

I Foundation and twelfth century

MARTHA G. NEWMAN

In 1098 a small group of monks left the Burgundian monastery of Molesme to establish a new monastery in the forest of Cîteaux, about 25 km south of the town of Dijon. By the end of the twelfth century this one community had spawned an international monastic Order with over 500 abbeys of men and an indeterminate number of women, spread from Spain to the Baltic, from Scotland to Sicily. Over the course of the century Cistercian monks became powerful figures in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Cistercian writings and spiritual ideas influenced the prevailing religious culture and many Cistercian monasteries became centres for economic and technological change.

Scholars have long debated the character of the new community at Cîteaux and the process by which the Cistercian Order formed. They have argued about Cîteaux's relationship to older forms of monasticism and to movements of monastic and ecclesiastic reform, about the nature of the documents that claim to describe the foundation of this new Order and about the Order's ideals and organisational structure. They have questioned the influence of its spiritual leaders, and the extent to which they articulated a unified Cistercian culture. They have asked whether this Order included women's houses as well as those of men. And they have debated whether the monks' political activities, economic success and growing status distinctions within their communities illustrate their early ideals or instead demonstrate a quick decline from their initial reform.

Many of these debates stem from efforts to place the Cistercians into the paradigms used to describe eleventh- and twelfth-century monasticism. Over the last fifty years the study of monastic reform has been shaped by two converging developments. Catholic theologians and confessional historians, interested in returning to the sources of their Christian faith (*ressourcement*), sought to find in the early texts of religious Orders their guiding spirit and ideals. At the same time secular

scholars incorporated into their work ideas from Max Weber's sociological analysis of charisma and bureaucracy, and they employed Victor Turner's concepts of 'communitas' and 'liminality' to describe the intense relationships of those living outside normal social structures. Medieval monasteries appeared examples of liminal and charismatic communities. The two groups of scholars have influenced one another and together have made the contrast between 'ideal' and 'reality' and the cycle of charismatic reform, institutionalisation and decline central themes of medieval religious history.

Yet early Cistercian history fits uneasily into these paradigms, for a number of reasons. First, it is hard to contrast a 'reformed' Cîteaux with a 'traditional' Molesme. The abbey of Molesme was established in 1075 as a community of hermits, and the men who founded the new monastery at Cîteaux – the abbot Robert, his prior Alberic and his secretary Stephen Harding – had held positions of leadership at Molesme. Initially, Cîteaux followed similar customs, adopting Molesme's liturgical books and allowing the Duke of Burgundy to hold court in its enclosure. Only some decades later, once they had composed their *Exordium Cistercii*, did Cistercian monks articulate language contrasting their life to that at Molesme. Second, there is scant evidence for the charismatic character of Cîteaux's founders; we have remarkably little material about these men at all. Robert of Molesme quickly disappeared from the Cistercians' twelfth-century lists of abbots, and there are neither contemporary *vitae* of Alberic and Stephen Harding nor evidence for their cults. And third, the Cistercians' earliest texts express their organisational concerns more than abstract spiritual ideals.

Many of the new religious movements of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries were indeed inspired by a charismatic leader who sought to live a life in imitation of Christ and the apostles, and they only gradually adopted a rule and customary. But the first Cistercians did not innovate in this way nor seek to enact an apostolic poverty, an evangelism or an extreme asceticism. Rather, like the monks of Vallombrosa (who may well have influenced them), they sought to follow the Benedictine Rule and to create an organisation that would maintain their understanding of these observances. This nascent institution unified and regulated Cistercian communities, but it also provided an environment that could incorporate and refine prevailing spiritual ideals and expressions. The Cistercians' ideals developed and changed over time, and this flexibility within an administrative structure helped make them the most popular and influential of the new monastic groups of the twelfth century.

FOUNDATION AND DOCUMENTS

Early Cistercian history once seemed straightforward. Robert, the abbot of Molesme, along with Alberic and the Englishman Stephen Harding, became dissatisfied with the wealth and political status of Molesme and, with permission of Hugh of Die, papal legate and archbishop of Lyons, established a new community in the forest of Cîteaux. An assembly of ecclesiastics soon ordered Robert to return to Molesme, but Alberic and Stephen Harding remained at the new monastery and became its first abbots. Under Stephen Harding the monastery began to grow, admitting a large group of young aristocrats, including Bernard of Fontaines-lès-Dijon and his companions and relatives, and founding its first affiliated abbey, La Ferté, in 1113. By 1115 the new monastery at Cîteaux had created five affiliates; by 1118 the affiliates began to found their own offspring. During these years Stephen Harding wrote the Charter of Charity that bound the communities together, instituted uniform monastic customs, created a process of visitation between the founding abbey and its affiliates and established a yearly General Chapter of abbots. In 1119 Pope Calixtus II approved this charter.

Since the 1940s the documents that provided this clear and straightforward history have been the subject of much disagreement. Scholars of the early Cistercians are blessed, or cursed, with two twelfth-century foundation narratives: the *Exordium Parvum* and the *Exordium Cistercii*. There are also multiple versions of the *Carta Caritatis*, and various collections of statutes from the General Chapter. Scholars have long disagreed about the dating of these texts and their possible authors. They divide into two camps. On one side are those who see in the documents' inconsistencies an effort by the Cistercians to hide irregularities and rewrite their history. In the 1940s and 1950s Jean Lefèvre suggested that Cîteaux's foundation was unauthorised and that the narrative documents were composed later to disguise this fact. More recently Constance Berman has argued that the Charter of Charity dates from 1165, and that the monks subsequently wrote the narrative documents to backdate the formation of the Order. Her hypothesis suggests that the Cistercian Order was initially a loose affiliation of both male and female communities; only after an institutional structure developed in the 1160s did women's houses begin to be excluded. Opposed to Lefèvre and Berman are scholars who assume the early Cistercian documents are essentially what they claim to be and were written in the first decades of the twelfth century. While the details of their arguments vary, these scholars have generally assumed that the Calixtus II approved a

version of the Charter of Charity in 1119, that the *Exordium Parvum* was composed in the early 1120s at Cîteaux and that the *Exordium Cistercii* came from Clairvaux about a decade later.

Chrysogonus Waddell's edition of the early Cistercian narrative texts, published in 1999, offers a new understanding of these documents. Although Waddell assumed the Cistercian documents were honest efforts to describe the Cistercians' foundation, he presented them as layered compositions, repeatedly revised in conjunction with revisions to the Cistercians' customary. According to Waddell, Stephen Harding assembled the kernel of the *Exordium Parvum* around 1113: the initial document consisted of nine letters and charters issued by ecclesiastical officials, linked by short narratives describing the foundation of the new monastery. The earliest extant version of the Charter of Charity, the *Carta Caritatis prior*, was the charter that Calixtus II confirmed in 1119. The stylistic unity of the *Exordium Cistercii* and the *Summa Cartae Caritatis* suggested a single author: Waddell attributed them to Abbot Raynard de Bar of Cîteaux, dated their composition after the death of Stephen Harding in 1134 and posited that they were intended as an introduction to a revised Cistercian customary. When the Cistercians rewrote their customary again in 1147 after their liturgical reforms, they inserted a new historical introduction by revising the *Exordium Parvum*. At this point, they added chapters to give a detailed account of Cîteaux's foundation, its later growth and the early statutes of the General Chapter (chapters 3 and 15 to 18). The 1147 customary, however, was further revised after 1152 when Pope Eugenius III confirmed a new version of the Charter of Charity. The customs from the second half of the century show more variation in the choice of the narrative accounts that prefaced them.¹

Waddell's interpretation of these documents brings the early history of the Cistercians into sharper focus. Much of the traditional narrative remains in place but two interrelated characteristics of the Cistercian reform become clearer. One is that if the documents embedded in the *Exordium Parvum* are legitimate, as Waddell suggested, then the foundation of the community at Cîteaux and the negotiations over the return of Robert to Molesme was an international affair: it involved the papal legate and archbishop of Lyons, two popes, two cardinals, five local bishops and three abbots. This was not the establishment of an unstructured hermitage in the wilderness but a carefully planned undertaking whose instigators were accustomed to working with ecclesiastical officials and accepted their authority. Second, Cîteaux's founders did not question the basic assumptions of the monastic life they

knew. They continued to exchange spiritual benefits for land, and even more importantly, they sought to find ways to preserve the observances they believed Benedict and his Rule had established. The bishops who described what Robert, Alberic and Stephen had proposed emphasised their desire to follow the Benedictine Rule 'more strictly', Stephen's prologue to the *Exordium Parvum* records the negotiations over Cîteaux's foundation so that the monks there could 'sweat and toil' in their observance of the Benedictine Rule, and the non-Cistercian monastic chroniclers from the 1120s, William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis, noted the importance of the Benedictine Rule to this new community.² These early texts suggest that Cîteaux's founders started with structure – with the Rule, with the authority of the bishops and the pope – but then found within this structure the potential for a rich religious life.

The relationship between the Cistercians' organisation and their religious life quickly became apparent. When Stephen Harding composed the Charter of Charity that linked Cîteaux to affiliates, he changed the authority of the abbot and his relation to his community. Abbots of prominent monasteries such as Molesme often presided over numerous affiliated priories that sent agricultural and other revenues back to the central abbey. These abbots were also responsible for the spiritual care of the monks in these priories, no matter how distant, and they had the authority to establish how their communities interpreted the Rule. As a result many abbots spent much time on the road, travelling between priories, and they modified Benedict's regulations to take particular circumstances into consideration.³

Stephen Harding created a different administrative structure. The Charter of Charity established each abbey as independent, run by its own abbot and responsible for its own economic well-being. At the same time, it diminished the abbot's authority to modify monastic customs: what bound the abbeys into an Order was the uniform observance of customs and a set of annual meetings and visitations designed to ensure that these uniform observances were maintained. The Charter of Charity and the Cistercians' customary thus placed the abbot within his community of monks rather than emphasising his discretionary authority. By the time the monks created their customary of the 1130s, the abbot, like his monks, slept in the common dormitory; he, too, could be punished if late for prayers; and he and his monks viewed themselves as obedient to the Rule that Benedict had established. It is within this more egalitarian community structure that Cistercian monks articulated the more distinctive elements of their culture and theology.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX AND THE GROWTH OF THE ORDER

Although the traditional histories of the Cistercians impute the growth of the Order to the entrance of Bernard of Fontaines-lès-Dijon and his friends and relatives, it has long been recognised that Cîteaux started to expand before Bernard and his companions converted. As Constance Bouchard and others have argued, Cîteaux and its affiliates in Burgundy and Champagne appealed especially to the lesser nobility in the region who used their donations to these small, new communities to enhance their own status and assist their hopes for salvation. Nonetheless, Bernard of Clairvaux's fame and activity did much to foster the expansion of the Order in the years between 1130 and 1150. Bernard's prolific writings, his extensive travels and political activities, and the rapid growth of the monasteries associated with his abbey of Clairvaux have raised questions about the relationship of his ideas to those of the initial founders of the Order. Did Bernard reshape the Cistercian Order? Should he be considered the Cistercians' charismatic founder?

We now know not to put too much emphasis on foundation charters and filiation lists for dating Cistercian communities: such documents often present the incorporation of existing monasteries as if they were new foundations, and they ignore the existence of Cistercian women. Nonetheless, the filiation charts from the early thirteenth century that list abbeys associated with each of the first five Cistercian communities do demonstrate Clairvaux's distinctiveness. By Bernard of Clairvaux's death in 1153 there were nearly as many abbeys of men associated with Clairvaux as there were abbeys in the affiliations of the other 4 houses combined; 167 abbeys were associated with Clairvaux, while there were 187 in the rest of the Order.⁴ Also, a large proportion of Clairvaux's affiliated monasteries were directly subject to Clairvaux itself, suggesting that communities wanted to claim Clairvaux as their 'mother house'. Finally, a number of Clairvaux's affiliates can be directly linked to Bernard's travels, political activity and contacts. These patterns suggest Bernard of Clairvaux's importance for the Order's expansion.

Bernard of Clairvaux also articulated and enacted ideas about monastic life that differed from those of the first Cistercian founders. Whereas Stephen Harding controlled the geographical location of Cîteaux's first affiliates, carefully locating them on relatively flat land and near streams, he left the planning of Clairvaux to Bernard, who placed his abbey in a narrow valley.⁵ Whereas the monks at Cîteaux, under Stephen Harding's supervision, produced highly decorated manuscripts that are

masterpieces of Romanesque imagination, Bernard complained about the distracting nature of images. Whereas Stephen Harding wrote few letters, appeared in few charters and confined his political activities to the region around Cîteaux, Bernard quickly became prominent throughout Europe by intervening in episcopal elections and helping heal schisms, preaching for crusades and against heretics and writing letters to correspondents spread across Christendom. And whereas the few extant hints of Stephen's religiosity suggest his emphasis on the model of Benedict, Bernard's extensive religious writings instead focus on the imitation of Christ through voluntary poverty, humility and love.⁶

It is less clear, however, that these differences demonstrate tension between Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux, or suggest, as has Berman, that the only real organisation of Cistercian houses before the 1160s consisted of those associated with Clairvaux. Stephen Harding's ideas about suitable locations for new houses prevailed even among abbeys in Clairvaux's filiation, but the Order adopted Bernard's ideas about manuscript decoration and architectural forms, creating manuscripts and buildings with a distinctive simplicity. By the 1130s Bernard's political involvement and preaching clearly overshadowed the influence of the abbot of Cîteaux, and his writings made him a spokesman for the Order, but his close relations with ecclesiastical officials followed the pattern set by Cîteaux's foundation. Bernard's writings demonstrate an awareness of the organisation that Stephen Harding had established. While never explicitly mentioning the Charter of Charity, he wrote of both the general and specific 'customs' and 'observances' of the Cistercian way of life: these included general meetings of abbots, visitations to other monasteries, manual labour and a strict observance of the Benedictine Rule. Rather than attesting to an opposition between Cîteaux and Clairvaux, or between Stephen and Bernard, Bernard's ideas developed within the structures that the Cistercian founders had established.

Bernard's presence, both in person and through the spread of his writings, made Cistercian life attractive to donors and potential monks, as the distinctive growth of Clairvaux's filiation suggests. Bernard articulated a particular form of *imitatio Christi*, a stress on the incarnation and an affective spirituality whose expressions of love and friendship, put in a religious key, encouraged personal repentance, contemplation and social reformation. His writings present an interplay between scriptural exegesis and what he called the 'book of experience', and he encouraged his audiences to use their sensory and somatic knowledge as a starting point in their progression toward the divine. These ideas

were not Bernard's alone – he attracted like-minded men to the Order who brought their own concerns and backgrounds into the conversation – nor were these ideas only articulated by Cistercians. However, Bernard, together with figures such as William of Saint Thierry, Guerric of Igny, Aelred of Rievaulx and Isaac of Stella, took what was fundamentally a conservative movement, interested in returning to a strict observance of the Benedictine Rule, and transformed it into one whose spiritual ideals resonated with the religious aspirations of many in twelfth-century European society.

From the very beginning these Cistercian ideals had appealed to women as well as men. Stephen Harding helped establish a female community at Tart in the 1120s; by 1147 this monastery had received a papal confirmation of its tithe exemption and its customs that resembled those offered to Cistercian houses of men. By the thirteenth century Tart had established a structure of filiations and a meeting of abbesses over which the abbot of Cîteaux presided. Some of these affiliated communities may have been established by nuns from Tart but many others had been independent establishments or double houses that adopted Cistercian customs and then became affiliated with the Order. Another women's community, Jully, had close relations with Cistercian men and received Bernard of Clairvaux's female relatives. However, Jully never affiliated with the Cistercians: associated from its beginning with the monastery of Molesme, and guided by Stephen Harding's friend Peter, the community was formally placed under the guidance of the abbot of Molesme in 1145.⁷ Still other houses of Cistercian women were established by reform-minded bishops; such for instance was the case of the women's community of Wechterswinkel, founded before 1144 by the bishop of Würzburg, and associated with the Cistercian men of Ebrach.

The diverse ways in which women's communities were established and their various associations with Cistercian monks once led scholars to doubt the existence of twelfth-century nuns. But more recently it has become clear that the incorporation of men's communities into the Cistercian Order followed a pattern similar to that of women: some communities were new foundations established by monks from other Cistercian houses, some were initiated by bishops or powerful lay patrons, while many others were already existing communities that gradually adopted Cistercian customs. Furthermore, while the early Charter of Charity did link the existing monasteries into an Order, we must be careful not to read late twelfth-century institutional structures back into the Order's earlier organisation. The Cistercians were initially

bound by shared customs and regulations, but by the middle of the century they were also linked by a shared attraction to the religious ideas and examples articulated by their prominent abbots. The men's houses quickly settled on a process of General Chapters and visitations to ensure these commonalities. For the women, the supervision was more variable: in some cases, women's houses were formally affiliated with male abbeys and supervised by Cistercian abbots, but in other cases, they were associated through informal correspondence and shared customs. It was this mixture of administrative centralisation and common spirituality that made the Cistercian Order so attractive to Church leaders and to men and women seeking a religious life.

INSTITUTIONAL ORGANISATION AND LATE TWELFTH-CENTURY DIVERSITY

In the second half of the twelfth century the Cistercian Order encountered the effects of its rapid growth and prominence. On the one hand, the Order became less uniform, reflecting in part the political divisions and cultural differences of the territories in which the abbeys were located. On the other hand, it became more institutionalised as the General Chapter tried to speak for the Order and ensure conformity to its decisions. By the end of the twelfth century the Cistercians were celebrated as a model for the organisation of other monastic Orders but also criticised for losing track of their ideals.

The death of Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians' twenty-year effort to secure his canonisation made some of the divisions apparent. The various reworkings of Bernard's *vita* suggest that even many of the men closest to Bernard were uncertain how to reconcile his political activities with his spiritual message, and whether to present him as a man of their Order or a man of the Church.⁸ After Bernard's canonisation in 1174, as his saintly image began to coalesce in liturgical commemorations and the official *vita*, monks at Clairvaux also began to compose shorter exemplary stories that portrayed him as a monk within his community, caring for his brethren with often miraculous results. These stories, collected with *exempla* depicting other holy Cistercians, continued to encourage a shared monastic culture, one which, as the collections by Caesarius of Heisterbach and Engelhard of Langheim show, included religious women as well as men.

Some of the divisions within the Order resulted from the ecclesiastical disputes of the 1160s and 1170s. In the 1130s, during the papal schism that pitted Innocent II against Anacletus, the Cistercian

expansion had just started, and the Cistercian abbeys had united with many other religious communities in support of Innocent II. The conflicts between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa, and between Henry II and Thomas Becket, in comparison, were more detrimental to the unity of the Order. Geoffrey of Auxerre's deposition as abbot of Clairvaux in 1165 probably resulted from his refusal to support Becket against Henry II, despite Becket's refuge at Pontigny.⁹ Similarly, during the papal schism some German abbots were caught between loyalty to their diocesan bishop and loyalty to Alexander III. Both political disputes suggest that the Cistercians' vision of a unified Order within the body of the Church had become difficult to maintain. Furthermore, when Cistercian monks did try to create such unity, as through their preaching against the Cathars in southern France, their work exposed the changing religious ideals of the late twelfth century: they no longer seemed the poor of Christ when compared to the Cathar *perfecti*. Their evocation of a militant Christianity with which they encouraged officials to uncover secret threats to Christian unity contributed to both the Albigensian crusade and the formation of inquisitorial theory.

The Cistercians' economic practices present another area in which the Order became more varied. Much scholarship on the Cistercians' economy suggests that, by the late twelfth century, they had abandoned their early ideals. Yet, as I have suggested earlier, the first Cistercians were more interested in maintaining the precepts of the Benedictine Rule than they were in articulating more abstract ideals such as poverty. Many of their economic practices, such as their rejection of manorial revenues and their insistence on manual labour, stem from this desire to uphold the Rule. Language expressing ideas of poverty became more prevalent in the 1130s as Cistercian monks sought to explain their differences with other monks and to justify their tithe exemptions. This polemical language returned to haunt them by the end of the century when critics such as Walter Map and Gerald of Wales contrasted the Cistercians' claims of poverty with their now privileged economic condition.¹⁰ Yet, while some monasteries had become very wealthy and profited from their participation in a new commercial economy, other houses struggled. These contrasts are particularly apparent among women's communities; by the thirteenth century a few women's abbeys possessed extensive endowments but the majority of Cistercian women's houses were small and survived off occasional donations and the women's own labour.¹¹

By the second half of the twelfth century the lay brothers also posed problems for the Cistercians' claims of unity and uniformity. The monks

had instituted their lay brotherhood so that their communities could fulfil obligations both to labour and to pray, but despite the monks' descriptions of the unity of their communities, the lay brothers lived distinct lives in which they worked more, prayed less and often ran estates and granges at a distance from the abbey. By the late twelfth century the tension in some monasteries between the lay brothers' subordinate status and their economic importance to their communities occasionally erupted into violence. These revolts were often triggered by abbots who reinforced observances that confirmed the distinctions between the two groups. The Cistercian General Chapter also attempted to enforce statutes regulating the lay brothers' subordinate position and practices but these efforts appear to have fostered still more resentment: some lay brothers, at times aided by monks, detained abbots from attending General Chapter while others refused to offer hospitality to abbots travelling to and from this assembly.¹²

The General Chapter's regulation of the behaviour of lay brothers was only a part of a broader effort by the assembled abbots in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to enforce uniformity on an Order that had spread across political borders and encompassed cultural, geographical and economic differences. The General Chapter first codified its statutes in 1202, thereby making its collection of regulations accessible and useful to its abbots. Jean Leclercq criticised this effort as an unproductive focus on minutiae that lost sight of the spirit of early Cistercian life, but by the early thirteenth century such institutional decisions may have been the only way to reproduce the sense of 'being of one spirit' that the early twelfth-century Cistercians had created in a less formal fashion.¹³ Certainly, ecclesiastical officials of the period still found much to admire in the Cistercian organisation: the Fourth Lateran Council required all monastic congregations to hold a General Chapter modelled on the Cistercian assemblies. The Cistercian Order of 1215 looked little like the initial foundation at Cîteaux in 1098, but even a century after its establishment, it continued to respond to prevailing ideas and concerns and incorporate them into its religious culture.

CONCLUSION

The Cistercians were one of the numerous new religious communities that formed in the last decades of the eleventh century and early decades of the twelfth. Many of these new groups coalesced around leaders who found inspiration in biblical models and stories of heroic saints; these charismatic individuals attracted groups of followers and

eventually formed them into communities. By the middle of the twelfth century, some of these communities had disappeared, others had written their own rules and customs and still others had adopted Cistercian practices and become part of the Cistercian Order. But the foundation of Cîteaux and the initial establishment of the Cistercian Order did not follow this pattern. Robert of Molesme, Alberic and Stephen Harding were not at the vanguard of the period's religious movements, nor were they remembered as charismatic figures who explored forms of apostolic life. Rather, they were monastic administrators who worked within existing parameters of religious life. They developed a monastic organisation that preserved the observances of the Benedictine Rule but that remained flexible enough to elaborate and modify what the founders had established.

Yet the Cistercians contributed more to twelfth-century society than just the formation of the first religious Order. Cistercian monks articulated a language of contemplation, experience and religious longing that influenced the development of medieval mysticism, they worked toward a vision of ecclesiastical reform that shaped papal ideology, they encouraged a militant Christianity that was enacted in crusades against Muslims and Christian heretics and they managed estates that experimented with water technologies and commercial transactions. While we know little about the religious ideals of the founders of the Order other than their interest in the Benedictine Rule, we know that communities they established allowed for the incorporation of new ideas. By attracting some of the most ardent and articulate figures of the twelfth century, the Cistercian Order gradually developed a distinctive culture that became interwoven with its organisational structure. Its influence and popularity derived from the monks' ability to mix traditional assumptions of monastic life with a nascent institutional framework and new religious ideas, and from this to create a religious culture that was distinctively Cistercian.

Notes

- 1 For a critique of Waddell's argument that suggests Stephen Harding wrote the entire *Exordium Parvum*, see C. Holdsworth, 'Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: A Review Article', *Cîteaux*, 51 (2000), 157–66.
- 2 William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque* 4.366, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1887–89), vol. II, p. 383; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia aeclesiastica* 8.26, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969–80), vol. IV (1973), pp. 312–27.

- 3 B. Rosenwein, 'Rules and the "Rule" at Tenth-Century Cluny', *Studia Monastica*, 19 (1977), 307–20.
- 4 A.H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1996), pp. 250–51.
- 5 J.-B. Auberger, *L'unanimité cistercienne primitive: mythe ou réalité?*, Cîteaux: *Studia et Documenta* 3 (Achel, 1986), pp. 91–108.
- 6 See M. G. Newman, 'Text and Authority in the Formation of the Cistercian Order: The Early Cistercians Read Gregory the Great', in *Reforming the Church before Modernity: Patterns, Problems and Approaches*, ed. L. Hamilton and C. Belitto (Farnham, 2005), pp. 173–98.
- 7 C.H. Berman, 'Were There Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns?', *Church History*, 68 (1999), 824–64.
- 8 Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, pp. 23–90.
- 9 See *ibid.*, pp. 49–50 and Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform 1098–1180* (Stanford, CA, 1996), pp. 213–14.
- 10 Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* 1.25, ed. and trans. M.R. James, rev. C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), p. 93; Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae* 2.12, ed. J.S. Brewer *et al.* (London, 1861–91), p. 54.
- 11 A. Lester, *Making Cistercian Nuns: Gender, Society and Religious Reform in Medieval Champagne* (Ithaca, NY, 2011).
- 12 B. Noell, 'Expectation and Unrest among Cistercian Lay Brothers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 253–74; and J. France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers 1120–1350* (Collegeville, MN and Kalamazoo, MI), esp. chapter 7.
- 13 J. Leclercq, 'Aspects de la vie cistercienne au XIIIe siècle: à propos d'un livre récent', *Studia Monastica*, 20 (1978), 223–6.

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- Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter, Cîteaux: Studia et Documenta* 12 (Brecht, 2002)