? In my opinion they are the holy angels who wait on us as we pray, who offer to God the petitions and desires of men, at least of those men whose prayer they recognize to be sincere, free from anger and dissension.¹⁰³

The monk necessarily desires admittance to the heavenly house but Bernard knows that the performance of prayers must come from a sincere and free source. Bernard continues:

For this reason it makes me sad to see some of you deep in the throes of sleep during the night office, to see that instead of showing reverence for those princely citizens of heaven you appear like corpses.¹⁰⁴

Discipline requires attentive service. Monastic exercises produce little fruit if the monk performs his duties without love and sincerity. Without due attention and love the monastic life will not help in its role of perfection.

Bernard sees Scripture as food for the soul, and prayer the activity which allows one to draw nourishment from it. He likens meditation and prayer the activity of eating.¹⁰⁵ They require full attention in order that the fruits of the Word be properly digested, nourishing the reason, the will, and the emotions. Improper mastication inhibits digestion, thus inhibiting nutrition. But proper attention allows a full digestion of Scripture so that humans transcend from the physical recitation or reading of the Word through the rational process, allowing God's healing grace to fill the soul.

Contemplation

The preparation of the monk's physical and spiritual natures have been focused in such a way that he allows himself to be open to an experience of the Word. Contemplation begins in the activity of meditative reading but it is completed when the monk lets go of the physical stimulus, passes beyond the intellectual use of human reason, and frees himself to experience God exalted through loving prayer. The monastic life of love disposes one to focus on and love God. Through humility, achieved in loving service and truthful evaluation of oneself, the monk lays the spiritual foundation on which his focus turns from himself to the Word. Once this self-less love has become reality, one may, by Love's grace, be embraced and united with God, not physically but spiritually. There is no schedule for this or guarantee that the divine encounter will occur. For in this sense contemplation is a totally passive activity. It is through the Word's love for us that we may be embraced and joined with it, encountering God in the bond of love. The best disposition for the benefits of contemplation are the same as the communal prayers, sensual detachment which will help focus the monk's attention on his spiritual activities, solitude which is both a condition of the soul and of physical surroundings, and love of God.

Because of the importance of the soul's relationship with the Word, Bernard's insistence on the purity of monastic observances take on another important dimension. In addition to restoration of the soul, they lead to an encounter with the Lord. This is the perfection which the soul seeks. Bernard reminds his audience:

The Bridegroom [God] will not sleep in the same bed with you, especially if, instead of the flowers of obedience, you have bestrewn it with the hemlock and nettles of disobedience.¹⁰⁶

Again there is a predisposition or preparation which the simple life under the *Rule* promotes, guiding the monk towards union with God. Bernard advises:

And what do you wish me to do [Acts 9:6], you ask. Certainly in the first place, cleanse your conscience of every defilement of anger and quarreling [Heb 9:14], and murmuring and envy. Hasten to eliminate from the heart's dwelling place whatever is known to be entirely hostile either to the peace of the brothers or to obedience to the seniors. Then surround your self with the flowers of good works of all kinds and praiseworthy desires, with the perfumes of the virtues, that is, of whatever is true . . . just . . . holy. Think about these things, strive to put them into practice [Ph 4:8].¹⁰⁷

The heart's dwelling place is again a reference to the interiority and motivation for the monks "good works." In this honest focus on the purification of one's daily activities and thoughts, Bernard suggests that the soul and man will be ready to be received by an embrace of the Lord. Again, physical activities again aid in spiritual fulfillment. Bernard provides an outline of the path to perfection by which the monk may hope to follow into union with God:

There is first forgiveness of sins, then the grace that follows on good deeds, and finally that contemplative gift by which a kind and beneficent Lord shows himself to the soul as much as bodily frailty can endure.¹⁰⁸

Preparing the monk for spiritual visitation has been the motivation behind Bernard's insistence on monastic discipline. Contemplation comes only after a proper disposition of the monk which is fostered by the freedom of the soul.

Bernard's *Sermons On the Song of Songs* is a valuable source for understanding the spiritual encounter sought by Bernard and other contemplatives:

No one can doubt that the soul is first loved [Mt 18:16], and loved more intensely, by the Word; for it is anticipated and surpassed in its love. Happy the soul who is permitted to be anticipated in blessedness so sweet [Ps 20:4]. Happy the soul who has been allowed to experience the embrace of such bliss. For it is nothing other than love, holy and chaste, full of sweetness and delight, love utterly serene and true mutual and deep, which joins two beings, not in one flesh, but in one spirit, making them no longer two but one [Mt 19:5].¹⁰⁹

The passive activity of contemplation is an act of love, and an embrace given by the Creator, and in this loving embrace the soul experiences joy and delight. The soul joins with the spirit of the lord and cleaves to Him. Bernard tells us that the experience of union with God that may come from a contemplative life changes the one who experiences it:

But if anyone obtains, while praying, the grace of going forth in Spirit into the mystery of God [2 Co 5:13], and then returns in a glowing ardor of divine love, overflowing with zeal for righteousness, fervent beyond measure in all spiritual studies and duties, so that he can say: My heart became hot within me. . . . For as holy contemplation has two forms of ecstasy, one in the intellect, the other in the will; one of enlightenment, the other of fervor, one of knowledge the other of devotion: so a tender affection: a heart glowing with love, the infusion of holy ardor, and the vigor of a Spirit filled with zeal, are obviously no acquired form any place other than the wine-cellar.¹¹⁰

Contemplation occurs through the catalyst of prayer which was stimulated by reflective reading. Grace brings, to the prayerful monk, divine love, a way of knowing which exceeds all physical and intellectual activities. The gift given in the ecstasy of the presence of such a love fills the whole person in his reason, will and feelings. The reason is fulfilled in wisdom, and the will is consumed with love, and the feelings are filled with joy. The Spirit of God perfects his creature through the encounter.

And, finally, Bernard's words on the return of the likeness of the soul to the Creator, state that perfection is one of the gifts of contemplation. Bernard writes:

indeed we will be like him because we will see him as he is. A blessed vision for which he rightly sighed who said "My gaze has sought you, your face, Lord, do I seek."¹¹¹

The regaining of the likeness of the creator is the greatest reward one can expect in this life. Restoration of the soul through monastic discipline heals the condition caused by an unruly will. Through continual attention to the Scriptures the monk may pass beyond the restoration process and with the perfect love given through contemplation, he may regain the likeness of his soul to God which is its perfection.

The environment of the monastery has been carefully arranged to facilitate the spiritual growth of the monks. Living away from the world in the simplicity fostered by habitual virtuous activity and external observances, the monk's let's go of what ties him lopsidedly to things sensual and grows more like God in intellect and will, and his soul is restored to the image and likeness in which it was created. To disrupt the unity or rhythm of the lifestyle either visually, intellectually, or spiritually by setting it within gaudy, or distracting surroundings would create imbalance in the highly integrated structure designed to restore perfection to the soul. Because reading, meditation, prayer, and contemplation aid in the perfection of the monk, we can see more clearly Bernard's insistence on an austere setting for these activities, an environment which stresses solitude rather than distraction. Bernard desires architecture which emphasis simplicity rather than duplicity, aiding as for the interior condition of the monk. The means to the spiritual end dictate the form and style of the environment.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

On the basis of what we have seen of Bernard's anthropology and sense of purpose of the monastic life, we see that the criticism of excessive art found in Bernard's *Apologia* can be divided into two parts. His first objection is applicable to humanity and monks in general, and is based on the dangers of vices to the soul which proceed from the abuse of art and beauty; the second subdivision concerns uniquely monastic distractions. The former manifests itself in deformities of avarice, greed, and pride, and the latter as deviations from the simplicity and integrity of the monastic lifestyle.

While Bernard is critical of ornate monastic art on several grounds, most of his remarks show him to have been a highly sensitive observer.¹¹² He says that the art work which he criticizes contains:

extraordinary things at once beautiful and ugly. Here we find filthy monkeys and fierce lions, fearful centaurs, harpies and striped tigers, soldiers at war, and hunters blowing their horns. Here is one head with many bodies; there is one body with many heads. Over there is a beast with a serpent for its tail, a fish with an animal's head, and a creature that is horse in front, and goat behind, and a second beast with horns, and the rear of a horse.¹¹³

This description could only come from someone minutely attentive to the art observed. And again we know Bernard understands the value of art work from his

reprimand of a Roman mob which had rioted against Pope Eugene in 1146. He writes specifically about art and beauty:

Consider for what reason, for what purpose, by whom and for whose benefit, you have only lately squandered all the revenues and ornaments of your churches. Whatever gold or silver could be found in the vessels of the altar, on the sacred images themselves, has been torn off and carried away by impious hands. How much of all this have you still got in your purses now? But the beauty of the Lord's house has been irretrievably lost.¹¹⁴

Why would Bernard rebuke the people of Rome for destroying the "beauty of the house of God" if he were hostile towards "all religious art"? Bernard understands the positive spiritual affects achieved through artistic means.

The beauty and effect of art is not in question. Bernard admits its power as a devotional stimulus. Art in itself is not judged; its intended purposes are scrutinized. Artistic ornamentation is appropriate in stimulating the devotion of lay folk whose way of life requires less overt attention to spiritual matters than does that of monks. Bernard clarifies his position on art and beauty in the *Apologia*:

It is not the same for monks and bishops. Bishops have a duty toward both wise and foolish. They have to make use of material ornamentation to rouse devotion in a carnal people, incapable of spiritual things. But we [monks] no longer belong to such people.¹¹⁵

The art in secular churches should be designed to educate the laity. Bernard reminds his audience that the monastery is not the place for the education of the laity, and that monks should have moved beyond sensory stimulation as their primary means of learning to know God. It is the secular clergy's responsibility to foster the devotion of the laity, persons who may begin their devotions through meditation on the biblical and ethical scenes rendered artistically in churches. Bernard concedes that there are

differences between audiences which extend beyond the mere fact of their different social class and vocation, these differences can be found in education as well. One must minister to lay folk and monks differently in that each process of salvation vary according to lifestyle and ability. For the laity, Bernard admits art and ornamentation in churches as a useful didactic tool and therefore a reasonable expense for the secular churches.

If monks defend the embellishment of the monastic church and cloister on the grounds of their diadactic role for (visiting) laity, Bernard has another question for his monastic bretheren. Bernard argues that even if ornamentation is motivated by a justifiable didactic intention, the practical matter of placement of these works of art must be considered, lest the purpose be lost:

What sort of respect is shown for the saints by placing their images on the floor to be trampled underfoot? People spit on the angels, and saints faces are pummelled by the feet of passers-by. Even though its sacred character counts for little, at least the painting itself should be spared. . . .¹¹⁶

A proper respect should be shown not only the subjects of the art work but for the workmanship itself. Bernard also underscores a beneficial purpose by pointing out that it is being diminished if respect is denied the work and carelessness obscures it: "What good are beautiful pictures when they are all discolored with dirt?"¹¹⁷ The discoloring of art work detracts from the guidance it might provide the uneducated faithful in rousing devotion.

Bernard, then, questions the practicality of expensive decorations and novel sculpture in the monastery specifically. Monks are no longer part of that world. While they continue to employ their senses, they rely more on the intellectual

comprehension of the written word. In their rigorous physical discipline, mental attention to the Word and in their spiritual meditation and prayer monks should not need the same sort of artistic inspirations which the laity require. They require a different nourishment:

For the sake of Christ we have abandoned all the world holds valuable and attractive. All that is beautiful in sight and sound and scent we have left behind, all that is pleasant to taste and touch. To win Christ we have reckoned bodily enjoyments as dung.¹¹⁸

Elaborate artistic decoration may be useful to lay society, but it is distracting to monks, drawing him from a higher rational level of reflection to a lower physical one.

Bernard anticipates the defense of ornamental art and architecture:

It is, of course, possible to reply to the Poet's question in the words of the Prophet: "Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house, and the place where your glory dwells [Ps 26:8]."¹¹⁹

Bernard concedes that this passage presents a viable answer for certain artistic works, for he knows art's role in education. And he is making it clear that education of this sort is not appropriate to the monastery. If monks have chosen to live in voluntary poverty, there exists a double danger in ornamentation which is both inappropriate in function and costly. Prudence and poverty demands the elimination of inappropriate actions, attitudes, and ornamentations. Bernard sarcastically asks: "Tell me, "O poor men--if you are really poor men--why is there gold in the holy place . . . ?"¹²⁰ Simplicity requires frugality, and maintaining this lifestyle guards against avarice and greed. If these decorative works are unnecessary in aiding the monk in his spiritual exercises they must not exist. Predicting that in defense of such ornament one might

address this devotional function of ornament, which has been shown as constrictive,

Bernard suggests the motivation for such art might be greed:

Therefore, I ask you [all monks under the *Rule*] can it be our own devotion we are trying to excite with such display or is the purpose of it to win the admiration of fools and the offerings of simple folk?¹²¹

Bernard wants to make clear that there is great spiritual harm in using art to inspire secular gifts. Bernard points to art in some monastic churches in his interrogation of its prostitution:

It is for no useful purpose that we do it, but to attract gifts
The very sight of such sumptuous and exquisite baubles is sufficient to inspire men to make offerings, though not to say their prayers. In this way, riches attract riches, and money produces more money . . .
. . . Beauty they admire, but they do no reverence to holiness . . .
. . . Do you think such appurtenances are meant to stir penitents to compunction, or rather to make sight-seers agog?¹²²

Bernard's concern focuses on the motivation of those monks who use beauty, which should glorify God and lead others to devotion, for selfish ends. Not only do these excesses in art provide temptation but they defeat the didactic purpose on which their existence rests. Bernard puts an ironic response in the mouths of those who would defend such prostitution:

Very well, we may tolerate such things in the church itself, since they do harm only to greedy and shallow people, not to those who are simple and god-fearing.¹²³

Bernard suggests that the people most harmed by employment of art are those who use it for ill motivated, self-serving ends; he does not invalidate art itself but points to the interior motivation of the monastic community who fosters such art. Certainly Bernard knows of monastic communities which are becoming rich from such donations,¹²⁴ but he must caution them on the dangers of greed and avarice. These

vices are not endemic to monks but are dangerous to people in general. Nor are they fostered by artistic ornament, nor due to the nature of the creations, but the sins are born from the insincere motivations of those who would misuse the power of art.

In the *Apologia*, Bernard turns to argue against inappropriate art work in the monastic setting specifically, not against the general use of art in secular churches. Bernard's concern rests with those "who are supposed to be poor men and spiritual."¹²⁵ Bernard explicates the difference to his monks in his first sermon on the *Song of Songs*:

The instructions that I address to you, my brothers, will differ from those I should deliver to people in the world, at least the manner will be different. The preacher who desires to follow St. Paul's method of teaching will give them milk to drink rather than solid food [1 Cor 3:1-2; Heb 5:12-14], and will serve a more nourishing diet to those who are spiritually enlightened: "We teach," he said, "not in the way of philosophy is taught, but in the way that the Spirit teaches us: we teach spiritual things spiritually [1 Cor 2:13]." And again: "We have a wisdom to offer those who have reached maturity [1 Cor 2:6]," in whose company, I feel assured, you are to be found, unless in vain have you prolonged your study of divine teaching, mortified your senses, and meditated day and night on God's law [Ps 1:2].¹²⁶

Bernard knew his intended audience in both the sermon and his *Apologia*. His advice is not directed at all people, and he writes these treatises for those advancing in a spiritually focused environment, the monastery. Bernard tailors his advice specifically to his monastic audience. The artistic views explained in the *Apologia* should be understood in the light of his audience's vocation and chosen lifestyle.

In Bernard's criticism of ornate monastic art and architecture, he is focusing his argument on the monks specifically. This section is the source of his supposed rejection of decorative art. This I judge rather as a denunciation of superfluous art

in monasteries, than as a condemnation of art. Bernard has firm opinions on the difference between art in general and art in a monastery based on a sensitivity to the *purpose* and *appropriateness* of artistic ornamentation. Bernard's monastic theology included strong views that a spiritual and physical focus, which is best promoted by interior simplicity, would lead man to perfection through divine grace. Bernard knew that perfection was the goal of physical, intellectual, and spiritual activities. It can be no wonder then that he insists that there be a specific motivation and purpose for art in monasteries and outside them.

Moving from ecclesiastical art in theory to monastic art in particular, Bernard addresses the confusion which artistic decoration may cause to the meditation monk:

What excuse can there be for these ridiculous monstrosities in the cloisters where the monks do their reading, extraordinary things at once beautiful and ugly? . . . All round there is such an amazing variety of shapes that one could easily prefer to take one's reading from the walls instead of from a book. One could spend the whole day gazing fascinated at these things, one by one, instead of meditating on the law of God.¹²⁷

Artistic ornamentation of the cloister speaks to a practical issue. Bernard asks the *purpose* of "fascinating sculptures in the cloister." The cloister is the place where the monk does his spiritual reading and meditates on the Word of God. Meditative reading is essential to the monk's perfection process. It is through the perfection of reason that the monk is moved beyond the senses to prayer. This reading requires the monks' full attention. Silence, solitude, and uncomplicated architecture provides the best environment for these exercises. The personal nature of meditation requires the individual to reflect, consider and eventually open himself to the Word. This type of exercise requires simplicity of its surroundings. Only if we understand Bernard's

reverence for the Word and the seriousness he attached to reading the Word can we understand his opposition to elaborate and fanciful decoration in the cloister. Artistic embellishment does not promote the simplicity essential to the growth and reordering which monastic life is designed to foster.

In the same way Bernard questioned the appropriateness of expensive decoration in the monastic church or oratory. In the following passage Bernard makes only a passing comment to the poverty which is forsaken to construct and decorate grand churches:

I shall say nothing about the soaring heights and extravagant lengths and unnecessary widths of the churches, nothing about their expensive decorations and their novel images, which catch the attention of those who go in to pray, and dry up their devotion.¹²⁸

Bernard complains that extravagance, cost, and distraction are in fact disorderly and a harm to the spiritual maturation of the monk. The purpose of the monastic church is communal prayer. It provides a place where the monk spends a good part of his day in praising and giving thanks to God. Chanting and praying to the Lord requires the full attention of the intellect as well as the body:

So, dearest brothers, I exhort you to participate always in the divine praises correctly and vigorously . . . not sparing your voices, not leaving words half-said or skipping them . . . but pronouncing the words of the Holy Spirit with becoming manliness and resonance and affection . . .¹²⁹

Bernard's point is that the environment of the oratory should promote reverence and total concentration on prayer. It should not detract from the very activity it was created to foster. Bernard does not want his monks to end their spiritual growth at physical activities; nor does he want them to retard spiritual maturity by clinging to

physical stimuli. If the environment distracts one from the duties of prayer and reading, the place does not suit its function. Bernard's insistence on the proper and prudent use of all material goods, to the ends of simplicity and justice, are consistent with his comments on the extravagant proportions of some monastic churches.

The monk centers his life on preparing himself for perfection in the Word through the Spirit. It would be inconsistent for the monk to labor at restoring the simplicity of his soul, and then to stagnate in his journey towards perfection by letting his attention be arrested by avoidable sensory distractions. Bernard grants the allure of wonderful artwork, so enticing they may keep the monk fixed in the physical world of the cloister instead of guiding him to the spiritual realm in which he should increasingly dwell. Bernard, keenly aware of the artistic beauty in some monastic cloisters, must advocate simplicity in the cloister because of the spiritually oriented activities which must take priority. Bernard speaks with a clear and focused voice because of his confidence that the well ordered monastic lifestyle provides a sure means for salvation. In examining his ideas on the role of art and created beauty we must remember Bernard's emphasis on the exterior and interior simplicity, its role in the restoration of the soul, and his understanding of humanity's abilities, weaknesses and need for restoration as well as those activities which Bernard believes to be successful on the journey to perfection. Thus we may better understand his insistence on monastic order as well as his theory concerning art and architecture--both topics found in the *Apologia*.

In the *Apologia* Bernard expresses his conviction of the need for discipline, humility, and activities which are focused on redemption of the soul, so that the

monastic community may be true to its end, which is perfection of the human. He addresses daily living, in particular the food, drink, and clothing of the monks, as well as proper interior disposition and the virtues and vices for monks. Bernard clearly advocates a disciplined and balanced life which integrates physical and spiritual exercises legislated in the *Rule* of Benedict. At the beginning of the second section of the *Apologia*, he writes about religious orders in general: "No order can have room for disorder, and whatever is disorderly cannot belong to an order."¹³⁰ Monasticism, for Bernard, involves the choice of the best possible action to achieve a specific end, the restoration of the human being. Once one has chosen this monastic means, one is obligated to order one's actions to achieve its realization. This is the fundamental conviction with which the *Apologia* was written. Things that do not promote the "best" attitude, or create the "best" environment are to be shunned and replaced with those which will promote the order best for the monastic regiment.

When compared with the healing nature of divine reading, the joy of artistic indulgence pales for Bernard and his monks. Bernard chooses the higher good for his monks and questions the logic of creating an environment which distracts the monk from his proper activities creating disorder in a lifestyle designed to repair disorder. The church and cloister's architecture best serves the monk in his spiritual activities if it promotes a quiet and soothing environment, one in which the monk's whole being could attend to his prayer activity without distraction. Bernard's negative comments on elaborate monastic art reflect his insistence on a voluntary lifestyle characterized by pure simplicity and based on the *Rule* of Benedict. This ordering requires one to chose only those things that promote the "best" order as a means towards the monk's

end, who is God. The abbot of Clairvaux understood all situations, activities, and motivations from an ordering of life based on his *purity of purpose*.

CHAPTER V

FONTENAY: THE REFLECTION OF BERNARD'S SOTERIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

The simplicity of monastic art demanded by Bernard's writings find their physical manifestation in the monastery of Fontenay. Fontenay, the second daughter house of Clairvaux, was founded in 1118, and completed between 1130 and 1147, probably under the indirect supervision of Bernard.¹³¹ This earliest surviving example of cistercian architecture reflects the Bernardine programme: an art developed out of a lifestyle based on strict interpretation of the *Rule*, providing a space conducive to the physical and spiritual activities in the daily life of the monk.¹³² The physical plant at Fontenay demonstrates an economical arrangement of buildings which balances utility and the environmental re-enforcement helpful to the purposes of a monastic community. The center of the monastic compound is the cloister, situated directly to the south of the traditional east-west axis of the monastic oratory. The community's storerooms and most used rooms are arranged around the cloister providing an economy of space and coherent unity for the entire compound. The sacristy and armarium, a small room which housed the library, connect it with the south transept of the oratory. The chapter house, the daily meeting place of the monks, the common room, the indoor work place and scriptorium, are adjacent to these, in the east run of the cloister. Turning the corner of the cloister and extending westward from the

common-room we find the calefactorium, a warming room for the monks, useful for greasing books and liquefying inks. Next to the west come dining halls the refectories, one for the monks and another for the lay-brothers separated, by the kitchen, allowing both rooms to be served from one kitchen. Finally, completing the square of the cloister extending north to south from the lay-brother's refectory to the west end of the church, is the cellar, or storeroom, which is situated south to north.

Fontenay's oratory follows a cruciform plan.¹³³ Its dimensions are approximately 220' x 60' x 55'.¹³⁴ The façade of the church is quite plain; sculptural ornamentation has been excluded from the exterior of the structure. The portal is fitted with one column on each side of the door bearing the romanesque arch, void of any ornamental relief. The façade of the oratory allows for seven clear glass windows, the largest of which commands the center of the arrangement and is flanked by two which are slightly smaller. Below these are four smaller windows. Perhaps the windows represent the Trinity, resting on the Gospel accounts;¹³⁵ at any rate the façade is balanced in its geometric forms and plain in design.

The nave is eight bays in length and is flanked by two side aisles.¹³⁶ A transept crosses the end of the nave. There is no tower at the crossing, in keeping to Cistercian statutes.¹³⁷ A bare, rectilinear apse extends off the transept, providing space for the high altar. There is no artistic ornamentation in the worship space, or in any of the monastic buildings at Fontenay. The style of the vaulting, constructed from local stone, is plain, and divided in the Burgundian romanesque style. The wide, broken arches rest on unadorned corbels and columns. Each of the eight bays of the clerestory has a high, clear window. There are six windows in the east wall of the

apse. The lighting is ample and provides for color when it comes to rest on the stone in the oratory. In keeping with the Cistercian desire for simplicity the oratory uses only the natural hue of the stone for its coloring. The oratory's stones are simply cut, without relief sculpture.

The cloister is similar in its style and design to the oratory.¹³⁸ Each length of the four sided cloister is divided into eight bays. Each bay consists of one arch divided by two doubled arches. The doubled arches rest on corbels and columns which are simply adorned with plain leaf or floral patterns. The gallery is vaulted without rib or groin vaulting.

In sum, through the building's architectural design, the natural unfinished stone provides the only source of color, Fontenay conforms to Bernard's wish for simplicity in form and functional utility. The compound provides an attractive yet simple style of architecture which would aid the monk in activities requiring peace and solitude, namely, reading and prayer, the activities by which the monk grows in his spiritual life. Meditation and prayer require that one focus all one's attention on the Word of God, and the atmosphere of the cloister is free from any decoration which might distract the monk. It is a monastery suited to free the monk from the sometimes distracting temptations secular world, so that he may re-direct his body and soul, his intellect, will, and emotions towards God. The physical environment, as we have seen above, was designed to aid in the reformation of the soul to the image and likeness of its Creator, and ultimately with grace, to join the monk's soul spiritually with God.

Fontenay demonstrates this intention by its simple geometric forms, the regular rhythm of its arches and vaults, and reliance on the stone's natural color bathed in

sunlight for its coloring. Simplicity in architectural design can provide a pleasing environment. Bernard of Clairvaux and the early Cistercians knew a beauty which could be articulated out of simplicity of form, a beauty which would allow a monk to focus his energies, both physical and spiritual, on perfection and spiritual union with God.

Bernard knew of only one way to achieve his ends, and this was the way of simplicity--simplicity which must grow from the soul of a person and be reflected in external actions of love. The discipline which provided the structure for reforming the physical and spiritual nature of the monk and reordering the will from the entanglements, vices, and false necessities of the world, to physical and intellectual freedom, demanded consistency in every level of daily living. In action and thought the monk, ideally, would live in an environment created to aid in the restoration and perfection process of his soul. The purity and simplicity which was integrated into a lifestyle and the physical plant of monastery could not be altered without damage to the harmony of the cloistered community. Thus, when the monastic site became a site for visitation for laity as in some cases it did,¹³⁹ Bernard reminded his brothers in religion of the dangers they incurred.¹⁴⁰ When the embellishment of the monastery distracted the monk from his vocational duties and spiritual nourishment, the abbot of Clairvaux questioned the appropriateness of the distraction.

Bernard was not simply a hostile or an insensitive observer of art. He was intensely sensitive to its power, and the effect it had on the twelfth-century person. Because Bernard could focus so clearly on the dangers to the soul in mis-using such a powerful tool of devotion, education, and inspiration, he could so powerfully rebuke

offenders for the sake of the happiness of that soul. His concern for the consequences of vice to the human person, whether out of greed for donations or curiosity which leads to distraction from the Word of God, most certainly finds its source in Bernard's anthropology.

Appendix A
Daily Horarium

A. DAILY HORARIUM

Daily Horarium found in *The Cistercians Ideals and Reality*, Louis Lekia, pp. 364-365.

	June	December
Rising	1:45 a.m.	1:20 a.m.
Matins	2:00	1:35
End of Matins	3:00	2:35
Lauds	3:10	7:00 Began at sunrise. Private masses and Interval missa matutinalis.
Prime	4:00	8:00
Chapter	5:00	In winter the sequence was the following: Prime, mass, work, Terce, Chapter.
Terce	7:45	9:20
Mass	8:00	
Reading	8:50	
Sext	10:40	11:20 P.M.
Dinner	11:00	1:35
Siesta	P.M.	
None	2:00	In winter None was said before dinner and the dinner was followed a period of work and of reading. In winter there was no evening meal.
Vespers	6:00	3:30
Supper	6:45	
Compline	7:30	4:00
To Bed	8:00	4:30

Appendix B

Plates

LIST OF PLATES



Plate 1. Fontenay

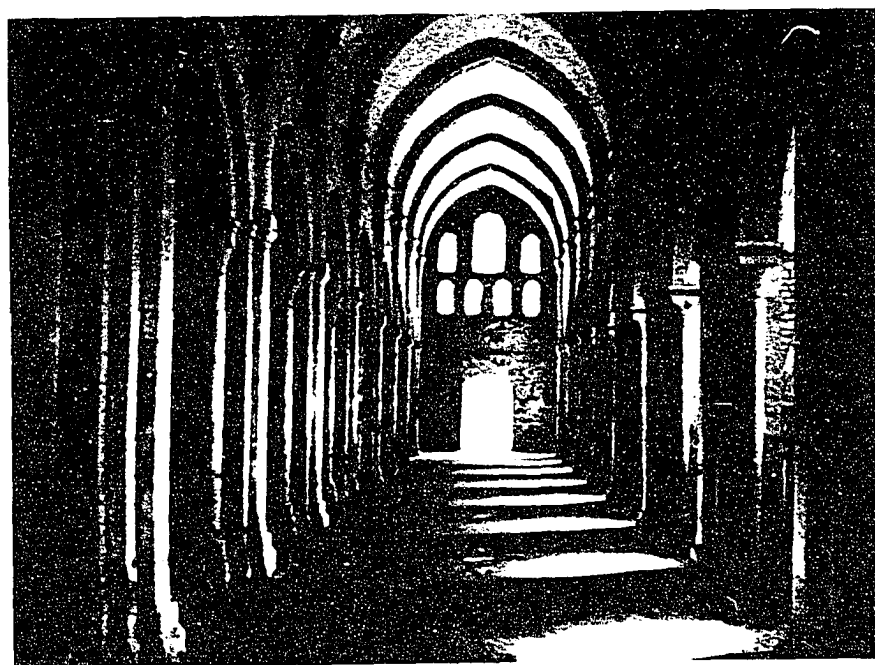


Plate 2. Interior View of Oratory

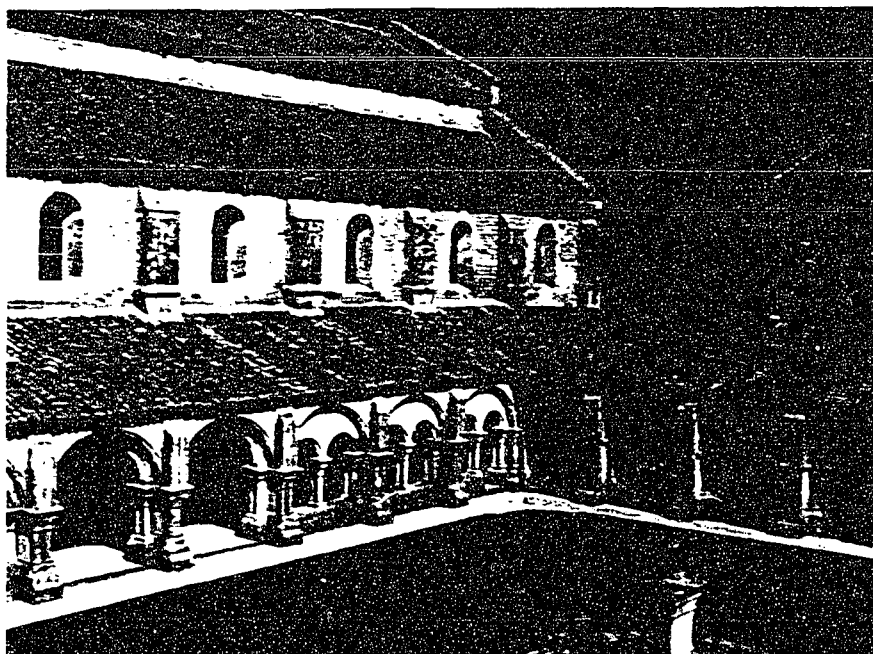


Plate 3. Cloister

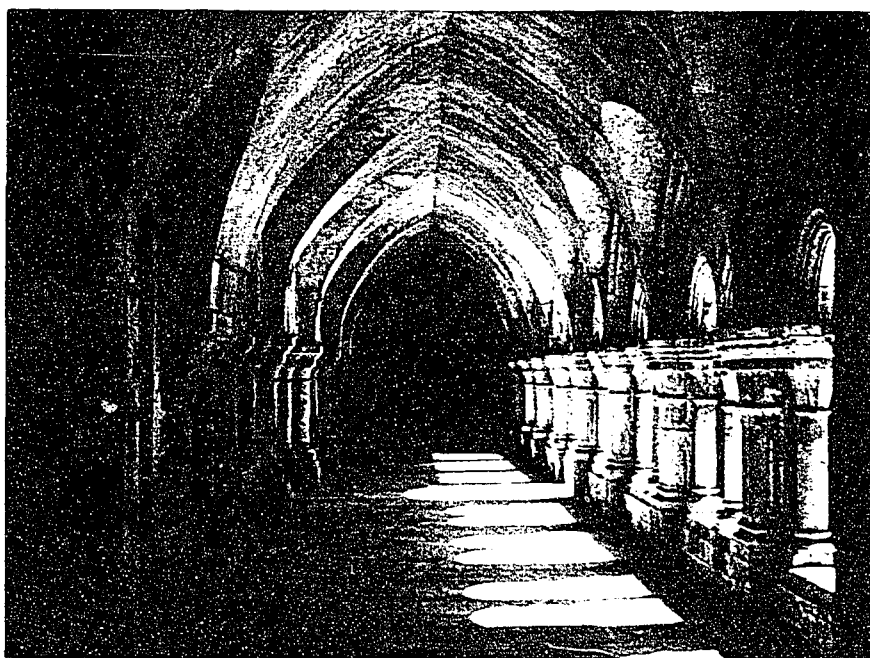


Plate 4. Interior of Cloister



Plate 5. Single arch in Cloister

ENDNOTES

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979) p. 26. The idea that Bernard disapproved of art and "banished it" because he believed the temporal diminish and warred against the spiritual side of the world is wrong. Not only does this view misrepresent Bernard's aesthetic theory, but neglects his ideas concerning the proper ordering of all things, both temporal and spiritual, or--perhaps better--his monastic theology.

2. Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. H. Bober, trans. Martheil Mathews (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978) p. 220 "...in his Order, he forbade art as a useless luxury. This twelfth-century St. Francis was second to St. Francis of Assisi only because he had no feeling for beauty." See also Umberto Eco, *Sviluppo dell'estetica medievale in Momenti e problemi di storia dell'estetica*, vol. 1 (Marzorati Editore, 1959) which was published in an English translation as, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Hugh Bredin (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986) p. 9. Although Eco seems to be sympathetic to Bernard's words on art, he does in fact misunderstand the audience for which Bernard wrote. Eco makes the case that Bernard's denunciation ". . . broadened to include worldly beauty of all kinds."

3. Elizabeth Melczer and Eileen Soldwedel, "Monastic Goals in The Aesthetics of Saint Bernard," in Meredith P. Lillich (ed.), *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, 1, CS 69, (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1982) pp. 31-44. See also Kilian Hufgard, "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: Friend or Foe of the Arts?" in E. Rozanne Elder (ed.) *Heaven On Earth, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, IX, CS 68 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1983) pp. 62-71, as well as Hufgard's recent publication, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: A Theory of Art Formulated From His Writings and Illustrated in Twelfth-Century Works of Art* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press 1989). See also Conrad Rudolf's, *Things of Greater Importance* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990) which explores Bernard's theory of art in the context of the uses and purposes of art in the Middle Ages generally and is based on Bernard's monastic theology from the *Apologia*.

4. See Emero Stiegman, "The Aesthetics of Authenticity" in Meredith P. Lillich (ed.), *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* 2, CS 69 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984) pp. 1-13. Stiegman correctly suggests that Bernard's words in the *Apologia* reflect a deep concern for the interiority of the monastic community in its use of art and beauty. Stiegman maintains we need to not only understand what "Bernard turned away from, materially; we need to understand what he turned toward, formally."

5. Jean Leclercq dates the *Apologia* at 1125. See the introduction to CF 1, p. 3.

6. CF 1:52. "Quandoquidem et nostros, de quibus, Pater, conquestus estis, quod Ordini vestro detraherent, satis, quantum potui, stilo corripui, et me quoque ab huiusmodi falsa suspitione purgavi, ut debui. Sed quoniam, dum nostris minime parco, nonnullis de vestris nimium, in quibus non decet, videor assentire, pauca quae et vobis displicere cognovi, et omnibus bonis vitanda esse non dubito, necessarium reor subiungere: quae quidem, etsi fieri videntur in Ordine, absit tamen ut sint de Ordine . . . Unde non adversum Ordinem, sed pro Ordine disputare putandus ero, si non Ordinem in hominibus, sed hominum vitia reprehendo." Apo 7, 15; SBOp 3:94.

Throughout I will provide both the source for the English translation abbreviated with the volume number and page number as well as the Latin text from the Leclercq. See list of abbreviations on page 46.

7. See Jean Leclercq's introduction to the *Apologia*, CF 1:3.

8. CF 1:63. "Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudes, supervacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones, curiosas depictiones, quae dum in se orantium retorquent aspectum, impediunt et affectum. . . ." Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:104.

9. CF 1:64. "Dicite, inquam, pauperes, si tamen pauperes, in sancto quid facit aurum?" Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:104.

10. CF 1:64. "Et ut aperte loquar, an hoc totum facit avaritia, quae est idolorum servitus, et non requirimus fructum, sed datum . . . Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur hoines magis ad offerendum quam ad orandum . . . Currunt homines ad osulandum, invitantur ad donandum, et magis mirantur pulchra, quam venerantur sacra . . . Quid, putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? Paenitentium compunctio, an intuentium admiratio? Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:105.

11. CF 1:66. "Ceterum in claustris, coram legentibus fratribus, quid facit illi ridicula monstruositas, mira quaedam deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas? . . . Tam multa denique, tamque mira diversarum formarum aparet ubique varietas, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus, quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando. Proh Deo! si non pudet ineptiarum, cur vel non piget expensarum?" Apo 12, 29; SBOp 3:106.

12. "Nam in primo quidem opere conditionis nostrae delimo terrae plasmavit hominem Deus et inspiravit in faciem eius spiritum vitae. Qualis artifex, qualis unitor rerum, ad cuius nutum sic conglutinantur sibi limus terrae et spiritus vitae! Limus quidem iam ante creatus erat, quando in principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. . . ." Nat 2, 1; SBOp 4:251-52.

13. See Hiss, Wilhelm, *Dei Anthropologia Bernhards von Clairvaux*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964, p.50.

14. Male; see note 2 above as well as, Panofsky: see note 1 above.

15. CF 37:54. "Si consideres quid, quis et qualis sis: quid in natura, quis in persona, qualis in moribus . . . attamen est in diffinitione hominis, quem dicunt animal rationale, mortale." Csi 2, 5, 8; SBOp 3:415. See McGinn CF 24, p.55, the thought of Aristotle was transmitted to the Middle Ages through Boethius *In Isagogen Porphyrii Commentum* 1, 1. Bernard may have come to an Aristotelian notion of the human being through Boethius or from a common acceptance of Boethius just as we use and understand the language of psychology today without necessarily accepting all of its tenets.

16. See Bernard McGinn's introduction to *Three Treatises on Man*, CF 24, p. 55.

17. MTm p. 390. "Nam in primo quidem opere conditionis nostrae delimo terrae plasmavit hominem Deus et inspiravit in faciem eius spiritum vitae. Qualis artifex, qualis unitor rerum, ad cuius nutum sic conglutinantur sibi limus terrae et spiritus vitae! Limus quidem iam ante creatus erat, quando in principio creavit Deus caelum it terram. . . ." Nat 2, 1; SBOp 4:251-52.

18. MTm, p. 390. "Agnosce, o homo, dignitatem tuam, agnosce gloriam conditionis humanae." Nat 2, 1; SBOp 4:251-52.

19. "Primum enim impedimentum nostrum et occupatio gravis, ipsa est necessitas huius miseri corporis, quos, dum modo somnum, modo cibum, modo vestem ceteraque similia quaerit, haud dubium quin frequenter impediatur nos ab exercitio spirituali." Sept 1, 5; SBOp 4:348.

20. CF 37:154. "Itaque sicut anima videt in oculis, audit in auribus, odorat in naribus, in faucibus gustat, tangit in toto reliquo corpore. . . ." Csi 5, 12; SBOp 3:476.

21. CF 25:195. "Nec sane dixerim, ut vel ipsam odio habeas carnem tuam. Dilige eam, tamquam tibi datam in adiutorium et ad aeternae beatitudinis consortium praeparatam." QH 10, 3; SBOp 4:444.

22. CF 4:24. "Animae corporibus et corporeis egent sensibus, per quae sibi invicem innotescant et valeant." SC 4, 5; SBOp 1:20.

23. CF 37:154. "Itaque sicut anima videt in oculis, audit in auribus, odorat in naribus, in faucibus gustat, tangit in toto reliquo corpore. . . ." Csi 5, 12; SBOp 476.

24. CF 4:73. "In anima tria intueor, rationem, voluntatem, memoriam, et haec tria ipsam animam esse." SC 11, 3, 5; SBOp 1:57.

25. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, X, 11, as cited by Bernard McGinn in his introduction to *Three Treatises on Man*, CF 24:8.

26. CSt 20 (1985) p. 26. "Constat enim animarum triplicem esse naturam. Unde et sapientes mundi huius animam humanam rationalem, irascibilem, concupiscibilem esse tradiderunt. . . ." OS 4, 5; SBOp 5:358.

27. CF 40:126. "Rationis sum compos, veritas sum capax. . . ." SC 77, 5; SBOp 2:264.

28. CF 13:96. "Hoc est in veritate. Veritas quippe Dominus est." Dil 2, 3; SBOp 3:122.

29. CF 13:98. "Ceterum paene a proposito longe nimis digressi sumus, dum demonstrare satagimus, eos quoque qui Christum nesciunt, satis per legem naturalem ex perceptis bonis corporis animaeque moneri, quatenus Deum propter Deum et ipsi diligere debeant. Nam ut breviter, quae super hoc dicta sunt, iterentur: quis vel infidelis ignoret, suo corpori non ab alio in hac mortali vita supradicta illa necessaria ministrari, unde videlicet subsistat, unde videat, unde spiret, quam ab illo, qui dat escam omni carni, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos? Quis item vel impius putet alium eius, quae in anima splendet, humanae dignitatis auctorem, praeter illum ipsum, qui in Genesi loquitur: "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram?" Dil 2, 6; SBOp 3:123.

30. CF 13:98. Dil 2, 6; SBOp 3:123.

31. CF 25:238. "Profecto iustus, qui non modo non ipse sibi accipere gloriam quae Dei est. . . . Haec enim virtus specialiter in humilitate consistit." QH 14, 10; SBOp 4:475.

32. CF 13:95. "Scientiam vero, qua eandem in se dignitatem agnoscat, non a se tamen. . . ." Dil 2, 2-3; SBOp 2, 2; SBOp 3:121.

33. John Sommerfeldt, *The Spiritual Teaching of Bernard of Clairvaux*, An Intellectual History of the Early Cistercian Order, 1 CS 125 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, to be published in 1990). I am grateful to Professor Sommerfeldt for sharing this work in manuscript form with me.

34. CF 25:56. "Haec igitur et similia intus suggerit ratio voluntati, eo copiosius quo perfectius illustratione spiritus edocetur." Conv 11, 22; SBOp 4:94.

35. CF 19a:59. "Communem itaque habentes vitam quidem cum arboribus, sensum vero et appetitum et aequae vitam cum pecoribus, id quid dicitur voluntas nos ab utrisque discernit." Gra 2, 4; SBOp 3:169.

36. CF 19a:59. "Cuius voluntatis consensus . . . dum aut iustos probat aut iniustos, etiam merito beatos facit vel miseros." Gra 2, 4; SBOp 3:169.

37. CF 19a:58. "Porro voluntas est motus rationalis, et sensui praesidens, ita appetitui. Habet sane, quocumque si voverit, rationem semper comitem et quodammodo pedissequam: non quod semper ex ratione, sed quod numquam absque ratione moveatur, ita ut multa faciat per ipsam contra ipsam, hoc est per eius quasi ministerium, contra eius consilium sive iudicium." Gra 2, 3; SBOp 3:168.

38. Michael Casey, *Athirst For God*, CS 77 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1988) p. 56.

39. "Iam vero quod dicitur in nobis irascibile, cum repleverit illud Deus, perfecta erit in nobis tranquillitas, et in summam iucunditatem atque laetitiam replebitur pace divina." OS 4, 5; SBOp 5:359.

40. "Et vide si non in his tribus perfecta, quantum sane ad animam spectat, beatitudo consistit, quando scientia iam non inflabit propter iustitiam, iam non contristabit propter laetitiam. . . ." OS 4, 5, SBOp 5:359.

41. Wilhelm Hiss, *Die Anthropologie Bernhards von Clairvaux*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie, 7 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1964); and *Athirst for God* pp. 173-177. Also Emero Stiegman, *Language of Asceticism*, which is cited by Casey, suggests there is considerable debate over just how platonic and neo-platonic thought influenced Bernard's understanding of humanity. In my opinion, the key to Bernard's view of the world comes from the "unity" of spiritual and physical and how this unity can affect salvation when graced by God. There is certainly tension between the two natures but the "will" is responsible for the focus of dispute.

42. Panofsky, quoted above see p. 1.

43. CF 25:229. "Parumne tibi istud videtur, quia te fecit? Cogita qualem fecit: nempe etiam secundum corpus egregiam creaturam, sed secundum animam magis, utpote imagine creatoris insignem, rationis participem, capacem beatitudinis sempiternae. . . ." QH 14, 1: SBOp 4:468-469.

44. CF 13:95. "Quaerat enim homo eminentiora bona sua in ea parte sui, qua praeminet sibi, hoc est anima, quae sunt dignitas, scientia, vitus. . . ." Dil 2, 2-3, SBOp 3:121.

45. "Nobilem hospitem habes, o caro, nobilem valse, et tota salus tua pendet de eius salute. Da honorem hospiti tanto. Tu quidem habitas in regione tua; anima vero peregrina et exsul apud te set hospitata." Adv 6, 3; SBOp 4:192-93.

46. CF 13:122. "Bonus plane fidusque comes caro spiritui bono. . . ." (italics my own) Dil 11, 31; SBOp 3:145.

47. OS 4, 6; SBOp 5:359-60.

48. CF 37:163. "Et est nativa, qua anima et caro unus nascitur homo." Csi 5, 8, 18; SBOp 3:482.

49. CF 25:229. "Porro secundum ambo simul prae ceteris creaturis maxime admirandam, cohaerentem sibi incomprehensibili artificio, investigabili sapientia Conditoris." QH 14, 1; SBOp 4:468-469.

50. CF 25:229. "Porro secundum ambo simul prae ceteris creaturis maxime admirandam, cohaerentem sibi incomprehensibili artificio, investigabili sapientia Conditoris." QH 14, 1; SBOp 4:468-469.

51. For Bernard, the negative aspects of the temporal world affect the "will" which resides within the spiritual nature of the human being. I will discuss the affects of sin and the will in the succeeding section. Michael Casey develops the point in detail in *Athirst for God*, pp. 178-82.

52. CF 19a:59. "Qui non peccat nisi velit." Gra 2, 4; SBOp 4:169.

53. CF 19a:65. "Liberum hominem facit, quo voluntarius efficitur, non invitus pertrahitur. . . . Gra 4, 9; SBOp 3:172.

54. CF 25:45. "Videt denique anima sese contaminatam, nec per alium, sed per proprium corpus, nec aliunde quam a seipsa." Conv 6, 11; SBOp 4:84.

55. CF 4:137. "Quid primo opus est? Ut tumor vel ulcus, quod forte supercrevit in vulnere, et potest impedire sanitatem, ante omnia amputetur. Abscidatur itaque ferro acutae compunctionis ulcus inveteratae consuetudinis." SC 18, 3, 5; SBOp 1:106.

56. CF 25:45. "Nunc autem et ratio minus habens caeca quodammodo, quod hactenus ista non viderit, infirm omnino, quod ne agnita quidem praevaleat reparare. . . ." Conv 6, 11; SBOp 4:84-85.

57. CF 13:96. "Revera ita fit: homo factus in honore, cum honorem ipsum non intelligit, talis suae ignorantiae merito comparatur pecoribus, velut quibusdam praesentis suae corruptionis et mortalitatis consortibus. Fit igitur ut sese non agnoscendo egregia rationis munere creatura, irrationabilium gregibus incipiat aggregari, sensibilibus, sua ipsius curiositate abducitur, efficiturque una de ceterism quod se prae ceteris nihil accepisse intelligat. Itaque valde cavenda haec ignorantia, qua de nobis minus nobis forte sentius . . . quod fit si bonum quodcumque in nobis esse, et a nobis, decepti putemus." Dil 2, 4; SBOp 3:122.

58. CF 40:180-181. "Nempe haec: docuimus omnem animam, licet oneratam peccatis, vitiis irretitam, captam illecebris, exsilio captivam, corpore carceratam, luto haerentem, infixam limo, affixam membris, confixam curis, distentam negotiis, contractam timoribus, afflictam doloribus, erroribus vagam, sollicitudinibus anxiam,

suspicionibus inquietam, et postremo advenam in terra inimicorum...docuimus tamen hanc in sese posse advertere. . . ." SC 83, 1, 1; SBOp 2:298.

59. CF 40:176. "Sed quod Scriptura loquitur de dissimilitudine facta, non quia similitudo ista deleta sit loquitur, sed quia alia superducta. Non plane anima nativam se exuit formam, sed superinduit perefrinam. Illa addita, non ista perdita est; et quae supervenit, obscurare ingenitam potuit, sed non exterminare." SC 82, 2; SBOp 2:293.

60. CF 40:176. "An non diplois, ubi non innata, sed affixa, et quadam quasi peccati acu assuta est simplicitati fraus. . . ." SC 82, 2, 5; SBOp. 2:295.

61. CF 40:172-173. "Manet in fundamento prorsus inconcussa simplicitas, sed minime apparet duplicitate operta humanae dolositatis, simulationis, hypocrisis." SC 82, 2; SBOp 2:293.

62. CF 40:173. "Quam incongrue simplicitati duplicitas admiscetur! . . . Ut de colatione confusio augeatur. . . ." SC 82, 2, 3; SBOp 2:293-294.

63. CF 13:45. "Dumque sibi displicet quod sunt, et ad id suspirant . . . et de cetero emendationem." Hum 5, 18; SBOp 3:29.

64. CF 19a:53. "Porro mihi duo necessaria sunt, doceri ac iuvari." Gra 1, 1; SBOp 3:166.

65. CF 19a:108-109. "Prima, creatio; secunda, reformatio; tertia est consummatio." Gra 14, 49; SBOp 3:201.

66. CF 19a:53 "Quod scilicet ab ipsa me in bono et praevenum agnoscerem, et provehi sentirem, et sperarem perficiendum. . . ." Gra 1, 1; SBOp 3:165.

67. MTm:140-142. "A saeculo, ait Propheta, et in saeculum tu es Deus: et ecce factus est infans diei unius. Ad quid hoc, fratres, aut quae necessitas fuit, ut sic exinaniret se, sic humiliaret se, sic abbreviaret se Dominus maiestatis, nisi ut vos similiter faciatis? Iam clamat exemplo, quod postmodum praedicaturus est verbo: Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, ut verax inveniatur qui dicit: Quae coepit Iesus facere et docere. Obsecro proinde et plurimum rogo, fratres, non patiamini sine causa tam pretiosum exemplar vobis exhibitum esse, sed conformamini illi et renovamini spiritu mentis vestrae." Nat 1, 1; SBOp 4:245.

68. CF 13:34. "Denique sicut finis legis Christus, sic perfectio humilitatis cognitio veritatis. Christus, cum venit, attulit gratiam. Veritas quibus innotuerit, dat caritatem; innotescit autem humilibus: Humilibus ergo dat gratiam." Hum 2, 5; SBOp 3:20.

69. See note 33.

70. CF 19a:72-73. "Nec aliud profecto est, nisi quod gratia ordinat, quas donavit creatio, ut nil aliud sint virtutes nisi ordinatae affectiones." Gra 6, 17; SBOp 3:178.

71. Cf 19a:72. Gra 6, 16; SBOp 3:177-78.

72. CF 19a:109. "Dum et intentio terrenis incurvata curis, de imis paulatim ad superna resurgit, et affectio circa carnis desideria languens, sensim in amorem spiritus convalescit, et memoria veterum operum turpitudine sordens, novis bonis que actibus candidata in dies hilaescit." Gra 14, 49; SBOp 3:202.

73. CF 13:116. "Et quidem si ex Sapientis consilio a voluptatibus tuis averteris et, iuxta doctrinam Apostoli, victu vestituque contentus, paulisper suspendere non gravis amorem tuum a carnalibus desideriis, que militant adversus animam. . . ." Dil 8, 23; SBOp 3:139.

74. CF 1:133. "Praemisit ergo prudentiam, sine qua neminem satis esse posse simplicem sciret. . . ." Pre 14, 36; SBOp 3:279.

75. CF 25:31; Conv 1, 1; SBOp 4:95.

76. CF 1:44. "Non igitur una tantum semita inceditur, quia nec una est mansio qui tenditur. Viderit autem quisque quacumque incedat, ne pro diversitate semitarum ab una iustitia recedat, quiniam ad quamlibet mansionum sua quisque semita pervenerit, ab una domo Patris exsors non erit." Apo. 4, 9; SBOp 3:49

77. James, p. 212. "Quicumque in vobis bene officiosum seipsum exhibet, humilem, timoratum, studiosum lectionis, orationibus vigilem, fraternae caritatis sollicitum, non me putet absentem sibi." Ep 143, 1, 2; SBOp 7:342-343.

78. "Videas illum peccata punientem; hunc caritate flagrantem, illum humilitate pollentem; junc in prosperis humilem, illum in adversitate sublimem; hunc in activa laborantem. Illum in contemplativa quiescentem. . . ." Div 42, 4; SBOp 6/1:258.

79. James, p. 212. "Si quis autem susurro, quod absit, existit inter vos, aut bilinguis, aut murmurans, aut contumax, aut impatiens disciplinae, aut inquietus et vagus, et qui panem otiosus comedere non erubescat, huic, etiam si corpore praesens essem, longe esset ab eo anima mea, eo quod ipse longe fecerit a se Deum, morum, non locorum distantia." Ep 143, 2; SBOp. 7:343.

80. CF 1:51. "Neque hoc dico, quia haec exteriora negligenda sint, aut qui se in illis non exercuerit, mox ideo spiritualis efficiatur, cum potius spiritualis, quam meliora, nisi per ista, aut vix, aut nullatenus vel acquirantur, vel obtineantur, sicut scriptum est: Non prius quod spirituale sed quod animale, deinde quod spirituale." Apo 7, 14; SBOp 3:94.

81. CF 1:51; Apo 7, 14; SBOp 3: .

82. James, p. 220. "Ordo noster aviectio est, humilitas est, voluntaria paupertas est, oboedientia, pax, gaudium in Spiritu Sancto. Ordo noster est esse sub magistro, sub abbate, sub regula, sub disciplina. Ordo noster est studere silentio, exerceri

ieiuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, opere manuum, et, super omnia, excellentiorem viam tenere, quae est caritas. . . ." Ep 142, 1; SBOp 7:340.

83. Lekai, Louis, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977) p. 443.

84. See the Exordium Parvum, trans. in *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, pp. 451-61.

85. CF 1:50. "Tu tuum corpus multis nimisque laboribus atteris, ac regularibus asperitatibus mortificas membra tua, quae sunt super terram." Apo 7, 13; SBOp 3:93.

86. James, p. 8. "Surge, praecingere, tolle otium, exsere vires, move brachia, complosas explica manus, exercitare in aliquo, et statim senties sola to appetere quae famem tollant, non fauces dulceant. Reddet quippe saporibus rebus exercitium, quos tulit inertia. Multa quae respuis otiosum post laborem sumes cum desiderio. . . . Denique si totum de nocte, quod Regula praecipit, tantum in die, quantum professus es, manibus laboraveris, durus erit cibus quem libenter non comedas." Ep 1, 12; SBOp 7:9-10.

87. MTm p. 26. "Redde, inquam, reverentiam praelato et oboedientiam, quarum altera cordis, altera corporis est. Nec enim sufficit exterius obtemperare maioribus nostris, nisi ex intimo cordis affectu sublimiter sentiamus de eis." Adv 3, 4; SBOp 4:178.

88. CF 1:47-48. "Sed attendite in regulam Dei, cui utique non dissonat institutio sancti Benedicti. Regnum, inquit, Dei intra vos est, hoc est non exterius in vestimentis aut alimentis corporis, sed in virtutibus interioris hominis...De corporalibus itaque observantiis patribus calumniam struitis, et quae maiora sunt Regulae . . . Cum tanto studio tunica et cuculla corpori procurentur, quatenus cui deerunt, monachus non putetur, cur similiter spiritui pietas et humilitas, quae profecto spiritualia indumenta sunt, non providentur." Apo 6; SBOp 3:91.

89. RB 35.

90. CF 7:243-244. "En forte appetis et ipse contemplationis quietem, et bene facis; tantum ne obliviscaris flore, quibus lectulum sponsae legis aspersum. Ergo cua et tu tuum similiter circumdare bonorum floribus operum, virtutum exercitio, tamquam flore fructum sanctum otium praevenire. Alioquin delicato satis otio dormire voles, sed non exercitatus quiescere appetas, et praeposterus ordo est, ante meritum exigere primum, et ante laborem sumere cibum. . . ." SC 46, 2, 5; SBOp 2:58.

91. CF 31:104-105. "Martham loquor ministrantem, et Mariam vacantem, et Lazarum quasi gementem sub lapide, et resurrectionis gratiam flagitantem...Nos quoque ad haec, quamvis audacter, adiecimus, quod quaevis etiam de nobis anima, si

similiter vigilet, similiter et salutabitur ut amica, consolabitur ut columba, amplexabitur, ut formosa, Perfectus omnis reputabitur, in cuius anima tria haec congruenter atque opportune concurrere videbuntur, ut et gemere pro se, et exsultare in Deo noverit, simul et proximorum utilitatibus potens sit subvenire: placens Deo, cautus sibi, utilis suis. . . . Habemus siquidem Martham, tamquam Salvatoris amicam, in his qui exteriora fideliter administrant. Habemus et Lazarum, tamquam columbam gementem: nobitios utique, qui nuper peccatis mortui, pro recentibus adhuc plagis laborant in gemitu suo bub timore iudicii Habemus quoque Mariam contemplantem in illis, qui processu longioris temporis, cooperante gratia Dei, in aliquid melius et laetius proficere potuerunt. . . ." SC 57, 10, 11; SBOp 2:125-126.

92. See the appendix on page 44.

93. Waddell, Chrysogonus, "The Place and Meaning of the Work of God." CSt, 23 (1988) 31.

94. See Appendix A, p. 45-46, for the daily routine of the Cistercian monk. The horitorum clearly shows the variety between labor and prayer both communal and private (contemplation, *lectio divina*). The Word was involved at all times of the day and throughout the life of the Cistercian monk.

95. Leclercq, Jean, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, A Study in Monastic Culture*, Trans. Catharine Misrahi (Fordham University Press: New York, 1961)p. 78.

96. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, p. 78.

97. CF 4:41-42. "Laudem ergo cum caeli cantoribus in commune ducentes, utpote cives sanctorum et domestici Dei, psallite sapienter. Cibus in ore, psalmus in corde sapit. Tantum illum terere non negligat fidelis et prudens anima quibusdam dentibus intelligentiae suae, ne si forte integrum glutiat, et non mansum, frustretur palatem sapore desiderabili, it dulciori super mel et favum. Mel in cera, devotio in littera est. Alioquin littera occidit, si absque spiritus condimento glutieris. Si autem com Apostolo psallas spiritu, psallas mente, cognosces it tu de illius veritate sermonis, quem dixit Iesus: Verba quae locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt. . . ." SC 7, 5 SBOp 1:34.

98. CF 7:204. "intellectus, per quem tua anima traicit in se spiritus vitalia alimenta, atque in quaedam transfundit viscera morum affectuum que suorum. SC 41, 1,1; SBOp 1:29.

99. CF 37:178-179. "Quo sane parvido aspectu, dum vehementius concutit inteuentem, fugit vitia, fundat virtutes, initiat ad sapientiam, humilitatem servat. . . ." Csi 5, 14, 32; SBOp 3:493.

100. CF 13:49. "Dei quippe Filus, Verbum scilicet ac sapientia Patris, primum quidem illam animae nostrae patientiam . . . Ex qua prima coniunctione Verbi et rationis, humilitas nascitur . . . Spiritus Sanctus dignanter visitans, suaviter purgans, ardentem afficiens . . . Et sic ex hac secunda coniunctione Spiritus Dei et voluntatis humanae, caritas efficitur. Utramque vero partem, rationem scilicet ac voluntatem, alteram verbo veritatis instructam, alteram spiritu veritatis afflatam, illam hyssopo humiliatis aspersam . . . propter caritatem vine ruga . . . ita ut nec ratio de sem nec voluntas de proximo cogitare sinatur sed hoc solum beata illa anima dicere delectetur: Intoduxit me rex in cubiculum suum." Hum 7, 21; SBOp 3:32.

101. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, p. 78.

102. CF 31:41-48. "Unde vos moneo, dilectissimi, pure semper ac strenue divinis interesse laudibus . . . sed virili ut dignum est, ita sonitu, ita affectu voces Sancti Spiritus depromentes; pure vero. . . ." SC 47, 8; SBOp 2:66.

103. CF 4:40. "Itaque per domesticos et intimos, accessus ad intima quaeritur, ambitur ad desideratum, Quinam illi? Credimus angelos sanctos astare orantibus, offerre Deo preces et vota hominum, ubi tamen sine ira et disceptatione levare puras manus perspexerint." SC 7, 3, 4; SBOp 1:33.

104. CF 4:40-41. "In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi. Doleo proinde aliquos vestrum gravi in sacris vigiliis deprimi somno, nec caeli cives revereri, sed in praesentia principum tam quam mortuos apparere, cum vestra ipsi alacritate permoti, vestris interesse solemniss delectentur." SC 7,4; SBOp 1:33.

105. CF 7:204. SC 41, 1, 1; SBOp 1:29.

106. CF 7:244. "Alioquin non dormiet tecum sponsus in lectulo uno, illo praesertim, quem tibi, pro oboedientiae floribus, cicutis atque urticis inoboedientiae aspersisti." SC 46, 2, 5 SBOp 2:58.

107. CF 7:24-25. "Et quid me vis facere, inquis? Profecto ut primo quidem emundes conscientiam ab omni inquinamento irae, et disceptationis, et murmuris, et livoris, et quidquid omnino adversari cognoscitur aut paci fratrum, aut oboedientiae seniorum, de cordis habitaculo eliminare festines. Deinde circumdare tibi flores bonorum quorumque operum et laudabilium studiorum, atque odoramenta virtutum, id est quaecumque sunt vera, quaecumque iusta, quaecumque sancta. . . ." SC 46, 2, 7; SBOp 1:60.

108. CF 4:22. "Cum aut de actis malis indulgentiam, aut de bonis agendis gratiam, aut ipsius etiam indultoris et benefactoris sui praesentiam, eo quidem modo quo in corpore fragili possibile est, obitnet intueri." SC 4, 1; SBOp 1:19.

109. CF 40:186. "Nisi quis dubitet, animam a Verbo et prius amari, et plus. Prorur et praevenitur amando, et vincitur. Felix quae meruit praeveniri in tantae

benedictione dulcedinis! Felix cui tantae suavitatis complexum experiri donatum est! Quod non est aliud, quam amor sanctus et castus, amor suavis et dulcis, amor tantae serenitatis quantae et sinceritatis, amor mutuus, intimus validusque, qui non in carne una, sed uno plane in spiritu duos iungat, duos faciat iam non duos, sed unum. . . ." SC 83, 3, 6; SBOp 2:302.

110. CF 31:24-25. "Sed si quis orando obtineat mente excedere in id divini arcani, unde mox redeat divino amore vehementissime flagrans et aestuans iustitiae zelo, ne non et in cunctis spiritualibus studiis atque officiis pernitium fervens, ita ut possit dicere: Concaluit cor meum intra me . . . Cum enim duo sint beatae contemplationis excessus, in intellectu unus it alter in affectu, unus in lumine, alter in fervore, unus in agnitione, alter in devotione, pius sane affectus, et pectus amore calens, et sanctae devotionis infusio, etiam et vehemens spiritus repletus zelo, non plane aliunde quam e cella vinaria reportantur; et cuicumque cum horum copia sugere ab oratione donatur, potest in veritate loqui quia introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam." SC 49, 1, 4; SBOp 2:75.

111. CF 37:174. "nempe similes ei eriemus, quia videbimus eum sicuti est. Beata visio, ad quam merito suspirabat qui ait: Exquisivit te facies mea; faciem tuam, domine, requiram. Csi 5, 27; SBOp 3:490. .

112. C.H. Talbot's article "The Cistercian attitude towards art" in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and David Park (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp. 56-64, addresses the issues raised by William of St. Thierry's *Vita Prima*, that suggest Bernard was aesthetically unperceptive to sculpture in the monastery of his novitiate or the natural beauty. Quite correctly Talbot writes: "Bernard was not a dreamy mystic unaware of his surroundings; he noticed everything. No detail escaped his satirical eye." p. 58. A detailed treatment of this traditional view of Bernard's insensitivity to his surroundings is given by Michael Casey's "Bernard the Observer" in *Goad and Nail* CS 84, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, X (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1985) pp. 1-20.

113. CF 1:66. "Mira quaedam deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas? Quid ibi immundae simiae? Quid feri leones? Quid monstruosi centauri? Quid semihomines? Quid maculosae tigrides? Quid milites pugnantes? Quid venatores tubivinantes? Videas sub uno capite multa corpora, et rursus in uno corpe capita multa. Cernitur hinc in quadrupede cauda serpentis, illinc in pesce apud quadrupedis. Ibi bestia praefert equum, capram trahens retro dimidiam; hic cornutum animal equum gestat posterius." Apo 12, 29 SBOp 3:106.

114. James, p. 392. EP 243; SBOp 7:130-131.

115. CF 1:64. "Et quidem alia causa est episcoporum, alia monachorum. Scimus namque quod illi, sapientibus et insipientibus debitores cum sint, carnalis populi

devotionem, quia spiritualibus non possunt, corporalibus excitant ornamentis. Nos vero qui iam de populo exivimus. . . ." Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:104-105.

116. CF 1:66. "Ut quid saltem sanctorum imagines non reveremur, quibus utique ipsum, quod pedibus conculcatur, scatet pavementum? Saepe spuitur in ore angeli, saepe alicuius sanctorum facies calcibus tunditur transeuntium. Et si non sacris imaginibus, cur vel non parcitur pulchris coloribus. . . ." Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:106.

117. CF 1:66. "Quid ibi valent venustae formae, ubi pulvere maculantur assiduo?" Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:106.

118. CF 1:64. "Qui mundi quaeque pretiosa ac speciosa pro Christo reliquimus, qui omnia pulchre lucentia, canore mulcentia, suave olentia, dulce sapientia, tactu placentia, cuncta denique oblectamenta corporea arbitrati sumus ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciamus, quorum, quaeso, in his devotionem excitare intendimus? Quem, inquam, ex his fructum requirimus: stultorum admirationem, an simplicium oblationem?" Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:105.

119. CF 1:66. "Nisi forte et hic adversus memoratum iam Poetae versiculum propheticus ille respondeatur: Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae." Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:106

120. CF 1:64. "Dicite, inquam pauperes, si tamen pauperes, in sancto quid facit aurum?" Apo 7, 28; SBOp 3:104.

121. CF 1:64. "Quem, inquam, ex his fructum requirimus: stultorum admirationem, an simplicium oblationem?" Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:105.

122. CF 1:63-65. "Et ut aperte loquar, an hoc totum facit avaritia, quae est idolorum servitus, et non requirimus fructum, sed datum . . . Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum quam ad orandum . . . Currunt homines ad osulandum, invitantur ad donandum, et magis mirantur pulchra, quam venerantur sacra . . . Quid, putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? Paenitentium compunctio, an intuentium admiratio?" Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:105.

123. CF 1:66. "Assentio: patiamur et haec fieri in ecclesia, quia etsi noxia sunt vanis et avaris, non tamen simplicibus et devotis." Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:106

124. The monastic church at St. Denis and that of Santiago de Compostela come to my mind. These are communities which interact daily with the secular folk and participate as pilgrimage sites. See Conrad Rudolf's *Things of Greater Importance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990) pp. 70-79, for an in-depth treatment of some abuses of these pilgrim sites.

125. CF 1:66. "Denique quid haec ad pauperes, ad monachos, ad spirituales viros." Apo 12, 28; SBOp 3:106.

126. CF 4:1. "Vobis, fratres, alia quam aliis de saeculo, aut certe aliter dicenda sunt. Illis siquidem lac potum dat, et non escam, qui Apostoli formam tenet in docendo. Nam spiritualibus solidiora apponenda esse itidem ipse suo docet exemplo: Loquimur, inquit, non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in doctrina spiritus, spiritualibus spiritualia comparantes; item: Sapientiam loquimur inter perfectos, quales vos nimirum esse confido, nisi frustra forte ex longo studiis estis caelestibus occupati, exercitati sensibus, et in lege Dei meditati die ac nocte." SC 1, 1; SBOp 1:3.

127. CF 1:66. "Ceterum in claustris, coram legentibus fratribus, quid facit illa reducula monstruositas . . . Tam multa denique, tamque mira diversarum formarum apparet ubique varietas, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus, quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando." Apo 12, 29; SBOp 3:106.

128. CF 1:63. "Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudes, supervacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones, curiosas depictiones, quae dum in se orantium retorquent aspectu, impediunt et affectum. . . ." Apo 12, 28; SBOp. 3:104.

129. CF 31:41-48. "Unde vos moneo, dilectissimi, pure semper ac strenue divinis interesse laudibus . . . sed virili ut dignum est, it sonitu, it affectu voces Sancti Spiritus depromentes; pure vero. . . ." SC 47, 8; SBOp 2:66.

130. CF 1:51. "Nullus quippe ordo quippiam recipit inordinatum; quod vero inordinatum est, ordo non est." Apo 7, 15; SBOp 3:94.

131. Leclercq, *Cistercian Spirit*, p. 19.

132. See Emero Stiegman, "Analogues of the Cistercian Abbey Church," in Andrew Mac Leish (ed.), *The Medieval Monastery* (St. Cloud, Minnesota: North Star Press of St. Cloud, Inc., 1988) pp. 17-33. Stiegman describes the reforming monastic institutions and orders which preceded Fontenay and the Cistercians. He concludes that Fontenay may be the culmination of a style which evolved from a similar monastic insistence on simplicity and frugality.

133. See plate 1, p. 48.

134. CF 1:64, note by Casey cited from Begules, *L'Abbaye de Fontenay et l'architecture cistercienne* (Lyons: Rey, 1912).

135. My own speculation.

136. See plate 2, p. 48.

137. See Peter Fergusson, "Early Cistercian Churches in Yorkshire and the Problem of the Cistercian Crossing Tower" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 29, no. 3, pp. 211-21. Fergusson cites the Cistercian *Statuta Capitularum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* ed. (Louvain, 1933), I, 61, no. 16.

138. See plates 3-5, p. 49.

139. See Conrad Rudolf, "The Scholarship on Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia*" *Cîteaux* 40 (1989) 94-95.

140. CF 1:68; Apo 12, 31; SBOp 3:107-108.

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