

Adámková, Iva

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Opuscula historiae artium. 2021, vol. 70, iss. 1, pp. 2-17

ISSN 1211-7390 (print); ISSN 2336-4467 (online)

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/144606>

Access Date: 17. 02. 2024

Version: 20220831

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Discussion on the nature of the decoration of the liturgical space in the 12th century and the concept of the senses*

Iva Adámková

The contribution based on an analysis of genre-diverse Latin texts of the 12th century, tries to trace opinions on the acquisition and placement of often expensive liturgical objects in the sacral space. It follows the Arguments, either on the installation of these objects and their use, or on their removal from the liturgical space, with reference to the concept of the senses, especially the highest of them – hearing and sight. Furthermore, the study deals with the question of placing liturgical objects in the sacral space and possible mediation of these objects in the anagogic output of the individual mind of the believer to God through sight on the one hand (liturgical and sacral objects were mediators on this path), through hearing on the other (through a heard biblical text).

Keywords: liturgy in the Middle Ages; liturgical objects; ornamenta ecclesiae; Suger of Saint-Denis; Bernard of Clairvaux; Theophilus Presbyter

doc. Mgr. et Mgr. Iva Adámková, Ph.D.
Ústav řeckých a latinských studií, Filozofická fakulta
Univerzity Karlovy, Praha / Institute of Greek and Latin
Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague
Centrum pro práci s patristickými, středověkými
a renesančními texty, Cyrilometodějská teologická fakul-
ta, Univerzita Palackého, Olomouc / Centre for Patristic,
Medieval and Renaissance Texts, Sts Cyril and Methodius
Faculty of Theology, Palacký University, Olomouc
e-mail: iva.adamkova@ff.cuni.cz

The role of the senses in medieval art is a topic that researchers address in some detail and from different angles,¹ as far as the highest senses of hearing and sight was concerned, attention was focused on the analysis of the spoken text and its effect on the listener, as well as the observed artistic (or liturgical) object, especially in connection with considerations related to the role of medieval liturgical objects in the education of the lay public. From another perspective, research into the relationship between sight and hearing, the process of seeing and hearing, between the text and image “has become something of a fashionable form in art history”.²

In the Middle Ages, the senses were often understood as mediators on the path to knowledge of the material world, as windows through which the surrounding world could be viewed.³ This idea returns repeatedly, but we encounter it even in the context of the symbolic interpretation of the liturgy, as evidenced, for example, by the words of Gregory the Great.⁴ If we focus on sacral art and liturgical objects and their perception by the senses, it is necessary to understand this interaction not only on a static level, but especially in the dynamic context of the liturgy, in which there is direct contact with these objects, in which all the senses are involved and are thus stimulated by it.⁵ An holistically viewed liturgy through its signs and symbols also mediates the relationship with God, as Eric Palazzo concludes: “*medieval liturgy itself is a sign, as it reveals God through all material things [...] liturgy establishes a link between the visible and the invisible*”. A broad range of ways of forming the sacral space as a place of manifestation of the cult with emphasis on the priority liturgical function of the space can also be viewed through the interdisciplinary concept of hierotopy, through which appropriate objects located in liturgical space can be understood not as isolated objects but as components of the breadth of the perceived space in its complexity.⁶

In my further reflections, I will focus on a narrow section of the first half of the 12th century,⁷ where, in my

belief, as I will try to show on the basis of an analysis of genre-diverse Latin texts from the 12th century, it is possible to trace opinions, at the forefront of which was the question of possible acquisition and placement in the sacral space of (often quite expensive) liturgical objects. Arguments, either on the installation of these objects and their use, or on their removal from the liturgical space, were supported on a theoretical basis partly in the text of the Bible, especially in the interpretation of Old Testament sites, and partly with reference to the concept of the senses, especially the highest of them – hearing and sight, or rather, through different views on their hierarchical arrangement and anchoring. These questions are therefore at the heart of the following considerations.

As a starting point, the main references are the writings of two 12th-century French abbots, the Benedictine Suger of Saint-Denis and the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux.⁸ The choice of these authors is supported by the fact that the issues under review began to be widely dealt with at this time, both authors also commented on them repeatedly – either directly or indirectly – and left authentic written testimonies. As can be seen from the different monastic environments from which they both came, one may suspect that they moved in almost opposing camps of opinion. Particularly noteworthy are the arguments they chose when defending their positions, on the basis of which I will try to define, as far as is possible, their views on these issues.

Although the texts of both authors have in the past often been subjected to detailed study using various methodological approaches,⁹ I believe that they have not yet been viewed from the medieval point of view of the concept of the senses,¹⁰ on the one hand, also in connection with the question of the anagogic output of the believer's mind to God in connection with the contemplation of liturgical objects. To provide a broader framework for these considerations, we will compare Suger's and Bernard's views on the above questions with Theophilus Presbyter's approach; the latter formulates his position on the installation of liturgical objects in the sacral space in the broader context of biblical exegesis. In addition to these comprehensively conceived texts, we will also subject to analysis inscriptions on liturgical objects, which often tell about their acquisition and role in the liturgy, so that in addition to theoretically conceived texts from the monastic environment of the 12th century, we can also take into account the practice of the donors of these objects. Based on the analysis of authentic Latin texts and epigraphic material, in our study we will focus mainly on the manner of the argument basis in relation to the question of placing liturgical objects in the sacral space and possible mediation of these objects in the anagogic output of the individual mind of the believer to God through sight on the one hand (liturgical and sacral objects were dividers on this path), through hearing on the other (through a heard biblical text).¹¹

The defence of liturgical objects in the sacral space

Opinions on the acquisition and placement of beautifully and expensively decorated liturgical objects, statues and reliquaries in the medieval sacral space were not uniform, even often differing very significantly, often among generational peers. Like Hans Belting, we may ask whether in this area “*sich eine eigene Ästhetik entwickelt, oder ob es eher von einer Vakanz profitiert, in der sich viele Möglichkeiten entfalten*”,¹² or whether efforts to decorate the liturgical space were somehow regulated. On the next level, one may ask whether it is possible to at least partially approach an understanding of how these objects affected believers who came into these spaces and also undoubtedly attributed magical effects to them thanks to the power of dazzling gold and shiny, glittering gems, magical effects which were often multiplied in the case of reliquaries with the remains of the saints. Was there a need for donors to justify the cost of making and acquiring them? If the existence of these objects was perceived as undesirable and inappropriate, what arguments were used against their placement in the sacral liturgical space?¹³

Suger (1081–1151), abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Saint-Denis,¹⁴ headed up an ancient institution that dated back to early Christian times in Gaul. Thanks to the placement of the remains of Saint Denis and his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius in the monastery church, it was also a place of pilgrimage, which had to – often with great difficulty¹⁵ – accommodate large crowds of pilgrims. The abbey's openness to the secular world was also strengthened by close ties to the French royal court and the fact that the monarchs of France were traditionally buried there. However, the historical ties that Suger deliberately developed and further strove to deepen show that in the case of the Abbey of Saint Denis this was by no means a monastery where all community activities, including the abbot's jurisdiction, were concentrated only on the internal workings of the monastery; on the contrary there was a need to honour the liabilities linking the abbey with the secular power. These links thus made the leading French abbey a place where to a great extent the sacral and secular worlds met. The high prestige of Saint-Denis stemming from ancient history, which Suger successfully built on and significantly strengthened and secured, consisted of the overall elevation of both the abbey as an economic unit (including its wider economic hinterland) and of the rebuilding and reorganization of the sacral space and, finally, in the acquisition of artistic and liturgical objects (*ornamenta ecclesiae*) and their subsequent placement in the liturgical space.

In his writings devoted to the abbey, in passages focused on its embellishment Suger concentrates on a description of the altar antependia made of precious stones, pearls and gold, as well as on reliquary cabinets, crosses

placed in the main nave and in the chancel, altars, smaller objects intended for altar service, liturgical vessels made of noble materials and finally also gives a very detailed description of the themes on the stained glass windows in the chancel. Within the selected genre,¹⁶ in the sections devoted to describing the search for, procurement, arrangement and decoration of these objects, he constantly emphasises the need to decorate these objects perfectly and fittingly, in the most expensive way possible,¹⁷ as far as (especially economically) possible; hand in hand with this requirement went the care of obtaining the most experienced artists that could be procured for this activity.¹⁸ The sufficient quantity of precious “*material in abundance*”¹⁹ which was obtained, was ascribed by the abbot to God’s generosity, as well as his acquisition of them at lower prices than was customary for the time and region.²⁰

After his description of the main altar²¹ together with the expensively created antependium, a monumental cross associated according to tradition with St Eligius and a golden reliquary cabinet decorated with pearls and gems, donated to the abbey probably by Charles the Bald and located on the main altar, the abbot reflects on the symbolism and numbers of precious stones and gems when looking at the collected liturgical objects.²² His reflections on the expensive material chosen for the decoration of the liturgical objects and in particular his contemplation on the “*colourful splendour of the gems*” brings Suger to a private meditation,²³ through which, as he describes later, he moves “*in an anagogic manner*”²⁴ from the low to the higher world of the heavenly mysteries, he breaks free from his earthly bonds, to come finally “*into a landscape beyond the earth’s surface, which is not entirely to be found in the slime of the earth nor in the purity of heaven*”.²⁵ This passage, which overflows with the abbot’s obvious interest and enthusiasm for glittering gems and gold, is followed by the abbot’s comparative reflections on the richness of the liturgical objects in Hagia Sophia and Saint-Denis.²⁶ Here he conveys the information he was to learn from pilgrims from the East, on which he subsequently bases his further considerations, namely that these valuable objects of Constantinople were primarily to serve in the celebration of the Eucharist. Referring to the First Book of Maccabees (1 Macc 1,23), he attributes to them considerable value derived in particular from their functional nature (they were intended to accept “*the blood of Jesus Christ*”), as well as from the price of the material, the gold from which they were made.²⁷ Reference to the Old Testament *vasa sacra* thus occupies a central place in Suger’s argument.²⁸ Similarly when describing the cross of St Eligius Suger legitimises the noble material used with reference to the Old Testament (Ezekiel 28,13) by stating that apart from the carbuncle, no gem is missing here, “*in fact, there is an excess of them*”,²⁹ thus fulfilling Ezekiel’s command that gems serve God as his adornment. This communication,

supported by biblical quotations, also prepares his own rhetorical argument, which is conducted first on an apologetic level. Suger argues that it is necessary to ostentatiously display liturgical vessels, not to hide them in publicly inaccessible places.³⁰ The following passage, in which he opposes an unspecified imaginary adversary,³¹ is basically guided by the definition and essence of adequate altar service. Against the argument he puts forward here, namely that the service requires only “*holy mind, pure heart and pious intentions*” (and not a material mediator) he notes, however, that it is possible and appropriate to link the two approaches. In the end, he reconciles the two camps of thought, declaring that “*the Holy Sacrifice has to be served as nothing at all, namely in all inner purity and outer splendour*”, by which he primarily understands especially richly decorated liturgical objects.

Practically the same attitude is used by Suger in the case of the specific description of one of the sardonix vessels intended for the altar service, where he reiterates the need to serve God with costly and expensively made liturgical objects.³² The same is true of the well-known porphyry vase now stored in the Louvre in Paris, originally an amphora, which he had changed for these purposes into the shape of an eagle.³³ Here also, as in his previous generally conceived considerations, he stresses the increase in value of the original material arising thanks to the added gold and precious stones he initiated, highlights in the second line the fact that of the originally unstable object (an amphora) they managed to create a vessel with a new liturgical function.

Just as Abbot Suger was elevated to higher spheres by contemplation of precious stones (in this context, these were probably decorative elements on liturgical vessels, altar antependia and reliquaries), he attributes a similar function to the main entrance door of the basilica, and especially to their decoration and gilding.³⁴ This transfer space of transition, separating and connecting two different worlds, the outer from the inner, the profane from the sacred,³⁵ represents the path from man to Christ, on which, according to Suger, the believer is to be accompanied by physical, material splendour, which stemmed both from the cost of craftsmanship and from the material itself – in this case, gold. According to him, both of these aspects thus constitute a sufficient reason for the work to be admired; the spiritual plane, which was included in this material part of the monastery church with reference to the right gate, which is Christ (who spoke through them to all those going in), was thus to justify undoubtedly considerable costs associated with its decoration. This important function, which Suger attributes to the entrance to the monastery church, was further underlined by the liturgical festivities that took place near this place (as in the case of the consecration of the western part),³⁶ or when laying the foundation stone, when the procession entered the church through this part. Although Suger, as the initiator of the liturgical celebra-



1 – Tympanum of the main portal of the monastery church in Saint-Denis, 1st half of the 12th century

tions, had an undoubted talent for their staging,³⁷ within the description of the sanctifying rite it deviates from its ideal course³⁸ and he leaves out from the text that part of the liturgy at the church portal with three knocks on the church door and the singing of the anthem *Atollite portas, principes, vestras*. This fact is striking mainly because of the spectacular nature of this act, on which the abbot relied heavily on other occasions.³⁹

Thirdly, according to Suger, in addition to coloured gems and gold on reliquaries or gold entrance doors, the stained glass windows in the church also have a similar ability to transfer one to higher spheres, and the abbot took care of their acquisition and probably of their iconographic motifs.⁴⁰ To the so-called anagogic window, where the Apostle Paul was depicted “as he turns the mill, and as the prophets bring flour sacks”, Suger explicitly attributes the ability to “rouse from the tangible to the intangible world”.⁴¹ In the text describing this window, he compares Paul’s teachings to the work of a miller who changes the “coarse grain” of the Old Testament to the bread of the New Testament, emphasizing above all the role of St Paul, the teacher who reveals the meaning of the Old Testament. The image from

Matthew’s Gospel (Matt 3,12) on the separation of the wheat from the chaff was subsequently applied to the relationship between the two Testaments – Old and New, the image of the mill and flour-grinding is taken over to the Eucharistic community, where bread composed of many grains is a symbol of the unity of the Church in the Eucharist.⁴²

All these named objects, both the reliquary of gold studded with jewels, the golden entrance door and finally the stained glass, have a special character in Suger’s typology, which can be described as an anagogic ascension, which is the same in his view for all objects: gems, gold and iconography program⁴³ thus have the same function on the anagogic path to God.⁴⁴ All these places declare Suger’s view that it is appropriate to serve God with the expensively decorated liturgical objects that he had a special liking for, as is evident especially from his text *De administratione*. In his opinion, objects with unquestionable visual qualities that were pleasing to the eye were a legitimate means on the path to God.⁴⁵ He defends their presence and the indispensability of their material beauty by their liturgical necessity.⁴⁶ Thanks to them, it was according to him possible to reach the celestial spheres more easily without needing to regret

the costs required to acquire them.⁴⁷ From a closer look at the argument basis he used in his theological aesthetics,⁴⁸ it is clear that in the case of liturgical vessels it is protected by the Old Testament text, his words on the proper sacrifice to God by means of gold and precious stones, as was the case with the inscription on the liturgical vessels,⁴⁹ can be understood as a paraphrase of the Old Testament command.⁵⁰ Gems represent “*materielle Tropen des wahren Opfers Christi und suggerieren die Anwesenheit Christi am Altar*”.⁵¹ They do not aim to be a mere object of material beauty, but serve to stimulate spirituality and to become a guide on this path.

Liturgical objects and reliquaries from the perspective of the donors⁵²

The objects located in the sacral space (*ornamenta, apparatus, ministerium*), many of which were an integral part of ecclesiastical rites, without which it was also not possible to regularly commemorate Christ's sacrifice,⁵³ were diverse in nature: from altar antependia, portable altars, various types of crosses, liturgical vessels, devotional objects and textiles, statues and paintings, to relics and reliquaries. As evidenced, for example, by an entry from 1147, these objects were primarily intended to decorate the house of God, in unfavourable times they were also seen as insurance that could be used in the event of financial hardship.⁵⁴ In donation lists, these items are often listed in the order of the material used, at first these were mostly items of gold,⁵⁵ as far as their typology was concerned, liturgical vessels and reliquaries made of precious metals decorated with pearls and gems were put at the top of the lists of church treasures.⁵⁶ In the case of relics, it was desirable to enclose them in precious shrines considered to be an appropriate abode, which undoubtedly attracted much attention and provided an encounter with dazzling splendour,⁵⁷ in value, however, it could not surpass by far the relics kept inside. Finally, the relics were also the guarantor of earthly and spiritual power, stimulating the interest of pilgrims in the places associated with their cult and, last but not least, an important source of income.⁵⁸

An example of probably the most spectacular reliquary (but far from unique in terms of its cost) covered over its whole area with gold, which can serve for our further reflections on the admissibility of objects of this type in the liturgical space, is the gilded statue of Saint Fides (Foy) of Conques,⁵⁹ set with a quantity of gems.⁶⁰ The very presence of the saint was probably recognized in the statue, and the reliquary thus became the place of its (iconic) presence.⁶¹ Due to its size, dazzling gold and inlaid eyes, magical effects were attributed to the reliquary, as evidenced by the medieval records themselves. Face of St Foy seemed soulful, her eyes, according to the believers, able to transfix newcomers, it was even possible to read from them whether their pleas to the saint would

be heard.⁶² There is also information on the usual practice where believers and pilgrims brought St Foy both precious stones and other valuables that were placed on the statue itself, as well as gifts that, according to the testimony *Liber miraculorum sanctae Fidis* the statue of St Foy attracted and from which the abbey in Conques became significantly richer. This usual practice perpetrated throughout the Christian world earned it condemnation, especially in the reformist ecclesiastical milieu of the 12th century.

In addition to Suger's testimony, which, as we have seen, explicitly defends the acquisition of expensive precious metal items for liturgical service, and the usual practice of making precious reliquaries, other evidence of this kind of approach can be found. The early Pope Urban (pope from 222–230) is credited with ordering that the Eucharist should be celebrated with silver and gold chalices and patens.⁶³ We often come across generally formulated calls for donations and the embellishment of God's house. For example, early in the 12th century, Honorius Augustodonensis called on all the rich and influential to try to beautify churches “*with books, textiles, and ornaments, to restore devastated and abandoned churches [...] and thus prepare their path to heaven*”.⁶⁴ In his deed of donation for the Hildesheim monastery of St Michael, Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (960–1022) says that by investing in the decoration of the church, he was trying to secure a heavenly reward.⁶⁵ The Bishop of Paderborn, Heinrich of Werl, for whom the famous goldsmith Roger of Helmarshausen worked, also sought to beg for God's grace by donating a portable altar. Similar expectations are documented by the inscription on the lower panel of the altar,⁶⁶ the connection between the investment in the rich decorations which were to help save the soul, was attributed by the faithful to Emperor Henry II in connection with donations for the Merseburg Cathedral.⁶⁷

The fact that it was not necessary to keep secret the purchase price and financial costs associated with the construction of objects for sacral spaces, but indeed it was considered appropriate to openly declare them, is documented by the inscriptions on some of them. The lost Remaclus retable, which was commissioned by Abbot Wibald of Stavelot († 1158), now known only from a surviving engraving,⁶⁸ on the outer arch he proudly announces not only the amount spent on its construction, he also mentions the value of the work needed to acquire it. The same is true of a text from 1118 describing a baptistry in Liège: it picks up the quite incomparable attention to detail of the one who created it.⁶⁹ In a minor variation, it is also mentioned in a later chronicler's text, which lists the person of the client and of the artist who created the work.⁷⁰ The inscription on the reliquary of St Prudence in Beckum (from around 1230) speaks proudly of great expenses.⁷¹ A higher resulting artistic value than the original, albeit valuable material, is explicitly recorded (as in Suger's case) by an enamel plate of Bishop Henry (probably

the Bishop of Winchester), who is depicted on it as a donor: the inscription states that above the material (gold) it is necessary to place the final artistic design, as well as the person of the donor, who has the highest place in this triad.⁷²

As is clear from the previous mentions,⁷³ the donors we encountered in connection with the acquisition of objects for ecclesiastical spaces took a similar approach to Suger: they were not ashamed to give information about the purchase price, announcing the costs publicly, highlighting the valuable material used to make them, and naming themselves specifically as the donors. They were united by an emphasis on the visual quality of these works, which was to provide them with a posthumous reward, and thus their closeness to God. As for relics, they were considered “*more valuable than gems and more valuable than gold*”,⁷⁴ and it is for this reason that they deserved to be locked in golden shrines, which were then ostentatiously displayed. “*Durch das Schauen wird man des Heil teilhaftig, auch durch das Berühren des Schreines, in dem die Gebeine des Heiligen ruhen, oder durch das Unterschreiten oder Durchkriechen, wodurch man etwas von der heilbringenden Kraft, die von den Reliquien ausströmt, erlangen kann.*”⁷⁵ However, eye contact and visual perception were primary among the other sensory perceptions and determined the way in which these remains were stored and the visual contact maintained with them.⁷⁶

Bernard of Clairvaux and his *fides ex auditu*

In his texts, Bernard of Clairvaux does not systematically analyse the function of works of art in the liturgical space, nor does he involve himself with art criticism. However from the *Apology for Abbot William*, it is clear that he was fully aware of the danger that these objects could cause in the monastic environment, so he advocates only minimalist furnishing of the sacral space and the spending of funds on charitable, not artistic purposes.⁷⁷ This also applied to reliquaries made of gold and silver, which, in Bernard's opinion, served mainly to bring in additional funds, thanks to the admiration of the faithful. It also describes very clearly the strategies that church institutions followed, namely to show these subjects in a targeted manner in order to “*open the purses of believers in the face of costly but admirable vanity*”, so that believers are “*encouraged to donate [rather] than to pray*”.⁷⁸ He was equally critical of the placement of candlesticks, which, like reliquaries, captivated the looks of believers, not only with the glittering precious stones with which they were decorated, but also with the “*wonderful artistic skill*”, with which they were made.⁷⁹ Practically the same views, but in the Benedictine camp, were held by Guibert of Nogent in his treatise *De pignori-bus sanctorum*, where he sharply criticises the enclosing of relics in gorgeous, artistically worked reliquaries made of gold and silver.⁸⁰

Bernard in his *Apologia* rather seeks to draw attention to the danger which could arise from gratification of the senses, diverting one from one's adopted spiritual path, but we will not find here an explicit justification for this approach. In a critical section where he focuses mainly on the decoration of church buildings, it refers to the fact that “*it attracts the gazes of those who pray and prevents them from meditating*”. Referring to the Roman satirical poet Persius, the monks demand an answer to the question that “*the Gentile asked among the Gentiles: Tell me, High Priests, what is gold doing in shrines?*”⁸¹ With the concept of this section, Bernard sets himself into a long Western tradition dating back to the Venerable Bede,⁸² which in western art allowed both the possibility of depiction and also justified the presence of expensively fashioned liturgical vessels in the sacral space.⁸³

Bernard thus concludes that even bishops, who have the relatively difficult task of meeting the needs of both the educated and the uneducated, may also use external ornaments placed in the sacral space to promote their piety. But in monasteries it is necessary that this approach be completely forbidden, because in such a case it would be idolatry with reference to the words of the psalm.⁸⁴ The following passage of the *Apologia* gives a very plastic description of Bernard's rejection of the practice of idolatry, offerings or the exhibiting of costly and artistically conceived reliquaries. Although with noticeable reluctance, Bernard with a great deal of self-denial allows these objects, especially with reference to Psalm 26,8 (“*Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae*”) when at the end of his consideration he states: “*I agree, let us allow these things in church as well. Although they are harmful for vain and greedy people, they are not for the simple and pious.*”

In this context, an interesting comparison can be made with another author from the 12th century, Theophilus Presbyter, who also deals with the same biblical place. He, too, in his prologue to the third book of his treatise *De diversis artibus*, in which he deals with the goldsmith's art and metal working, refers to the same words of the psalmist (Ps 26,8). In keeping with biblical tradition, he speaks of the construction of the Temple being eventually left to Solomon, to whom David gave everything necessary, as well as gold and silver for the construction of the Temple.⁸⁵ Referring to Exodus (Ex 31,1-11) the house of God was thus to be built by elected masters “*to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, in carving of timber and to work in all manner of workmanship [...]*” so that, thanks to these ornaments, the work may please God.⁸⁶ Based on this biblical parallel, in line with the example of the biblical David, here Theophilus (unlike Bernard of Clairvaux) – based on the exegesis of this Old Testament place – urges his potential readers and future makers of the artistic objects intended to decorate sacral spaces not to hesitate and decorate the house of God with various works of art made



2 – The anagogic window, Saint-Denis (detail: The Apostle Paul), 1st half of the 12th century

of precious metals.⁸⁷ In the second part of the prologue, Theophilus speaks of the effects of the decoration of the house of God on the faithful who will praise the Lord in it.⁸⁸ He then mentions the human eye and describes in detail its fascination with the various parts of the decoration of the house of God: from the ceiling, via the fabrics and stained glass to the specific iconographic themes that serve to guide the believer to correct his own life and then after showing him both the gifts of heaven as well as the fires of hell, they are to lead him on the path of faith.⁸⁹

As is obvious, in his practically oriented manual in addition to the detailed advice for making liturgical objects, in the prologue to the third book Theophilus also defends their presence in the ecclesiastical space, arguing that “without them, neither God’s mysteries nor worship can take place”.⁹⁰ At the same time, in his theologically conceived introduction, he defends the acquisition of works of art: with the help of “*intelligentia, consilium und scientia*” man is spiritually connected with God, which provides the ground for him to become a legitimate creator of decorative works of art.⁹¹

In contrast to the positive tendency to place liturgical and artistic works and costly reliquaries in the sacral monastic space, which we had the opportunity to observe with both Suger and Theophilus Presbyter, and with many donors of these objects, Bernard of Clairvaux takes the opposite view, which, I believe, can be explained not only by his personal ascetic orientation, but also by his conception of the senses, which he repeatedly deals with, and by his inclination towards the Bible text.⁹² Bernard gives a hierarchical description of the individual senses, believing that God can be reached through five kinds of love linked by the five senses, which he understands as windows into the soul, by means of which the blank soul of man is filled with imprints.⁹³ “*Conformatio to this world*”⁹⁴ in John’s New Testament text takes place through the bodily senses through which the world enters the soul of man. Therefore, it is necessary for them to be balanced by the five spiritual senses, which will unite our souls with God through the bond of love.⁹⁵ As for the hierarchical arrangement of the bodily senses, he puts them in a relatively traditional way from the lowest, which he considers touch,

followed by taste, smell, hearing, and the highest sight. By analogy, he assigns a higher spiritual meaning to each of them: love of our parents and blood relatives to touch, to taste, smell, hearing and sight in that order, love of friends, love for one's neighbour, love shown to our enemies, finally love with the highest sight – to God.⁹⁶ As for the organ of hearing, Bernard describes in a relatively detailed and poetic way the process of hearing and the mediating of auditory perceptions, but surprisingly without the active involvement of this organ.⁹⁷ As the last and highest on the hierarchical scale of the senses, Bernard places sight, to which he assigns love for God.⁹⁸ He interprets the process of vision in a Platonic manner, for the fulfilment of which it is necessary that several preconditions be met in order for an image to form in the eye, if one out of this list is missing, the process is not perfect.⁹⁹ As is clear from the previous hierarchical scale, in his classification of the senses Bernard attaches the leading position to sight, which he derives both from its placement at the highest point of the human body and from the other extraordinary abilities at its disposal.¹⁰⁰

In addition to this model, to which he returns again and again, he of course also presents a different model, of value in connection with questions of the decoration of the sacral space. In his Sermon on the Song of Songs (*Sermo super Cantica Canticorum*) he attributes – seemingly surprisingly – a leading role to the organ of hearing. He introduces these reflections in the words of the Apostle Paul¹⁰¹ and then defines the organ of hearing.¹⁰² During the time of our earthly existence, it remains, for this reason, the organ by which we come to know faith, hearing. Bernard follows up on these considerations with the motif of saving faith, which we receive through hearing, thereby connecting the Old Testament with the New Testament:¹⁰³ In his conception, the ear represents the same gateway through which original sin crept in paradise as a result of the whispering of a serpent,¹⁰⁴ the (New Testament) cure, that is Christ, will reach us through the same gate.¹⁰⁵

As is clear, then, Bernard attributes a supreme role in knowing of God to hearing, through which the words of the Bible enter into man, to awaken faith within him. Perhaps that is why he considers all external stimuli of no use and adopts a critical stance on art in the liturgical space. Bernard's aesthetic views were directed beyond this world, therefore he considered it necessary to remove from the monasteries everything that would distract the human senses from study, prayer and contemplation, which would in particular tempt the inquisitive and curious eye to entertainment and away from the path to God, from “*far more enticing reading in marble than in the holy books, from viewing individual scenes than contemplating the law if God.*”¹⁰⁶ Everyone had to seek and find God within himself, without external “aesthetic” help, because the paths to God were not imparted by the senses and this experience did not come to the human soul through them, but always resided in it,

even if one had not noticed: “*The Word did not enter through the eyes because it is not coloured; nor did it enter through hearing, because it makes no sound; nor through the nose, because it does not mix with the air, but through the soul [...] nor did he enter through the throat, because it is not to be eaten or drunk; nor do we perceive it through the touch, because it is not possible to handle it [...].*”¹⁰⁷

Bernard criticises in particular the fondness for things observed with the eyes and the lust of the eyes (*concupiscentia oculorum*), because monks should have only the view into their own interior, where they were to direct all their attention and look for God, to find whom a pure heart is required. Bernard used practically the same words from the *Rule* in his treatise *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* (*On the steps of humility and pride*), where very clearly, sometimes even in the form of a caricature description, he sets the steps of pride against the steps of humility. He associates the first step of pride, curiosity with traits that are clearly reflected in the gestures of the monks: “*You will know pride from these clues: if you see a monk in whom you previously had great confidence, wherever he stands, walks or sits and his eyes begin to run, he holds his head erect and strains his ears, then from the movements of the outer man you will know the transformation of the inner. A naughty person winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers* (Prov 6,12–13) *and from the unusual movement of his body one can recognise a new disease of the soul.*”¹⁰⁸ Although Bernard denotes both the highest senses, that is, hearing and sight, as gates through which sin can enter the mind, in the following section he focuses exclusively on sight, which, from curiosity, desires knowledge.

Bernard's basic postulate is to turn away from external visual stimuli, to stare to the ground in accordance with the rule of Benedict so that the heart of a monk is not distracted in any way.¹⁰⁹ Turning inward to contemplate, read, and obey the Scriptures without the monk's being distracted by the beauty of God's house and its furnishings was his main requirement on the path to seeking God.¹¹⁰ The *concupiscentia oculorum*, which is already mentioned in the first New Testament letter of John (1 J 2,16) in connection with the need to separate the elect from the world, also found its response in Cistercian rhetoric, and as another of the important Cistercians, Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167), concludes, it had no place there. Aelred defines it as curiosity. If decoration appears in monasteries, he calls it “*female adornment*”, while further concluding: “*All this is by no means for the benefit of poor monks, it merely amuses the eyes of inquisitive individuals.*”¹¹¹

Bernard does not rely on “help” of this kind, therefore he demands full concentration on the word, without visual distraction. As Michael Camille concludes, “*reading meant speaking words aloud [...] the mouth is an ambivalent part of the body, being the site of both speech and mastication.*

The monk was meant to feed not on the flesh of animals but on the Word of God in a muscular mastication – a *ruminatio*, so-called, that released the full flavour or meaning of the text.¹¹² When listening to the Scriptures, as Bernard clearly declares, the most important information enters the believer, by the word of *Scripture* is the life of monks in seclusion fulfilled.

Concluding remarks

The discussions of the first half of the 12th century on the admissibility of artistic decoration in the liturgical space represent a range of questions that were undoubtedly topical at the time. It is clear from the corpus of surviving texts that Theophilus Presbyter and then Abbot Suger, together with many donors of liturgical objects having reference to their aesthetic quality,¹¹³ held diametrically opposed views from the ascetic Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux, who emphasised the auditory power of the Word.¹¹⁴ In contrast to this view, as Presbyter and Suger show, the decoration of the house of God with artistic and liturgical objects and precious metals and materials was legitimized by their use in the service of the liturgy. Theophilus understands the very process of making this type of object as an anagogic

path to God.¹¹⁵ The visual qualities of the objects so made and the overall decoration of the house of God were thus to serve spiritual purposes on the individual path to God through contemplative viewing. The legitimacy of the existence of liturgical objects was derived in the next line from passages from the Old Testament, on which stood the defence of both the very valuable materials from which they were made (with reference to 1 Macc 1,23; Ez 28,13), and of their functional nature and key role in the liturgy (Heb 9,13–14). Even Bernard of Clairvaux, although undoubtedly reluctant, also subscribes to Old Testament tradition in this respect – but only outside the monastic context (Ps 26,8), but with a strong warning against idolatry (Ps 106,35–36). In his texts, however, unlike the organ of sight, he emphasises hearing, through which Christ can be received. According to Bernard, hearing thus replaces sight, it has a decisive mediating role between God and man, “*solus habet auditus verum, qui percipit Verbum*”.¹¹⁶ The tension between the two approaches thus reflects the contrast between an emphasis on visual communication and thus sight as the determining sense that helps contemplation, and listening to the biblical word and thereby hearing, to which Bernard of Clairvaux refers as the guiding sense on the path to God.

Translated by Stuart Roberts

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Notes:

* This essay is the result of research within the project of the Czech Science Foundation (Grant Agency of the Czech Republic) *Rhetorics of Monasticism in the Apologia of Bernard of Clairvaux and the Monastic Tradition in the 12th Century Europe* (GAČR 21-114945). Many thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and feedback.

¹ On this discussion, see the extensive bibliography on this topic, presented by Éric Palazzo, especially in connection with the medieval liturgy, *Les cinq sens dans la liturgie monastique du haut moyen âge*, in: Carolyn Marino Malone – Clark Maines, *Consuetudines et regulae. Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the early Modern Period*, Brepols 2014, p. 217, notes 1–3; cf. other works by the same author on this question: *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au moyen âge*, Paris 2014. – Éric Palazzo (ed.), *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2016 (with Palazzo's methodological study also: *Les cinq sens au moyen âge: état de la question et perspectives de recherche*, pp. 11–57). – Idem, Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages, *Viator* XLI/1, pp. 25–56. For his valuable suggestions for this study I am indebted to Éric Palazzo and his seminar at the Centre for Early Medieval Studies at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno.

² Michael Camille, Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy, *Art History* VIII/1, 1985, pp. 26–49. – Lawrence G. Duggan, Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate', *Word & Image* 5/3, 1989, pp. 227–251, which puts into the broader context the question he introduces in his study.

³ Jerome understood these “windows” negatively (*Adversus Jovinianum* II, 8, PL 23, col. 297B): “*Quinque sensus, vitiorum introitus [...]. Per quinque sensus, quasi per quosdam fenestras, vitiorum ad animam introitus est.*” On Augustine's approach to understanding the five senses, which significantly

influenced the medieval view of the senses, cf. for example Eugene Vance, *Seeing God: Augustine, Sensation and the Mind's Eye*, in: Stephen G. Nichols – Alison Calhoun (edd.), *Rethinking the Medieval Senses. Heritage, Fascinations, Frames. Parallax – Revisions of Culture and Society*, Baltimore 2008, pp. 13–29. As an overview, Francesca dell'Acqua, *The Five Senses and the Knowledge of God*, in: Palazzo (note 1), pp. 235–283.

⁴ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* XXI, II,4, p. 1065 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXLIIIA, ed. Marcus Adriaen, Turnhout 1979) speaks as follows in connection with the gratifications of the senses: “*Cum sit invisibilis anima, nequaquam corporearum rerum delectatione tangitur, nisi quod inhaerens corpori quasi quaedam egrediendi foramina eiusdem corporis sensus habet. Visus quippe, auditus, gustus, odoratus et tactus, quasi quaedam viae mentis sunt, quibus foras veniat, et ea quae extra eius sunt substantiam concupiscat. Per hos etenim corporis sensus quasi per fenestras quasdam exteriora quaeque anima respicit, respiciens concupiscit.*” Sicard of Cremona, *Mitralis de officiis*, I,4, p. 15 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 228, edd. Gábor Sarbak – Lorenz Weinrich, Turnhout 2008), expressed himself similarly in the 12th century. An analysis of his text is provided by Jennifer P. Kingsley, *Le paysage sensoriel de l'église et les images vers 1200: le témoignage du Mitralis de Sicard de Crémone*, in: Palazzo (note 1), pp. 667–687. Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinarum officiorum* I, 1,24 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis CCM 140, edd. Anselmus Davril – Timothy Thibodeau, Turnhout 1945) in his exposition of ecclesiastical structures, compares the glass windows of a church (stained glass) to the five bodily senses, which must be careful not to accept vanities from the outside, but inside must be wide open to receiving spiritual gifts. Further, (*Rationale* I, 3,4), he also touches on the function of images in a church and their relationship to the text of Scripture: “*For it seems that a picture [pictura] moves the soul of the [believer] more than the Scriptures do. Through a picture, he [the believer] has an event directly in front of his eyes, as if it were taking place in the present, but through*

the Scriptures this act is evoked in the memory as if through hearing, which affects the soul less. This is why books in a church are not as important as statues and paintings.”

⁵ Cf. Éric Palazzo, *Performing the liturgy*, in: Thomas F. X. Noble – Julia M. H. Smith, *The Cambridge History of Christianity III. Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1100*, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 472–488. Paul Zumthor provided a very cogent and comprehensive view of the medieval liturgy, *La lettre et la voix. De la "littérature" médiévale*, Paris 1987, pp. 287–288: “Opérant (au plus haut niveau d'existence) le lien et les incessants transferts entre l'homme et Dieu, entre l'univers sensible et l'éternité, la liturgie illustre de façon exemplaire cette tendance (la participation sensorielle): spectaculaire en ses moindres parties, elle signifiait les vérités de la foi par un jeu complexe offert aux perceptions auditives (musique, chants, lecture) et visuelles (par la splendeur des bâtiments; par ses acteurs, leur costume, leurs gestes, leur danse; par ses décors), tactiles mêmes: on touche le mur saint, on pose un baiser sur le pied de la statue, le reliquaire, l'anneau épiscopal; on respire le parfum de l'encens, de la cire des cierges.” On this issue also Iris Shagrir, *The Visitatio Sepulchri* in the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, *Al-Masāq* 22, 2010, p. 70: “Studies on the experience of the faithful in churches argue that the vagueness of the sense of time and space was created by a deliberate and controlled combination of elements, including the manipulation of natural and artificial light, melodies and lyrics, movements and gestures of the celebrants, garments, and odours (incense). All these ingredients invoke illusion and render impossible the normal perception of time and space, and create an internal reality in the church.”

⁶ On hierotopy and its goals cf. Alexei Lidov, *Hierotopy. The creation of sacred spaces as a form of creativity and subject of cultural history Byzantine review*, 2009, pp. 40–61, which defines “the creation of sacred spaces as a special form of creativity as well as an area of historical research that reveals and analyses certain examples of creativity.” As he further states: “But now it is becoming increasingly clear that the centre of the universe in medieval religious thought was an immaterial, yet real space around which the world of objects, sounds, smells, lights, and other elements was created. The hierotopic approach allows us to see works of art in the context of another model of the universe and to rediscover them [...]” This holistic manner was applied by Bissera V. Pentcheva in a monograph devoted to Hagia Sophia with an emphasis on the connection between the liturgical space and sound (cf. *Hagia Sophia. Sound, Space, and Spirit in Byzantium*, The Pennsylvania State University Press 2017) and Byzantine art (*The Sensual Icon. Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*, The Pennsylvania State University 2010). As the author states, cf. p. 5, her book “uncovers the forgotten life of the relief icon and explores its sensual presence”.

⁷ In the study I focus on this short period of time deliberately, both in order to be able to address the chosen issues with the widest possible range of different approaches, as well with an awareness of the different liturgical practice occurring in the early 13th century, which is defined as specific visual piety (*Schaufrömmigkeit*). On these issues, cf. Milena Bartlová, *Skutečná přítomnost. Středověký obraz mezi ikonou a virtuální realitou*, Praha 2012, pp. 263–264.

⁸ Of course, I am aware that if we allow a voice only to the educated intellectual elite of the monastic environment, and if we do not have the opportunity to assess these issues in their entirety from the perspective of other sections of society, then we will be missing a substantial part of reality, as Norman Bryson says, *Umění v kontextu*, in: Ladislav Kesner (ed.), *Vizuální teorie. Současné angloamerické myšlení o výtvarných dílech*, Praha 1997, p. 252: “It becomes clear what art history has so often done in the past: in the absence of a conceptual space for the real viewers of history (who could respond to the official, prescribed mode of perception with varying degrees of agreement, disagreement and indifference), the art historian presented the official view of the image as an ideal to which perception should tend in a later period, if he wants to escape a transcendental view. I am thinking now of those works which, in our reconstruction of the reactions of medieval spectators, turned to the highest authority, to the declarations of the church [...]. Such a reconstruction was based on only two circumstances: authorized justifications, authorizations, and programmes provided to artists by highly privileged or specialized professional groups; and the art historian, who presented the then official painting as a properly historicized view” [english translation of the czech text].

⁹ For basic literature on these issues cf. note 14 below.

¹⁰ Cf. the contribution of Iva Adámková on this issue, based on her analysis of Bernard's writings, *Die Kategorie der Sinne bei Bernhard von Clairvaux*, in: Christine Ratkowitzsch, *Medialatinitas. Ausgewählte Beiträge zum 8. Internationalen Mittellateinerkongress Wien*, 17.–21. 9. 2017, Wien 2021, pp. 91–106.

¹¹ We leave aside the analysis of these questions in the context of the liturgy as a whole due to the complexity of this issue. In relation to Suger's texts, I refer to the following essential works: Niels Krogh Rasmussen, O. P., *The Liturgy at Saint-Denis: A Preliminary Study*, in: Paula Lieber Gerson, *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis. A Symposium*, New York 1986, pp. 41–48. – Edward B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France* (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526), Fribourg 1990. – Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis. Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1991. – Werner Jacobsen, *Liturgische Kollisionen im Kirchenraum: Sugers Neubau von Saint-Denis. Voraussetzungen und Folgen*, in: Nicolas Bock et al., *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen âge*, Rome 2002, pp. 191–221. Jacobsen deals in a detailed innovative manner with the liturgical adaptation of the church and its changes over the centuries, especially the new Suger chancel and the reasons why it was done in this way both with reference to the Gallic tradition and to the political role played by the abbey.

¹² Cf. Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, München 1990, p. 339.

¹³ Beate Fricke focused on these issues in detail, *Ecce fides. Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen*, München 2007, cf. especially pp. 112–133.

¹⁴ From the inexhaustible volume of literature on Suger, his writings and the reconstruction he initiated at Saint-Denis, we have selected at least the following titles: the German edition of the abbot's texts with references to other relevant literature, Jan van der Meulen – Andreas Speer, *Die fränkische Königsabtei Saint-Denis. Ostanlage und Kultgeschichte*, Darmstadt 1988. – Martin Büchsel, *Die Geburt der Gotik. Abt Suger Konzept für die Abteikirche Saint-Denis*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1997. – Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. Church and State in early Twelfth-Century France*, London – New York 1998. – Andreas Speer – Günther Binding (edd.), *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis. Ausgewählte Schriften: Ordinatio, De consecratione, De administratione*, Darmstadt 2000. – Rolf Große, *Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König. Die Zeit vor Suger (1053–1122)*, Stuttgart 2002. – Sussane Linscheid-Burdich, *Suger von Saint-Denis. Untersuchungen zu seinen Schriften Ordinatio – De consecratione – De administratione*, München – Leipzig 2004. – Suger, *Spisy o Saint-Denis*, translation, introductory study and notes by Iva Adámková, Praha 2006. In the text which follows I will focus only on the questions announced in the introduction, leaving aside discussions on the philosophical or theological background of the origin of Suger's texts, the spiritual background of the beginnings of the Gothic or the theology of the Gothic cathedral. I will turn to the more fundamental issue, which Christopher Marksches has already suggested as one of the starting points for further research in this area, with reference to Belting (note 12), p. 341, *Gibt es eine "Theologie der gotischen Kathedrale"? Nochmals: Suger von Saint-Denis und Dionys vom Areopag* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch–Historische Klasse, 1), Heidelberg 1995, p. 62, namely on the strategy used by Suger, when trying to oppose the criticism of Bernard of Clairvaux and his “theological aesthetics”. Andreas Speer followed up on and deepened Marksches's considerations, *Is There a Theology of Gothic Cathedral? A Re-reading of Abbot Suger's Writings on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis*, in: Jeffrey F. Hamburger – Anne-Marie Bouché, *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, pp. 65–83.

¹⁵ These difficulties are repeatedly and very plastically described by Abbot Suger, see *Ordinatio* 36–37; *De consecratione* 10–13; *De administratione* 164. I refer to the Latin text according to the German edition, see Speer – Binding (note 14).

¹⁶ The list of individual decoration items here fits into Suger's complex rendering of accounts from the time of his abbatial function in the treatise *De administratione*. Based on structural proximity, its text can be assigned to the so-called *gesta abbatum*, to the enumerations of the deeds of abbots

who, in stylizing their writings, relied on monastery archives in order to present the beginnings of their ecclesiastical institutions. Grant evaluates the typology of the text in this way, (note 14), pp. 35–36 et seq., where she considers the *Liber Pontificalis* to be the predecessor of writings of this type. More broadly, this treatise can be seen as the expression of an extensive effort to attain a Benedictine *renovatio*, cf. Ludolf Kuchenbuch, *Ordnungsverhalten im grundherrlichen Schriftgut vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, in: Johannes Fried (ed.), *Dialektik und Rhetorik im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Band 27), München 1997, p. 253.

¹⁷ Suger, *De administratione* 209.

¹⁸ Suger, *De administratione* 203.

¹⁹ Suger, *De administratione* 188.

²⁰ Suger, *De administratione* 206.

²¹ Martin Büchsel, Materialpracht und die Kunst für *litterati*: Suger gegen Bernhard von Clairvaux, in: Martin Büchsel – Rebecca Müller, *Intellektualisierung und Mystifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst*, Berlin 2010, p. 170, draws attention to an important aspect of Suger's efforts to accumulate valuable materials, especially for the altar service, because in this context he may refer to the fact that the Eucharist necessarily requires valuable materials for use in liturgical objects. He further continues: "Diesem Argument konnten sich auch die Zisterzienser nicht ganz entziehen. Die Regeln, die das Generalkapitel [...] erlassen hatte, verboten zwar goldene Kelche, aber vergoldete silberne Kelche ließen sie zu. Auch die Zisterzienser pflegten eine Abstufung im Materialgebrauch, der den Kelch nobilitierte."

²² Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 193–223. On the reconstruction of the liturgical space in Saint-Denis, cf. Michael Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis. Des origines au XVIII^e siècle, Documents d'archéologie française*, Paris 1996. As Büchsel shows (note 21), pp. 155–182: "In Sugers Beschreibungen der Ornamenta dominieren die Materialien. Die Kosten werden häufig quantifiziert und die Materialien näher beschrieben, nicht aber die Form [...]. Ebenso wird die Menge des investierten Goldes [...] angegeben. Bei der neuen Goldschmiedearbeit sind zwar sowohl die Form als auch das Material bewundernswert [cf. the description of the main altar *De administratione* 218], aber die Form überragt dennoch das Material. Das ist die einzige Stelle, in der Suger das opus mehr lobt als das Material."

²³ As Büchsel (note 21) points out: "Suger berichtet hier von einer Privatdevotion, einer nicht liturgisch geregelten Meditation, die visionären Charakter annimmt. Es sind die Edelsteine, die ihn [...] an die Pforte des Himmels führen. Es ist nicht der Anblick eines Bildes Christi oder eines Heiligen, die die visionären Kräfte freisetzen."

²⁴ For an explanation of this place in detail, see Marksches (note 14), pp. 54–57, who convincingly shows that in this case it was not the reception or citation of the philosophy of Dionysius the Areopagite (or of Eriugens translations of that text into Latin), as Erwin Panofsky tried to declare, but understands this connection as "a basic inventory of allegorical biblical exegesis". This thesis was followed up by Linscheid-Burdich (note 14), pp. 28–34. Even before these researchers, Peter Kidson, questioned the connection between Suger and the philosophy of Dionysius the Areopagite. Suger and St. Denis, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* L, 1987, pp. 1–17 (here p. 6): "It cannot in the slightest be assumed that Suger would systematically have studied Dionysius the Areopagite"; also Dieter Kimpel – Robert Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130–1270*, München 1985, p. 90.

²⁵ As Marksches convincingly showed (note 14), Suger's concept of *anagogy* does not deviate from the usual medieval concept.

²⁶ Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 225–231.

²⁷ Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 232 with reference to Heb 9,13–14. On the material from which liturgical chalices were made, cf. the historical survey by Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, I, Milano 1965, p. 554 n., which presents documents on the practice of their being made of precious metals in early Christian times, and later also their decoration with gems. In the case of ornately decorated chalices weighing several kilograms, it speaks not of a liturgical function, but rather of the symbolic practice of placing these objects on the beams separating the chancel from the nave of the church, pp. 556–558. As for the materials used, after 1 000 wood, glass, copper and horn were abandoned, tin was tolerated, with mostly precious metals being used for the manufacture of these objects; on these question cf. note 44 below.

²⁸ Cf. Büchsel (note 21), who shows: "[...] Suger versteht die Ausstattung des Altars mit Geräten aus wertvollem Material als Fortführung des alttestamentlichen Gebots, die Opfergeräte in edlem Material zu fertigen."; also Hubert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia 2000, p. 194.

²⁹ Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 223.

³⁰ The question remains of where Suger's liturgical vessels were stored. Nowhere does the abbot himself comment on this more specifically, it would be possible to assume that they were exhibited rather in the chancel or on the altars in the nave of the monastery church. On documents on the practice of storing liturgical and other valuable objects in the sacral space cf. Franz J. Ronig, *Die Schatz- und Heiliumskammern*, in: Anton Legner (ed.), *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800–1400*, Köln 1972, pp. 134–141. On medieval collecting and exhibiting (not only of liturgical) objects see Pierre Alain Mariaux, *Collecting (and Display)*, in: Conrad Rudolph (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, Oxford 2010, pp. 213–232.

³¹ Erwin Panofsky recognized a specific character in Suger's opponent, Suger, *opat ze Saint-Denis*, in: idem (ed.), *Význam ve výtvarném umění*, Praha 1981, p. 103: "Undoubtedly one part of his (i.e. Suger's) memoirs is markedly apologetic, and this apologia is directed against Cîteaux and Clairvaux. Suger interrupts his descriptions over and over again to face the attacks of an imaginary opponent who is not really imaginary at all, but identical to Bernard of Clairvaux."

³² Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 282: "Vas quoque aliud huic ipsi materia, non forma persimile, ad instar amphore adiunximus, cuius versiculi sunt isti: / Dum libare Deo gemmis debemus et auro, / Hoc ego, Sugerius, offero vas Domino." This was a vessel (now stored in the Louvre), whose original form has not been preserved (today's form is the result of 15th century restoration work). The verses on the vessel were gilded and placed on a background made using the niello technique. For a further description of the vessel, cf. Danielle Gaborit Chopin, *Le trésor de Saint-Denis*, Paris 1991, Cat. No. 29, pp. 177–181.

³³ Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 285: "Nec minus porphiriticum vas sculptoris et politoris manu ammirabile factum, cum per multos annos in scrinio vacasset, de amphora in aquile formam transferendo auri argenteque materia altaris servitio adaptavimus et versus huiusmodi eidem vasi inscribi fecimus: / Includi gemmis lapis iste meretur et auro / Marmor erat, sed in his marmore carior est." This vessel too is stored today in the Louvre in Paris. Artists working in workshops in Paris or the surrounding area were most likely to have dealt with completing it into its new form. Its final shape may have been derived from oriental zoomorphic patterns of vases or Byzantine textiles, see also William D. Wixom, *Traditional Forms in Suger's Contribution to the Treasury of Saint-Denis*, in: Lieber Gerson (note 11), pp. 295–304. – Joan Evans, *Die Adlervase des Sugerius, Pantheon* XIX, 1932, pp. 221–223.

³⁴ Unlike individual contemplation and its other effects, of which Suger speaks in connection with liturgical vessels, reliquaries and precious stones, the main door to the monastery church and its spiritual function applies collectively to all believers who go into the church, with reference to John 10, 7–9 ("I am the door. If anyone enters by Me, he will be saved."). It clarifies its spiritual role, which consists in overcoming the state of the sinful mind, through an encounter with Christ, who can be reached in real terms through the entrance door of the church, cf. *De administratione* 174: "Portarum quisquis attolere queris honorem, / Aurum nec sumptus operis mirare laborem. / Nobile claret opus, sed opus, quod nobile claret / Clarificet mentes, ut eant per lumina vera / Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus ianua vera. / Quale sit intus, in his determinant aurea porta. / Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit / Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit."

³⁵ For a comprehensive look at this question, see Tina Bawden, *Die Schwelle im Mittelalter. Bildmotiv und Bildort*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2014.

³⁶ Cf. Suger, *De consecratione* 42–43, where the abbot describes the solemn consecration of the western part of the building, which took place together with the consecration of the chapels. Apart from these important points in the life of the monastic community, we learn nothing from Suger's texts about the processions that would have taken place periodically during the liturgical year. In the Benedictine context we can count on extensive practice of processions, but the opposite in the Cistercian context, where they took

place only twice a year, cf. Line Cecilie Engh, *Imaginative immersion in the Cistercian cloister, Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia: Tools for Transformation. Liturgy and Religious Practice in Late Antique Rome and Medieval Europe*, 31 (N. S. 17), 2019, pp. 133–160 (here p. 141): “Early Cistercian ordinances dramatically reduced processions with respect to the expansive practice commonly used at the large Benedictine houses. Along with Candelmas, Palm Sunday was one of only two processions to take place within the liturgical year cycle.”; also Nicolas Bell, *Liturgy*, in: Mette Birkedal Bruun (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 264–265.

³⁷ The description of the consecration of the eastern part of the church in Saint-Denis (cf. *De consecratione* 85) was described identically by Sedlmayr and Panofsky as “ein wunderbarer Tanz” (cf. Hans Sedlmayr, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale*, Freiburg im Breisgau – Basel – Wien 1998³, p. 39), or “a wonderful dance” (cf. Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger. On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, Princeton 1979², p. 14).

³⁸ The comparative material for this rite is *Pontificale Romanum*, the probable wording of which was compiled on the basis of various sources by Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, I, *Le Pontifical romain du XII^e siècle*, Città del Vaticano 1938, pp. 176–195. The rite of sanctification in Saint-Denis deviates considerably from this ideal, on these questions see also Adámková (note 14), p. 65. – Eadem, *Qualche considerazione sulla posa delle pietre nelle fondamenta degli edifici sacrali nel medioevo*, *Listy filologické* 131, 2008, pp. 29–44.

³⁹ On possible explanations for the parts of the sanctifying liturgy missing from Suger’s writings see Andreas Speer, *Abt Sugers Schriften zur fränkischen Königsabtei Saint-Denis*, in: Speer – Binding (note 14), p. 50, note 97. – Hans Peter Neuheuser, *Die Kirchweihbeschreibungen von Saint-Denis und ihre Aussagefähigkeit für das Schönheitsempfinden des Abtes Suger*, in: Günther Binding – Andreas Speer (edd.), *Mittelalterliches Kunsterleben nach Quellen des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt 1993, pp. 134–139 and p. 152.

⁴⁰ As Büchsel (note 21), p. 176, concisely states in connection with Suger’s description of stained glass: “Diese Fenster sprechen nicht nur liturgische, sondern auch exegetische Tradition an. [...] sie sollen die Gedanken leiten und zeigen, daß ein Diskurs zwischen Materialpracht und spiritueller Meditation möglich ist. [...] Durch den Anblick der Fenster mit typologischen Darstellungen erhält die meditative Verfassung ihren Text und ihre Reflexionsfigur.”

⁴¹ Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 264: “Una quarum de materialibus ad immaterialia excitans Paulum apostolum molam vertere prophetas saccos ad molam apportare representant.”

⁴² Cf. Suger, *De administratione* 265: “Tollis agendo molam de furfure, Paule, farinam. / Mosaice legis intima nota facis. / Fit de tot granis verus sine furfure panis / Perpetuusque cibus noster et angelicus.”

⁴³ Suger’s words (cf. *De administratione* 220) speak of the need to accompany the understanding of liturgical objects (in this case the panels located on the main altar) and their allegories with the requisite explanatory component in the form of verses, in order that they be fully understood: “Et quoniam tacita visus cognitione materiei diversitas, auri, gemmarum, unionum absque descriptione facile non cognoscitur, opus quod solis patet litteratis, quod allegiarum iocundarum iurare resplendet, apicibus litterarum mandari fecimus.” On the interpretation of this point, see Duggan (note 2), p. 233.

⁴⁴ Kessler (note 28), p. 205.

⁴⁵ Suger, *De administratione* 232–239.

⁴⁶ Büchsel (note 21) substantiates this argument in the following way: “Suger verteidigt die Materialpracht liturgisch. Diese Begründung und das Konzept der Kunst für litterati positionierten die Ornamenta der Abteikirche Saint-Denis nicht nur gegenüber den Beschlüssen des Generalkapitels der Zisterzienser zur Ausstattung einer Klosterkirche, sondern auch gegen die Verschwisterung von Bild und edlem Material im anthropomorphen Reliquiar.”

⁴⁷ As Büchsel aptly demonstrates (note 21), pp. 166–167: “Die Heiligen reden und agieren in Saint-Denis nicht durch Bilder [...]. Suger weiß von der intimen Wirkung der edlen Materialien [...], aber kein Bild treibt Suger zu einem engen Blickkontakt [...]. Das wertvolle Material korrespondiert mit dem geopfertem Fleisch, es ist der devote Spiegel der Inkarnation.”

⁴⁸ See Belting (note 12), p. 339.

⁴⁹ Cf. Suger’s inscription (note 32, note 33).

⁵⁰ See Markschieß (note 14), p. 62.

⁵¹ Büchsel (note 21), p. 177, who further states: “Sugers Ausstattung der Abteikirche und vor allem des Altars bewegt sich in der Sprache, die Christus im Angesicht der Passion selbst gewählt hat.”

⁵² In the following section (without resorting to a comprehensive overview) we will focus in the form of short surveys mainly on information from the lists of church treasuries, on inscriptions of donors on liturgical objects and on practice in handling reliquaries. Although these are texts and notes of various kinds, often drawing on a previous tradition (often following the model of the *Liber pontificalis*, serving primarily as a template for compiling lists of the acts of bishops or abbots, including their acquisition of liturgical equipment (for the intentions of this text see Carmela Viricillo Franklin, *History and Rhetoric in the Liber Pontificalis, The Journal of Medieval Latin* 23, 2013, pp. 1–33), these surveys can provide us with at least a partial insight into the practice of acquiring liturgical decorations. We leave aside the specific situation in Italy, which Albert Dietl maps in an excellent manner in *Die Sprache der Signatur. Die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, Berlin 2009 (see especially pp. 114–136 on the praise of material and pp. 137–146 on the data on financial costs and the value of material).

⁵³ If we were to focus on dividing them up, the main divider between them would be their sacral nature and use in the liturgy, for further division see Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, München 1932. – Anton Legner, *Deutsche Kunst der Romanik*, München 1982, p. 73. – Ulrike Bergmann, *Prior omnibus Autor – an höchster Stelle aber steht der Stifter*, in: Anton Legner (ed.), *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich Kunsthalle*, I, Köln 1985, p. 144.

⁵⁴ Examples of various kinds of handling of objects stored in church treasuries see Manfred Groten, *Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters*, in: Legner (note 53), II, p. 149–155 (here see the example from Corvey, p. 149): “thezauri in ecclesia nostra tam ad decorem domus Dei quam ad sublevandas necessitates ecclesiae [...]”.

⁵⁵ On gold, which added political prestige to liturgical objects and also secured their moral authority, cf. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *L’or et l’église au moyen âge*, *Revue de l’art* 26, 1971, p. 64.

⁵⁶ An inventory of church treasury inventories, especially from German areas, is given by Bernard Bischoff (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, I. Teil: *Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, München 1967, from a large number we selectively chose at least some, cf. for example the rich inventory of liturgical vessels from Bamberg, pp. 17–19; a description of a large number of relics together with the method of their storage from Erstein from the first half of the 10th century, pp. 32–33; a report from the Benedictine abbey of Muri from the 12th century, pp. 64–65, which gives a detailed description of the placement of individual relics into reliquaries; further, a description of textiles in the cathedral at Mainz from the time of Archbishop Christian II (1249–1251), pp. 52: “[...] erant tapicia et dorsalia mira picture varietate distincta, que operis sublimitate et pulchritudine animos intuentium admiratione mirabili delectabant.” A report from the Cathedral in Paderborn from the last third of the 11th century, cf. *ibidem*, p. 69, also gives the cost of making the individual items; information from the Benedictine monastery in Abdinghof (Paderborn) from the 11th century gives the amount of money spent on the acquisition of liturgical objects and also lists the material from which these objects were made, see pp. 70–71.

⁵⁷ On reliquaries in general see Martina Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, New Haven 2010. The decision of the Lateran Council of 1215, which stipulated that relics should no longer be shown without the protection of reliquaries, was crucial for contact with relics. Bruno Reudenbach, *Heil durch Sehen. Mittelalterliche Reliquiare und die visuelle Konstruktion von Heiligkeit*, in: Markus Mayr (ed.), *Von goldenen Gebeinen. Wirtschaft und Reliquie im Mittelalter*, Innsbruck 2001, pp. 135–136.

⁵⁸ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton 1990² (revised ed.).

⁵⁹ We choose this example here mainly due to the existence of extensive written evidence of contemporary practice in connection with the reverence shown to the saint. The author of the first two books is Bernard of Angers, who had run the cathedral school in Angers since 1010 and in 1013

came to the Auvergne region to experience with his own eyes the miracles that St. Foy worked at the abbey in Conques. Based on this and his later journeys, a book was written about the miracles that the saint worked here. The later books were arranged by Bernard's successor, an anonymous monk. On the dating and origin of these texts see Pierre Bonnassie – Frédéric Gournay, *Sur la datation du Livre des miracles de sainte Foy de Conques, Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 107, 1995, pp. 457–473. – Pamela Sheingorn – Robert L. A. Clark (edd.), *The Book of Sainte Foy*, Philadelphia 1995, p. 22, characterise the text in the following manner: "It presents itself as a work of edification, but also of propaganda, intended to spread the renown of the sanctuary where wondrous cures and other miracles were effected. The descriptions of a multitude of pilgrims pressed into the narrow space where the statue was displayed were very likely intended to attract new *dévotés*. As a work of edification, it would have circulated among priests and other clergy and used as a source for vernacular sermons, especially at sites where devotion to Faith was an established part of local church life."

⁶⁰ On the origin of the statue of St. Foy (Fides) see Belting (note 12), p. 335–336. – Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215*, Philadelphia 1987, pp. 36–42. – Ivan Foletti, *Dancing with Sainte Foy. Movement and the Iconic Presence, Convivium VI/1*, 2019, pp. 79–80. *The Liber miraculorum Sancte Fidis* 1,13, ed. Auguste Bouillet, Paris 1877, p. 47, confirms that this was not the unusual practice of placing relics inside gilded or silver-plated statues, which were carried around the Auvergne region in order to be able to be effective.

⁶¹ On the concept of iconic presence, which spread especially after the publication of Belting's book (note 12) and later became a widespread concept, see idem, *Iconic Presence. Images in Religious Traditions, Material Religion XII/2*, 2016, pp. 235–237, where it is defined in the following manner: "Iconic presence is presence in and as a picture. The physical presence of a picture in our world refers to the symbolic presence which it depicts." Cf. also Hans Belting – Ivan Foletti – Martin F. Lešák, *The Movement and the Experience of "Iconic Presence". An Introduction, Convivium VI/1*, 2019, pp. 11–12.

⁶² The effect of a reliquary during a night vigil is described in *Liber miraculorum sanctae Fidis* 1,13 (note 60), p. 47: "[...] ut plerisque rusticis videntes se perspicati intuitu videatur videre, oculisque reverberantibus precantum votis aliquando placidius favere."

⁶³ Anton von Euw, *Liturgische Handschriften, Gewänder und Geräte*, in: Legner (note 53), II, p. 405, cf. also Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, *Liturgical Vessels and Implements*, in: Thomas J. Heffernan – E. Ann Matter (edd.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, Kalamazoo 2001, pp. 371–375. *The Liber Pontificalis: fecit ministeria sacra omnia argentea, et patenas argenteas XXV posuit*, cf. *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* also links this information with Pope Urban. *The Ancient Biographies of First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, Raymond Davis (ed.), Liverpool 1989, p. 7; ibidem, pp. 14–25 for Popes Silvester and Constantine he mentions extensive donations of valuable liturgical objects in gold and silver. This information is picked up by other medieval texts, such as Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, I, 89 (*De vestibus et calicibus*), PL 172,573B: "Urbanus vero papa et martyr aureis vel argenteis calicibus, et patenis offerri instituit."

⁶⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae. Sermo generalis, ad divites*, PL 172,864B: "Ecclesias debetis libris, paliis et aliis ornamentis decorare, lapsas vel destructas restaurare [...] per hoc vobis viam ad coelum parare."

⁶⁵ Bergmann provides the citation (note 53), p. 124: "[...] qua meritum architectura quove rerum pretio possem mercari caelestia."

⁶⁶ See Bergmann (note 53), p. 136: "[+O]FFERT MENTE PIA DECUS HOC TIBI S[AN]C[T]A MARIA HEINRICUS PRESUL NE VITAE PERPETIS EXUL FIAT."

⁶⁷ *Chronicon episc. Merseburgensium* IV,176, in: Otto Lehmann–Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Lothringen und Italien*, Berlin 1938, No. 2731, p. 645: "Dedit hic imperator nobis [...] preter hec tres auratas cruces et duas argenteas et duas ampullas eiusdem metalli et tres calices, unum argenteum magni ponderis, secundum aureum et gemmatum, terciū arte omnigenisque gemmis elaboratum quod precium redemtionis anime sue fuisse adhuc vulgatur. Tabulam altaris auro et gemmis honorifice distinctam ad quam presul Dithmarus quinque libras auri de priori altari se dedisse testatur. Pixidem auream et gemmatam, thribula argentea tria [...]"

⁶⁸ Cf. *The Stavelot Triptych. Mosan Art and the Legend of True Cross, The Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York 1980, p. 27, No. 10; it was evidently created between 1145 and 1158. – Cf. also Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty. Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204*, Pennsylvania 2012, pp. 209–221. Only two round enamel medallions have survived from it. The inscriptions on it read: "H[OC OPV]S FECIT ABBAS WIBALDUS. IN QVO SVNT ARG[ENT]I. / MERI LX MARCE IN DEAVRTVRA SVNT AVRIMERI IIII. TOTA / EXPENSA OP[ER]IS. C. MARCE. DE QVA PUBLICE EXCO[MMV] / N]ICATV[M] EST. NEQVIS. PRO TAM PARVA VITLITATE. / TANTVM LABOREM ET EXPE[NSA]M. ADNIHILARE PRESVMAT." The text is given by P. Rupert Ruhstaller, *Lateinische Inschriften auf Denkmälern der maasländischen Metallkunst im 12. Jahrhundert*, in: Legner (note 30), p. 97.

⁶⁹ See Ruhstaller (note 68), p. 98: *Chronicon rhythmicon* (MGH 12,412) gives for the year of 1118: "DE FONTIBUS / FONTES FECIT OPERE FUSILI / FUSSOS ARTE VIX COMPARABILI."

⁷⁰ See Ruhstaller (note 68), pp. 98–99: *Chronique Liégeoise* from the year of 1401: "Alberonis Leodiensis episcopi iussu Renerus, aurifaber Hoyensis fontes eneos fecit mirabile ymaginum varietate circumdatos, stantes super duodecim boves diversimodo se habentes."

⁷¹ Peter Cornelis Claussen, *Künstlerinschriften*, in: Legner (note 53), p. 266: "Hoc vas expensis struxit populus Bekemensis/arteque Renfridus Hermann sique Sifridus."

⁷² Ibidem, pp. 130–131; for the description of the enamel, see further pp. 158–159 with the inscription: "+ARS AVRO GEMMISQ[UE] PRIOR, PRIOR OMNIBVS AVTOR. DONA DAT HENRICVS VIVVS IN ERE DEO, MENTE PAREM MVVIS [ET] MARCO VOCE PRIOREM. FAMA VIRIS, MORES CONCILIANI SUPERIS."

⁷³ This list of Latin texts makes no claim to be a comprehensive overview of the issue, but rather aims at putting the views of Abbot Suger into the context of other medieval donors, which was possible only in a limited way due to the scope of this study. As is obvious, Suger's inscriptions on liturgical and artistic objects in Saint-Denis do not deviate in any way from the usual contemporary practice.

⁷⁴ *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* 18,2, in: *Příběhy raně křesťanských mučedníků I.*, ed. Petr Kitzler, Praha 2009, p. 72: "That's why we could later pick up his bones from the ashes; these are more valuable to us than precious stones and their price is greater than gold" [english translation of the czech text].

⁷⁵ Anton Legner, *Reliquien in Kunst und Kult zwischen Antike und Aufklärung*, Darmstadt 1995, pp. 136–137.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, pp. 137–149, on connecting the altar with the reliquaries and specific evidence of this practice.

⁷⁷ Christopher Norton, Bernard, Suger, and Henry I's Crown Jewels, *Gesta* 45, 1, 2006, pp. 1–14 are an example of an at first sight very curious collaboration between Suger and Bernard of Clairvaux in securing gems and gold for Suger's monumental cross; it states: "It is fascinating to discover that Bernard made a significant, perhaps essential, contribution to the creation and adornment of the most lavish and expensive of all the works of art at Saint-Denis, while Suger's passion to promote the glory of his abbey helped finance the expansion of the Cistercian order." It continues: "[...] it becomes possible to assess the significance of this episod for our understanding of the attitudes of both Bernard and Suger toward the ornamentation of the monastic church."

⁷⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem XII,28* (Sämtliche Werke=SW II, ed. G. B. Winkler, Innsbruck 1992, p. 194): "Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum quam ad orandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit, quia nescio quo pacto, ubi amplius divitiarum cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Auro tectis reliquiis signantur oculi, et loculi aperiuntur." This practice is mapped in detail by Bergmann (note 53), pp. 129–130, which mentions Abbot Heinrich of St. Panteleon in Cologne (1169–1186), who placed the relics of St. Albin into a new precious shrine, on which he had himself portrayed as the donor. Based on the sources, however, it is clear that the reliquary was financed from believers' donations. The famous reliquary cabinet of the Three Kings in Cologne was also made from the money of the faithful, especially of pilgrims.

⁷⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia XII, 28* (SW II, p. 194): "Ponuntur dehinc in ecclesia gemmatae, non coronae, sed rotae, circumsaepetae lampadibus, sed non minus fulgentes insertis lapidibus. Cernimus et pro candelabris arbores quasdam erectas, multo aeris pondere, miro artificis opere fabricatas, nec magis

coruscantes superpositis lucernis, quam suis gemmis. Quid putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? Paenitentium compunctio, an intuituum admiratio?"

⁸⁰ Guibert de Nogent, *De sanctis et earum pignoribus* (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 127, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Turnhout 1993, p. 105): "[...] terra es et in terram ibis, deus in ea sententia nec presenti nec secuturo cuiquam dixit: aurum vel argentum es, in aurum vel argentum ibis. Ut quid, precor, homo a sua natura, immo a dei imperio eruitur, ut, quod conditionaliter nulli competit, aureis vel argenteis conculis inseratur? [...] Et quae dignitas ut quis auro argenteove claudatur, cum dei filius saxo vilissimum obstruatur? Quod a seculorum primordiis ne superbissimis quidem regibus constat inolitum nec unicum memoriae meae suppeditatur exemplum, et cum infinitas thesaurorum copias sepulcris immergerent, nunquam legisse me memini quod oculis aureis seu argenteis marmora pura mutarent [...]."

⁸¹ Persius, *Saturae* II, 69.

⁸² See Kessler (note 28), pp. 194–196: "[...] vasa sacra occupied a central place in arguments about the use of material props in Christian worship. Suger cited them to defend his use of gold vessels and precious gems in the liturgy. [...] Bernard of Clairvaux seems to have had the tabernacle and its utensils in mind when he acknowledged that, to him, church decorations somehow represent the ancient rite of the Jews." It also lists the representatives of the Western tradition, starting with the Venerable Bede, *De templo* II, pp. 212–213 (see Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXIX A, ed. David Hurst, Turnhout 1969): "Notandum sane hoc in loco quia sunt qui putant lege Dei prohibitum ne vel hominum vel quorumlibet animalium sive rerum similitudines sculparamus aut depingamus in ecclesia vel alio quolibet loco [...]. Verum si diligentibus verba legis attendamus, forte parebit non interdictum imagines rerum aut animalium facere sed haec idolatriae gratia facere omnimodis esse prohibitum [...]."

⁸³ Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia* XII, 28 (SW II, p. 194): "Assentio: patiamur et haec fieri in ecclesia, quia etsi noxia sunt vanis et avaris, non tamen simplicibus et devotis." See also Kessler (note 28), pp. 194–196.

⁸⁴ Psalms 106,35–36.

⁸⁵ Theophilus Presbyter, *De diversis artibus, Prologus* (Theophilus Presbyter und das mittelalterliche Kunsthandwerk. Gesamtausgabe der Schrift De diversis artibus in einem Band, ed. Erhard Brepohl, Köln – Weimar – Wien), p. 236: "Nam pene omnes impensas domus Domini, cuius ipse auctor fieri ardentissimo desiderio concupivit, sed pro humani sanguinis, licet hostili, crebra tamen effusione non meruit, in auro et argento, aere et ferro Salomoni filio delegavit."

⁸⁶ Ibidem: "[...] magistros ex nomine elegisse, eosque spiritu sapientiae et intelligentiae et scientiae in omni doctrina implese ad excogitandum et faciendum opus in auro et argento et aere, gemmis, ligno et universis generis arte, noveratque pia consideratione Deum huiusmodi ornatu delectari [...]."

⁸⁷ Ibidem: "Quapropter, fili dilectissime, non cuncteris, sed plena fide crede spiritum Dei cor tuum implese, cum eius ornasti domum tanto decore tantaque operum varietate." Cf. commentary on the prologue, see Brepohl (note 85), p. 248: "[Theophilus] begründet weiter, daß unter Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen Auslegungsmöglichkeiten von David durchaus die künstlerische Ausgestaltung des eigentlichen Gotteshauses gemeint sein müsse, denn hatte David ja die Materialien bereits zusammengetragen, die er seinem Sohn übergab, der den Bau dann vollendete. Und so zieht Theophilus die Parallele, daß auch dem Schüler von Gott die gleiche Aufgabe gestellt worden sei, im gleichen Sinne das Gotteshaus zu gestalten und auszumücken [...]. Nachdem Theophilus so Notwendigkeit und Berechtigung sakraler Kunstausübung aus dem, was Gott durch seinen Propheten David gesagt hatte, begründet hat, leitet er zu der These über, daß Gott selbst bei der Kunstausübung mitwirkt, indem er den Künstler beruft und ihn mit den Gaben seines Heiligen Geistes erfüllt."

⁸⁸ Theophilus Presbyter, *De diversis artibus*, p. 247: "His virtutum astipulationibus animatus, carissime fili, domum Dei fiducialiter aggressus tanto lepore decorasti; et laquearia seu parietes diverso opere diversisque coloribus distinguens paradysi Dei speciem floribus variis vernantem, gramine folisque virentem, et sanctorum animas diversi meriti coronis foventem quodammodo aspicientibus ostendisti; quodque Creatorem Deum in creatura laudant et mirabilem in operibus suis praedicant, effecisti." Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen summarises the objectives of Theophilus's intentions in his prologue to the third book: The Two Censers in the *Schedula Diversarum Artium* of Theophilus and their Place in the Liturgy, in: Palazzo (note 1), p. 191: "The third prologue contains the most important arguments for a theological legiti-

mation of the arts for the greater glory of God [...]. Adorning the house of God with the different arts and the use of costly materials are then expressly set into relation with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. This turns the third prologue into a special platform for nobilitating the arts and crafts in the service of liturgy." Ibidem, pp. 201–202: "[...] only the practice of the arts (with all the diligence and the continuous struggle against sloth which Theophilus repeatedly insists upon) can make the decor domus Dei possible [...]. All three prologues of the *Schedula* imply that the vision [of the heavenly Jerusalem] is a genuinely attainable possibility. At the end of the third prologue, the vision is directly evoked through the description of the fully ornamented church as an image of Heaven [...]. Theophilus encourages his reader or pupil to reach out for the anagogical experience through the practice of the arts. The expert knowledge about materials and techniques diligently put to use for the decor domus Dei not only nobilitates and legitimises the artist's labour; it also brings about the transition from concretely working for the divine service to envisaging the divine presence. A generation after Theophilus, Suger of St. Denis uses the contemplation of his church's treasure to effectuate a similar spiritual transport. In the *Schedula*, Theophilus achieves this through the practice and contemplation of labour."

⁸⁹ Theophilus Presbyter, *De diversis artibus*, p. 247: "Nec enim perpendere valet humanus oculus, cui operi primum aciem infigat [...]; si quanta sunt in caelis gaudia quantaque in Tartareis flammis cruciamenta intuetur, spe de bonis actibus suis animatur et de peccatorum suorum consideratione formidine concutitur." For detail on this meaning, see Iva Adámková, *The Sense of Sight in the Prologues of Theophilus Presbyter's De diversis artibus, Convivium* VIII/1, 2021 (Objects Beyond the Senses. Studies in Honour of Herbert L. Kessler), pp. 132–141.

⁹⁰ Theophilus Presbyter, p. 247: "[...] sine quibus divina misteria et officiorum ministeria non valent consistere."

⁹¹ Theophilus Presbyter, *De diversis artibus*, p. 62: "Legimus in exordio mundanae creationis hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei conditum et inspiratione divini spiraculi animatum, tantaque dignitatis excellentiae caeteris animantibus praerogatum, ut rationis capax divinae prudentiae consilii ingenique mereretur participium, arbitriique libertate donatus solius Conditoris sui susciperet voluntatem et reverenter immortalitatis amiserit, tamen scientiae et intelligentiae dignitatem adeo in posteritatis propaginem transtulit, ut quicumque curam sollicitudinemque addiderit, totius artis ingenique capacitatem quasi hereditario iure adipisci possit."

⁹² See Kessler (note 28), pp. 190–205, who draws attention to a number of authors before Bernard of Clairvaux, who understood paintings as a medium admittedly capable of satisfying the eye, but not to be understood as an equivalent source from which to learn about God's law, because only a book can be considered such. On Bernard's concept of the senses, see also Adámková (note 10).

⁹³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis* 10,2 (SW IX, pp. 121–124); *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, pp. 472–480).

⁹⁴ Romans 12,2. As Marvin Döbler appositely states, *Die Mystik und die Sinne: eine religionshistorische Untersuchung am Beispiel Bernhards von Clairvaux*, Göttingen 2013, p. 172: "Bernhard bildet eine Analogie der fünf Körpersinne des homo exterior und deren Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit für die visibilia Dei."

⁹⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, pp. 472–473): "Per quinque sensus corporis, mediante vita, corpus animae coniungitur; per quinque sensus spirituales, mediante caritate, anima Deo consociatur."

⁹⁶ Idem, *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, p. 473): "Quinque enim sunt sensus animales vel corporales, quibus anima corpus suum significat, ut ab inferiori incipiam: tactus, gustus, odoratus, auditus, visus. Similiter quinque sunt sensus spirituales, quibus caritas animam vivificat: id est amor carnalis parentum, scilicet amor socialis, amor naturalis, amor spiritualis, amor Dei."

⁹⁷ Idem, *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, p. 476): "Auditus enim nihil interius, id est intra corpus, operatur, sed exterius quodammodo, id est ad aures pulsans, animam evocat ut exeat et audiat."

⁹⁸ Idem, *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, p. 478): "Visus in eminenti corporis arce et insigni capitis loco positus, etiam secundum ipsius capitis loco positus, etiam secundum ipsius corporis formam infra se habet et ordine et dignitate et virtutis potentia omnia ceterorum sensuum instrumenta, ipsosque sensus, quos, ut ita dicam, spirituales, propinquiores, quos vero corporales, remotiores."

⁹⁹ Idem, *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, pp. 478–480): “*Visus, ut visus esse possit, haec habet necessaria: radium validum et purum qui de pupilla procedat, aerem purum et lucidum qui transitum eius non impediatur, corpus in quod offendat, rationem cui renuntiet, memoriam quam ratio consulat. Horum si quid defuerit perfectus visus non erit.*”

¹⁰⁰ In *De diversis sermo* 10 Bernard emphasises the difference in localization between the organs of sight and hearing: “*Oculis siquidem in summitate locatis, aures inferiores esse quis nesciat?*” On all the senses, see his text *Sententiae* III,73 (SW IV, p. 474).

¹⁰¹ John 10,27: “*Oves meae vocem meam audiunt.*”

¹⁰² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, *Sermo* 28,5 (SW V, p. 438): “*Auditus invenit quod non visus. Oculum species fefellit, auri veritas se infudit [...]. Dignum quidem fuerat per superiorum oculorum fenestras veritatem intrare ad adniam; sed hoc nobis, o anima, servatur in posterum, cum videbimus facie ad faciem. Nunc autem unde irrepit morbus, inde remedium intret, et per eadem sequatur vestigia vita mortem, tenebras lux, venenum serpentis antidotum veritatis, et sanet oculum qui turbatus est, ut serenus videat quem turbatus non potest. Auris prima mortis ianua, prima aperitur et vitae; auditus, qui tulus, reparaet visum: quoniam nisi crediderimus, non intellegemus.*”

¹⁰³ With reference to Romans 10,17. He repeatedly returns to this postulate, on which Bernard continues to base his considerations, based on the New Testament *fides ex auditu*; see Döbler (note 94), pp. 177 and 179.

¹⁰⁴ Bernard repeatedly returns to this motif in other places, cf. *Parabola* VII (SW IV, 874–891, p. 883).

¹⁰⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* XXVIII, II, 6 (SW V, p. 441): “*Interim ergo, necdum paratus est visus, auditus excitetur, auditus exercitetur, auditus excipiat veritatem.*”

¹⁰⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia* XII, 29 (SW II, p. 196).

¹⁰⁷ Idem, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, *Sermo* 74,2,5 (SW VI,498): “*Sane per oculos non intravit, quia non est coloratum; sed neque per aures, qui non sonuit; neque per nares, quia non aeri miscetur, sed menti [...] neque vero per fauces, quia non est mansum vel haustum; nec tactu comperi illud, quia palpabile non est.*”

¹⁰⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* X, 28 (SW II, p. 88).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Regula Benedicti* 7, 63. – Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* X, 28 (SW II, p. 88): “*Terram intueri, ut cognoscas te ipsum.*”

¹¹⁰ As Engh records (note 36), p. 135: “[...] although wary of colourful and figurative decoration in their cloisters, the Cistercians revelled in creating striking and

powerful images to help them in their meditation and memory-making of sacred reading. Bernard of Clairvaux himself was a master in mental painting, and his sermons loaded with luscious mental images. Precisely because Cistercian monks should continually work on constructing their own mental images to fill the undorned, uncoloured spaces of the cloister and oratory, they should not rely on or be distracted by images created by painters or sculptors.” Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge 1998, p. 84, has called this “*painting pictures in the mind*”.

¹¹¹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Speculum caritatis*, II, 24, 70 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. Ch. H. Talbot, Turnhout 1971, p. 99): “[...] in claustris monachorum [...] lepores, damulae et cervi, picae et corvi, non quidem Antoniana et Machariana instrumenta, sed muliebra oblectamenta: quae omnia nequaquam monachorum paupertati consulunt, sed curiosorum oculos pascunt.”

¹¹² Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, Cambridge Mass. 1992, pp. 62–63. The definition of *ruminatio* is concisely given by William M. Johnston – Christopher Kleinhenz (edd.), *Encyclopaedia of Monastics*, London – New York 2000, p. 375: “*The central devotion exercised in the old Benedictine monasteries was the ruminatio, that is, the half-loud reading and repeating of and reflecting on biblical texts, especially the Psalms. Ruminatio was understood [...] as a task for both the mouth and the heart of the religious.*”

¹¹³ See Fricke (note 13), p. 113: “*Erst bei Abt Suger lasse sich eine ästhetische Haltung zu den Bildern nachweisen und erst mit ihm werde die Geburt einer modernen Bildauffassung in die Wege geleitet.*”

¹¹⁴ Wendelin Knoch, *Heiliger Schmuck und benediktinisches Ordensideal: Kontroversen und Klärungen im Umfeld von Hildegard von Bingen und Bernhard von Clairvaux*, *Das Mittelalter* 21/2, 2016, pp. 381–399, points out, “*dass Heiliger Schmuck [...] wie auch asketische Frömmigkeit, die sich in der Kostbarkeit schlichter, aber ästhetisch schöner Sakralarchitektur bezeugt, die bleibende Gültigkeit dessen bezeugen, was Benedikt in seiner Regel festgehalten hat.*” He understands both poles, i.e. both Suger’s and Bernard’s approach, as two sides of the same coin.

¹¹⁵ Adámková (note 89), p. 139: “*The craftwork itself is understood as a vital momentum in the anagogic ascent that craftsmen are able to undergo thanks to the effort and determination they invest in the creation of their works. In the prologue to the third book, Theophilus defines this practical craftwork toward the decoration of the house of God as having the potential to lift the craftsman to the higher world.*”

¹¹⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Super cantica canticorum* 28,3,8 (SW V, p. 442).

RESUMÉ

Diskuze o povaze výzdoby liturgického prostoru ve 12. století a pojetí smyslů

Iva Adámková

Příspěvek se na základě analýzy žánrově různorodých latinských textů 12. století (jak opata Sugera ze Saint-Denis, Theophyla Presbytera a Bernarda z Clairvaux, tak anonymních soupisů inventářů církevních institucí, nápisů na liturgických předmětech či relikviářích) snaží vysledovat názory na pořizování a umísťování mnohdy nákladných liturgických předmětů v sakrálním prostoru. Sleduje přitom ať už argumentaci směrem k instalaci těchto předmětů

a jejich užívání, nebo jejich odstranění z liturgického prostoru, která se dála s poukazem na pojetí smyslů, a to především nejvyšších z nich, sluchu a zraku. Dále se studie věnuje otázce možného prostředkování liturgických předmětů umístěných v sakrálním prostředí na anagogickém výstupu individuální mysli věřícího k Bohu na jedné straně zrakem (prostředníkem na této cestě byly liturgické a sakrální předměty), na druhé sluchem (prostřednictvím slyšeného biblického textu). Jak z představené diskuze první poloviny 12. století vyplývá, jedná se o otázky, které byly v dané době nepochybně aktuální. Tenze mezi oběma přístupy jasně vypovídá o protikladu mezi důrazem kladeným na optickou komunikaci, a tím i zrakem jako určujícím smyslem, který napomáhá ke kontemplaci, a poslechem biblického slova, a tedy sluchem, jenž například podle Bernarda z Clairvaux představuje přímou cestu k Bohu.

Obrazová příloha: 1 – Tympanon hlavního portálu klášterního kostela v Saint-Denis, 1. polovina 12. století; 2 – Anagogické okno, Saint-Denis (detail: apoštol Pavel), 1. polovina 12. století