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Susan Boynton

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Cluniac Spaces of Performance

Susan BOYNTON

As Dominique Iogna-Prat, Didier Méhu, Barbara Rosenwein, and other historians have shown, Cluny played a central role in the shaping of sacred space in medieval Europe.¹ The founder, William of Aquitaine, gave the abbey to Saints Peter and Paul and made it directly subject to Rome; the popes accorded it immunity and exemption. In 931 John XI declared Cluny free of the jurisdiction of secular authorities, and in 998 Gregory V made Cluny exempt from the control of the local bishop. In 1024 John XIX extended this exemption to all Cluniacs, and in 1097 Urban II granted it to all Cluny's dependencies. Cluniac space, with its exceptional quality of being "outside space," came to encompass all the members of its monastic congregation.² Places that were physically separate from Cluny were integrated into the Cluniac space of performance; a sacred geography centered on the Burgundian abbey was created ritual such as the commemoration of the dead. The patronage extended to Cluny by lay elites in exchange for the monks' intercessory prayer also brought them into the Cluniac orbit, a network that included both the abbey's relationships with donors of land and the tribute paid to Cluny by its more remote associates, such as the kings of Spain.³ The impact of the Burgundian abbey on spatialization in the 11th and 12th centuries represents the culmination of the process Michel Lauwers calls "inecclesiamento", by which monasteries came to predominate the social organization of space in the central Middle Ages.⁴

The image of Cluny as a community with an exemplary way of life and a place with a sanctified space was created both by texts and by actions. From the special status of the mother house and its congregation of dependencies, the *Cluniacensis ecclesia* or *ecclesia cluniacensis*, emerged the identity of Cluny as a Church unto

1. See particularly D. MÉHU, *Paix et communautés autour de l'abbaye de Cluny, X^e-XV^e siècle*, Lyon 2001 (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales 9), p. 59-86; B. H. ROSENWEIN, *Negotiating Space: power, restraint, and privileges of immunity in early medieval Europe*, Ithaca / New York 1999, p. 156-183.
2. On Cluniac space as space "outside space," see D. IOGNA-PRAT, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam*, trans. G. R. EDWARDS, Ithaca / London 2002, p. 172-174.
3. See L. PICK, Rethinking Cluny in Spain, *JMIS* 5, 2013, p. 1-17; P. HENRIET, Cluny and Spain before Alfonso VI: Remarks and Propositions, *JMIS* 9, 2017, p. 206-219.
4. M. LAUWERS, De l'incastellamento à l'inecclesiamento, in *Cluny : les moines et la société au premier âge féodal*, ed. D. IOGNA-PRAT, M. LAUWERS, F. MAZEL and I. ROSÉ, Rennes 2013 (Art et Société), p. 315-338; ID., *Naissance du cimetière : lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 2005 (Collection historique).

itself.⁵ Cluniac texts convey a conception of the abbey as the equal of Rome in representing the universal Church.⁶ The space around the abbey was delimited as sacred, most consequentially in 1080 when the papal legate Peter of Albano proclaimed a protected zone around the monastery. By this time, Cluny had already become the center of an expansive discursive space constituted by language. I use the term “discursive space” to designate two ways in which language defines space. One aspect of Cluniac discursive space is the metaphorical space of texts that articulated the abbey’s role in society, such as the texts of donations which created indissoluble bonds, the hagiographic narratives about the monks and their sainted abbots, and the chants and prayers commemorating members of the community.⁷ The notion of discursive space also articulates the experience of monks in Cluny’s dependencies who inhabited a space inherently defined as Cluniac. As José Luis Senra has recently demonstrated, communities that were assimilated into the Cluniac congregation integrated the ritual traditions of the mother house through the spatial organization of the liturgy.⁸ Even those monasteries that were not subject to Cluny, but formed part of its looser network of associates, took on aspects of Cluniac practice through emulation and imitation. To cite just one example, the customs of Cluny were copied at the imperial abbey of Farfa near Rome, which was not a priory of Cluny but had been reformed by Abbot Odilo of Cluny and maintained a certain pride in its historic affiliation with the great monastery.⁹

The history of Cluny demonstrates that space is not a static entity but rather a construct; as Didier Méhu points out, the key to understanding the organization of space in the Middle Ages is to understand how people used particular places.¹⁰ Cluny’s institutional identity was reflected in its church, as seen in Alan Guerreau’s analysis of the articulation and representation of the symbolic space of the abbey church.¹¹ The formation of Cluniac space illustrates “the ways in which meaning

5. On the Cluniac network see D. W. POECK, *Cluniacensis ecclesia. Der cluniacensische Klosterverband (10.-12. Jahrhundert)*, Munich 1998 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 71).
6. For a brief summary of the concept of Cluny as Rome that was central to this “système ecclésiastical clunisien” see D. IOGNA-PRAT, *Études clunisiennes*, Paris 2002 (Les médiévistes français 2), p. 32-33.
7. On Cluniac hagiography see particularly ID., *Agni immaculati. Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à saint Maïeul (954-994)*, Paris 1988; ID., *Panorama de l’hagiographie abbatiale clunisienne*, in *Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, ed. M. HEINZELMANN, Sigmaringen 1992 (Beihefte der Francia 24), p. 77-118.
8. J. L. SENRA, ‘May the Angels Lead you into Paradise’: Staging the Cluniac Liturgy in Medieval Hispanic Priors, *JMIS* 9, 2017, p. 149-183.
9. See S. BOYNTON, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125*, Ithaca / New York 2005 (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past), p. 106-143.
10. D. MÉHU, *Locus, transitus, peregrinatio*. Remarques sur la spatialité des rapports sociaux dans l’Occident médiéval (XI-XIII^e siècle), in *Construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge : pratiques et représentations*, Paris 2007 (Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public 38), p. 275-293.
11. A. GUERREAU, Espace social, espace symbolique : à Cluny au XI^e siècle, in *L’ogre historien. Autour de Jacques le Goff*, ed. J. REVEL and J.-C. SCHMITT, Paris 1998, p. 167-191.

is created by ritual and performance in space, and how these concerns get bound up with individual and collective memory.”¹² Liturgical performance was central to the abbey’s history and to the creation of Cluniac discursive space, beginning with the testament by which William of Aquitaine founded Cluny in 910. The text refers to the abbey as an *orationis domicilium*. Subsequent donation charters and narrative texts likewise present the abbey as a place of prayer, psalmody, and masses for the dead, and may request the salvific prayers of the monks, or simply specify that the gift is made *pro remedio animae*.¹³ The dependencies shared at least the general profile of the mother house’s liturgical traditions, and were enjoined to participate in the Cluniac ritual commemoration of the dead. Cluniac monasteries received the mortuary rolls that announced the death of a monk for whom masses were to be sung and the office of the dead performed.¹⁴ Both the physical spaces of the abbey of Cluny itself and those of its dependencies and priories comprised Cluniac spaces of performance, the discursive spaces in which Cluniac identity was performed and emulated. The medieval imagining of these spaces included both verbal and visual representations that are the subject of this essay.

The representation of Cluniac performance in both verbal and visual forms can be found in a manuscript copied at Cluny soon after 1200, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. latin 17716 (hereafter Paris 17716), a retrospective presentation of Cluniac identity, including the central importance of musical performance in the life of its community, which in the eleventh and 12th centuries acquired a reputation for an elaborate liturgy and efficacious intercessory prayer. Patricia Stirnemann proposed that Paris 17716 was copied for Abbot William II of Cluny, who was abbot from 1207-1215 and had been prior of the Cluniac priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, where the manuscript ended up.¹⁵ The manuscript contains a combination of diverse texts that, in the aggregate, articulate a distinctive image of Cluny and its history. Each section contains some kind of homage to at least one of the abbots. The manuscript begins with a collection of liturgical music comprised of a carefully selected repertory special to Cluny, including the Office and Mass of the Transfiguration.¹⁶ The Office is annotated with the statement that

12. G. B. GUEST, Space, in *Critical Terms in Medieval Art History*, special issue of *Studies in Iconography* 33, 2012, p. 220.
13. M. McLAUGHLIN, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France*, Ithaca/New York 1994.
14. MÉHU, *Paix et communautés* (cited in n. 1), p. 96-97, shows how the rolls were sent first to the dependent houses closest to Cluny, which then transmitted them onward. On the commemoration of the dead see D. IOGNA-PRAT, The Dead in the Celestial Bookkeeping of the Cluniac Monks around the Year 1000, in *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Reading*, ed. L. K. LITTLE and B. H. ROSENWEIN, Malden 1998, p. 340-362.
15. P. STIRNEMANN, Un recueil de pièces glorifiant Cluny et son histoire : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss, MS latin 17716, in *Cluny 910-2010 : onze siècles de rayonnement*, ed. N. STRATFORD, Paris 2010, p. 276-279.
16. The most recent account of the contents is in S. BOYNTON, Music and the Cluniac Vision of History in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17716, in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honor of Joseph Dyer*, ed. D. J. DICENSO and R. MALOY, London 2017, p. 407-430.

Peter the Venerable assembled it; in his statutes, Peter introduced a specific commemoration of the feast at Cluny (although he was not the first to introduce it in the West) and wrote a sermon on the Transfiguration. Although the music is not unique to Cluny, the rubric associates it with Peter the Venerable and thus with the abbey. The complete Office and Mass of the Transfiguration, unusual in any context, suggests a special emphasis in the context of this particular manuscript. In addition to the connection with Peter the Venerable, there was another, indirect link between Cluny and the Transfiguration. Mount Tabor was the site of a monastery that was affiliated with Cluny by the 1130s,¹⁷ and the mountain was considered the site of the biblical event of the Transfiguration described in Matthew 17, which is depicted in a full-page illumination immediately preceding the office in Paris 17716 (fol. 7v). In addition to commemorating the biblical event of the Transfiguration, the special solemnity of the feast at Cluny as established by Peter the Venerable may have recalled the relationship between Cluny and Mount Tabor. The image of the Transfiguration in Paris 17716 both introduces and illustrates the ideas reflected in the chant texts and readings for the feast.

The fact that the section of Paris 17716 containing with liturgical chant comes first suggests the importance of music in the presentation of Cluny's institutional history and identity. The musical section is followed by a collection of narrative texts (including both hagiography and Peter the Venerable's *De miraculis*). The final section of the manuscript presents the essential texts affirming Cluny's exceptional status, including the foundation charter and the confirmation of the exemption in 1080 by Peter of Albano, who proclaimed a protected zone around the monastery. The text of the exemption is followed by the account of the sermon affirming Cluny's liberty delivered by Urban II when he dedicated the altars in the abbey's principal basilica in 1095.¹⁸ As we will see, the illumination depicting this dedication demonstrates how monastic and other ecclesial spaces can be interpreted through visual representations.

The manuscript transmits a unique version of Peter the Venerable's *De miraculis*, including many interpolations in which the theme of Cluny as a space of performance recurs frequently. One chapter recounts a vision experienced by the monks during the night office. In the choir, the community suddenly saw appear a "quite handsome youth, kinglike in clothing and visage, bearing a golden scepter, who was followed by angels with a censer, carried a harp which he presented all around him, and with its melody he elicited tears from everyone; then he censed, embraced, and kissed them all. Finding just one of them sleeping, he ceased his perambulations, blessed all the buildings, and returned to the celestial places whence he had come. It escaped no one that he was the king of kings."¹⁹ Although this anecdote

17. IOGNA-PRAT, *Order and Exclusion* (cited in n. 2), p. 331.

18. ID., *Un Recueil liturgique et historique du tournant des années 1200* (Paris, BnF lat. 17716), *BUCEMA* 9, 2005 [en ligne]: <http://cem.revues.org/792>.

19. Paris, BnF lat. 17716, fol. 32v: *Constat nobis fuisse in choro cluniacensi personam tali uisione dignam que uidit iuuenem decorum ualde et habitu et uultu regi similem, uirgam auream ferentem, quem sequebatur angelis cum thuribulo, ipse autem portabat cytharam, quam circumquaque presentabat, et ad cuius melodiam cunctis lacrimas excitabat. Deinde naribus singulorum turificabat sicque illis dabat amplexum et osculum. Unum solum dormitantem*

is considered by Giles Constable to be a twelfth-century interpolation into Peter the Venerable's authorial text of *De miraculis*,²⁰ in Paris, BnF lat. 17716 it evokes the Davidic, cithara-playing figure on one face of the first capital of the modes that was in the choir hemicycle of Cluny III. This capital, now in the Farinier, was a daily presence for the monks of Cluny at the time that Paris, BnF lat. 17716 was copied.

In addition to this Cluniac visual parallel to the description in the anecdote, the Cluniac customary of Bernard (ca. 1080) supplies a meaningful context for the nocturnal vision. Bernard states that during the Sunday procession before Mass, the priest, accompanied by two *conuersi*, makes the rounds of the monastic buildings, "first the dormitory, then the refectory, the monks' kitchen, and the cellar, and in each place... the priest says his own prayers, and one of the *conuersi* sprinkles holy water around the perimeter of each place."²¹ The priest's liturgical blessing of the *officina* (literally "workshops," but here more generally designating the monastic buildings, as the detailed listing of them makes clear) resembles the blessing of the monastic buildings by the princely harpist during the nocturnal vision. After his departure, the monks realize that the king of kings has passed among them. The harpist is understood by the assembled monks as a figure of Christ, and the priest, who recalls Christ by anamnesis in the sacrifice of the Mass, is also a figure of Christ. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews (5:6) identifies Christ as the *sacerdos secundum ordinem Melchisedech* of Psalm 109:4.²² By the time Guillaume Durand wrote his liturgical commentary in the 13th century it was natural for him to assert that Jesus, as a priest according to the order of Melchizedek, instituted the ceremony of the Mass.²³ Thus, in the Sunday procession before Mass, the priest who blesses the buildings would have been understood as a figure of Christ for the monastic community. The supernatural anecdote incorporates this typology into the description of the royal, harp-playing visitor who enters the choir by night and circulates among the monks. The carved figure of the harpist in the choir hemicycle corresponds

reperiens preteriiuit, nullumque amplius uisitandum reliquit. Quo facto, ingenti splendor comitante officinas cunctas benedicendo circumiuit, et celestia unde descenderat repetiuit. Quem fuisse regem regum nullus ignorat.

20. G. CONSTABLE, The Letter from Peter of St John to Hato of Troyes, in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, ed. G. CONSTABLE and J. KRITZECK, Rome 1956 (Studia Anselmiana 40), p. 38-52, at 48.
21. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 86v: ... *officinas cum duobus conuersis perlustrat primum dormitorium, postea refectorium, coquinam regularem, et cellarium, et in singulis sicut in domo infirmorum factum est ipse proprias orationes dicit, et conuersorum unus per circuitum cuiusque aquam benedictam spargit.*
22. Hebr 5:5-6: *sic et Christus non semet ipsum clarificauit ut pontifex fieret sed qui locutus est ad eum: Filius meus es tu ego hodie genui te quemadmodum et in alio dicit: tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.* (In the Douai-Rheims translation: So Christ also did not glorify himself, that he might be made a high priest: but he that said unto him: Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee As he saith also in another place: Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech.)
23. *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* IV.1.3, in *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale Diuinorum Officiorum I-IV*, ed. A. DAVRIL and T.M. THIBODEAU, Turnhout 1995 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 140), p. 240.

to the textual description, even down to the hybrid instrument, which is a symbolic combination of a harp (suggesting David) and a cithara (the Greco-Latin word commonly used for David's harp).

In capitals depicting musicians, both figurative language and the idea of musical performance serve as a stimulus to the visual imagination. As Sébastien Biay has shown, the placement of the capitals of the modes in the choir hemicycle forms part of a coherent program structured logically around the principle of number and interdependence.²⁴ Number and order are the predominant themes in the inscriptions as well as in the images of the capital, which is suitable for its position in the monks' choir. By contrast, in the basilica of Vézelay, a capital in the nave exhibits a very different facet of musical performance, ambiguously linking the sound of music played on a chalumeau to its effect on another, demonic figure distinguished by his wild and grotesque appearance as he fondles a naked woman.²⁵ The meaning of the grotesque appearance of performers in Romanesque sculpture has been explored (among others) by Thomas Dale, who has argued that the grotesque dancers and musicians in the sculpted capitals of the Romanesque cloister from Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, juxtaposed with demonic heads devouring the lower halves of human forms, had an apotropaic function.²⁶ The laity did not have access to the choir or to the cloister, which were spaces reserved to the monks, but they could circulate in the nave, which is the location of the capital of Vézelay with the demonic figure responding to the sound of a wind instrument. Perhaps the iconography of the three capitals discussed here reflects to some extent a distinction arising from the uses of space by laity and monks.²⁷ Kristine Tanton has recently argued that a capital in the narthex of Vézelay derives its meaning from the fact that both groups would have passed through the space.²⁸

Let us turn to the other manners of representing performance that appear in two of the illuminations in Paris 17716, which both suggest three-dimensionality in ways intended to evoke the physical space of the church interior. The first,

24. S. BIAY, *Building a Church with Music: The Plainchant Capitals at Cluny, c. 1100*, in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. S. BOYNTON and D.J. REILLY, Turnhout 2015 (Studies in the visual cultures of the Middle Ages 9), p. 221-236.
25. K. AMBROSE, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing*, Toronto 2006 (Studies and Texts 154), p. 89; ID., *The Marvellous and the Monstrous in the Sculpture of Twelfth-Century Europe*, Woodbridge 2013 (Boydell Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture), p. 117. Sébastien Biay, in an unpublished essay (*L'opposition entre culture religieuse et culture profane : une clé de lecture de l'art roman ?*) reviews medieval texts that form a context for the role of music in this image.
26. T. E. DALE, *Monsters, Corporeal Deformities and Phantasms in the Romanesque Cloister of St-Michel de Cuxa*, *Art Bulletin* 83, 2001, p. 402-436.
27. On the significance of the placement of capitals in Romanesque churches see J. BASCHET, J.-C. BONNE and P.-O. DITTMAR, "Iter" et "locus". *Lieu rituel et agencement du décor sculpté dans les églises romanes d'Auvergne*, Chapitre I - Lieu ecclésial et agencement du décor sculpté, *Images Re-vues* [Online], Hors-série 3 | 2012, Online since 24 November 2012, connection on 14 September 2017 : <http://imagesrevues.revues.org/1608>. (I thank Thomas Spencer for bringing this study to my attention).
28. K. TANTON, *Inscribing Spiritual Authority: The Temptation of St. Benedict Capital in the Narthex at Vézelay*, *Viator* 44, 2013, p. 125-156.

which immediately follows the conclusion of the Transfiguration liturgy, illustrates the Marian responsory *Mater misericordie*. This responsory is extremely rare, and may have been composed at Cluny.²⁹ The style of its florid melody in the sixth mode suggests an origin in the 12th century. It was presumably meant to be sung during the office of Matins or Vespers on a feast of the Virgin Mary. The first part of the text (known as the respond) is inscribed on the scroll held by the Virgin Mary, enthroned as the *Sedes sapientiae*, before a prostrate monk (fig. 1). The text has sometimes been attributed to Peter the Venerable, although there is no evidence that he composed it: “Mother of mercy, hope and the way of pardon; Holy one, beseech your son for us V. Lest we be condemned, let your voice sound in the ears of Christ, for he is kind. Holy one... Eternal glory be to God, the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit.”³⁰ The use of the words *Mater misericordiae* for the opening of the responsory may evoke the historical significance of this phrase at Cluny, beginning with its special importance to Abbot Odo.³¹

The illumination evokes a position that a monk might actually have assumed in prayer before a statue of the Virgin and child, such as the twelfth-century one that was situated in the Marian chapel at Saint-Martin-des-Champs but is now at Saint-Denis. According to Philippe Pagnieux, this statue (which stood in the apse built around 1135) can be dated to around 1140 on stylistic grounds and was probably commissioned by Thibaud II, the prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs from 1132 to 1143.³² Pagnieux points out that the Marian focus of the apse was contemporaneous with Peter the Venerable’s emphasis on the cult of the Virgin and reflected de elopments at Cluny in the same period.³³

The image may be intended to illustrate the intercessory supplication of the Virgin as described in the text of the responsory; Mary and Christ gaze into each other’s eyes while the child makes a gesture of blessing in the direction of the kneeling monk. In any case, the posture of the monk alludes to the religious practice of venerating a three-dimensional representation of the Virgin. The composition

29. The only other notated instance of this responsory is in Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 249 (239), fol. 10v (as an addition of the 12th century), and thus it cannot be demonstrated with certainty that the responsory originated at Cluny.
30. Paris, BnF lat. 17716, fol. 23r: *Mater misericordie, spes et uia uenie; pia piū pro nobis exora filium. V. Sonet ne dampnemur vox tua in auribus Christi quia dulcis est. Pia... Gloria sit perhennis deo patri filioque et spiritus alm .*
31. I. ROSÉ, *Construire une société seigneuriale. Itinéraire et ecclésiologie de l'abbé Odon de Cluny (fin du IX^e-milieu du X^e siècle)*, Turnhout 2008 (Collection du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice 8), p. 80.
32. P. PLAGNIEUX, La Vierge à l'Enfant du prieuré parisien de Saint-Martin-des-Champs : son insertion dans le contexte architectural et liturgique, in *Vierges à l'Enfant médiévales de Catalogne : mises en perspectives*, ed. M.-P. SUBES and J.-B. MATHON, Perpignan 2013 (Collection Histoire de l'art 5), p. 119-121. On the chapel, see ID., D'une chapelle de la Vierge l'autre : l'exemple du prieuré clunisien de Saint-Martin-des-Champs à Paris, BUCEMA Hors-série 6, 2013 [en ligne] : <http://cem.revues.org/12726>; and ID., Le chevet de Saint-Martin-des-Champs à Paris: incunabile de l'architecture gothique et temple de l'oraison clunisienne, in *Saint-Martin-des-Champs et la genèse de l'art gothique*, *Bulletin monumental* 167, 2009, p. 3-39.
33. PLAGNIEUX, La Vierge à l'Enfant (cited in n. 32), p. 128.

Droits numériques non obtenus.

is comparable to the self-portrait of Matthew Paris in the *Historia anglorum* from the 1250s, with the significant difference that Matthew remains outside the framed and clearly delineated image of the Virgin and Child, whereas in Paris 17716 the monk's foot exceeds the frame of the image and protrudes into the space of the musical notation below, subtly indicating his participation in two different registers of the manuscript page.³⁴ These registers are juxtaposed but characterized by distinct temporalities. The upper register (the image) portrays a visionary experience of prayer, which is timeless, while the musical notation below and to the right of the image represents the time of the present, the human time of the liturgy. The feet of the Christ child dangle in front of the scroll, enhancing the way in which the inscribed surface delineates space within the image. The monk's feet similarly demarcate space by overlapping the frame, thus calling attention to the boundaries of the image.³⁵ Although the monk's position in the foreground suggests that he exists physically outside the sacred space of the Virgin and Child (who appear to be located in a niche in the church space indicated by the towers), his attitude of devotion situates him spiritually within the composition. The key to his place there is the scroll, which he holds at one end while the Virgin Mary holds the other; they share the chant represented metonymically by the inscription, which implies a sung performance addressed to Mary, but also an expression of personal devotion. The separation between liturgy and devotion was not absolute; the texts of personal prayer are imbued with the language and structures of the liturgy.³⁶

The layering of image, text and music creates an imagined Cluniac space of performance. Even though the illumination does not depict singing, the image is rendered an implicitly musical one both by its proximity to the notated responsory and by the presence on the scroll of first part of the chant text. A musical image can reflect or relate to musical thought or practice without representing musical performance directly.³⁷

A more explicit representation of performance is constituted by the illumination in Paris BnF lat. 17716 depicting Urban II's dedication in 1095 of the high altar and matutinal altar in the great basilica (fig. 2). In this image, the church frames the sermon delivered by Urban II after he dedicated the high altars. The framing effect is both literal (the depiction of the church encloses the text) and symbolic (the church is the superstructure that gives the text its meaning). The sermon enumerates the borders of Cluny's exempt territory, defining the political dimensions

34. See London, British Library, MS Royal 14, c. vii, fol. 232r, in A. SAND, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*, Cambridge MA 2014, p. 47-49, fig. 6

35. Sand calls this kind of echo a 'visual rhyme', *ibid.*

36. S. BOYNTON, Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters, *Speculum* 82, 2007, p. 895-931.

37. For two studies of indirectly musical images see S. BOYNTON, From Book to Song: Texts Accompanying the Man of Sorrows in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, in *New Perspectives on the Man of Sorrows*, ed. C. R. PUGLISI and W. L. BARCHAM, Kalamazoo 2013 (Studies in Iconography: Themes and Variations), p. 117-146; M. CURSCHMANN, Integrating Anselm: Pictures and the Liturgy in a Twelfth-Century Manuscript of the 'Orationes sive Meditationes', in *Resounding Images* (cited in n. 24), p. 295-312.

Droits numériques non obtenus.

of its proprietary space.³⁸ The depiction of the church in the illumination appears to cite architectural details that can still be observed today in the north-western bay of the eleventh-century basilica at Cluny. On the tower at the right, the vertical lines below the three windows recall the fluting on the pilasters below the three windows in the clerestory of the south transept nave. The spacing above the windows echoes the proportions on the exterior of the clerestory, and thus the representation of the tower seems to combine or conflate the interior and exterior of the bay.³⁹ Even these rather imprecise references serve to situate the image of the dedication explicitly in the space of the great basilica. The depiction of the dedication affirms the character of the text collection in Paris, BnF lat. 17716 as a memorial compilation documenting Cluniac identity, which Dominique Iogna-Prat terms a *lieu de mémoire*.⁴⁰ As Didier Méhu has argued, the visual representation of the dedication constitutes an inscribed memory, and here the image is as eloquent a testimony as the sermon.⁴¹ The performance of the dedication rite was central to the creation of sacred space, both as it was experienced over time and understood through language.

The image of the dedication also represents the new *maior basilica* as the edifice symbolizing the union between Cluny and Rome. The inscription below the image (possibly added later) identifies the participants as the pope with his curia, and the abbot with the Cluniac community, their juxtaposition underlining the significance of Cluny's ties to Rome, which were reaffirmed by the sermon of Urban II. The position of the pope in the front, his feet prominently on top of the frame, two fingers raised in a gesture of blessing, clearly designates his role as the principal agent in the performance of the dedication. The ritual action is also conveyed by a detail on the right side of the composition, the swaying censer that protrudes from behind Abbot Hugh.

The group of unidentified onlookers at the lower left, pointing to the scene, may represent the laypeople who would have witnessed the dedication. In his study of church dedications in Italy, Louis Hamilton cites references to the citizens known collectively as "good men" who were among those attending rituals of consecration.⁴² In this image of the dedication, the laity are present as witnesses and also as visual symbols pointing to Cluny's role in the Church. The simultaneous presence of the three groups in the space of the new basilica can be understood as a visual depiction of Cluniac ecclesiology, for Cluny was on an eschatological

38. MÉHU, *Paix et communautés* (cited in n. 1) p. 151-166.

39. These portions of the surviving portion of the church appear in C. E. ARMI, The Context of the Nave Elevation of Cluny III, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, 2010, p. 320-351, at 326 (figs. 7-8)

40. D. IOGNA-PRAT, Les lieux de mémoire du Cluny médiéval (v. 940-v. 1200), in *Au cloître et dans le monde : femmes, hommes et sociétés (IX^e-XV^e siècle) : mélanges en l'honneur de Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq*, ed. P. HENRIET and A.-M. LEGRAS, Paris 2000 (Cultures et civilisations médiévales 23), p. 114-117.

41. See D. MÉHU, *Historiae et imagines de la consécration de l'église au Moyen Âge*, in *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'Occident médiéval*, éd. D. MÉHU, Turnhout 2007 (Collection du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice 7), p. 15-48, at 48.

42. L. HAMILTON, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy*, Manchester 2010 (Manchester Medieval Studies), p. 7, 61-63.

mission to rebuild the Church in the image of its congregation.⁴³ The Cluniac liturgy of the dedication feast expresses this idea, allying the common understanding of the church as a place representing the New Jerusalem with the interpretation of Cluny itself as a place particularly close to the angels.⁴⁴ The basilica was a three-dimensional expression of Cluny's position in Christendom. For a Cluniac, repeated viewing of the illumination, personal experience of the church, and the annual celebration of the feast of the dedication inscribed this understanding of the basilica in time and space.

SPACES OF PERFORMANCE DETERMINED BY LANGUAGE

In Cluniac history the metaphorical space of performance is constituted by language, resulting in a discursive practice of Cluniac space that is determined by liturgical performance. The liturgy at Cluny promoted a particular sense of Cluniac space by emphasizing the cults of abbots Odo, Maiolus, and Odilo. The idea of a Cluniac ecclesial space is reinforced by the language of place: the idea of "our place" and the places subject to it, the dependencies, is frequently invoked in texts written at Cluny, such as the customaries compiled in the third quarter of the 11th century by the monks Ulrich and Bernard.⁴⁵ These texts cite both the usages specific to Cluny and the customs introduced by its abbots. For instance, Ulrich refers to the custom of celebrating the octave of the feast of Saint Martin as having been introduced by the first abbot of Cluny, Odo.⁴⁶

One of the provisions in the eleventh-century customaries concerns the annual commemoration on the Monday after Pentecost of the dead buried in Cluny's cemetery, established by Abbot Hugh and required of all of the Cluniac dependencies.⁴⁷ All the bells were to be rung, and in addition to the usual services performed with a selection of prayers to commemorate the dead, the community was to sing prescribed psalms and feed twelve paupers with the remains of the day's meals. According to the later version of this statute preserved in Paris, BnF lat. 17716, every part of the commemoration was to be performed "in all places subject to this one," with the concession that *cellae* with only two or three monks had to feed at least as many paupers as there were monks, if they were unable to

43. On the structure of the Cluniac *Ecclesia* see IOGNA-PRAT, *Order and Exclusion* (cited in n. 2), p. 55-60.

44. J. HARRIS, *Building Heaven on Earth: Cluny as Locus Sanctissimus in the Eleventh Century*, in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. S. BOYNTON and I. COCHELIN, Turnhout 2005 (*Disciplina monastica* 3), p. 131-151.

45. For an overview of the Cluniac customaries in their context, see I. COCHELIN, *Évolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard*, *ibid.*, p. 29-66.

46. S. BOYNTON, *La liturgie de Cluny avant l'abbatit d'Hugues : problématique de la recherche*, in *Cluny : les moines et la société* (cited in n. 4), p. 137-143.

47. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 156v: *Est et aliud quod constitutum est a domno Hugone abbate ut in secunda feria huius ebdomadę semper agatur, scilicet ut pro cunctis in cimiterio nostri monasterii quiescentibus specialiter ac studiose memoria fiat quod pro ipsius edicto per omnia loca nostra fit*

offer nourishment to the full symbolic number of twelve.⁴⁸ The ritual commemorated the dead in the cemetery of each dependency, but the substance of the ritual was to follow that performed at Cluny, and dependencies with a full complement of monks should carry out every part just as in the mother house. Another provision in Bernard's customary concerns dependencies that are too far away to send to Cluny the *brevis* (a mortuary roll announcing a death) each time one of their monks died. These remote communities were to record the deaths and send the accumulated announcements once a year to Cluny, where all the deceased brothers would be commemorated simultaneously.⁴⁹ The commemoration of the dead in the space of the mother abbey was a more important consideration than the time that had passed since the brothers' demise.

The commemoration of the dead at Cluny, which encompassed kings and emperors as well as monks of the congregation, was perceived from early in the history of the abbey as efficacious in rescuing souls from perdition. The monastery and its dependencies constituted a space of intercessory performance that was invoked in hagiography as well as in the donation charters. However, the role of the laity in Cluniac spaces of performance extends beyond the signs of patronage and the virtual presence of the dead in the ritual community. On those occasions when the monks perceived a pressing need to process outside the monastery with their relics, the laity greeted the procession outside the abbey gates.⁵⁰ In addition to elites who visited Cluny, and lay servants who worked there, laypeople entered the abbey as oblates and novices, sometimes taking the habit soon before their death so as to be buried in the cemetery. Lay congregants were on occasion physically present in the abbey church, as I have suggested for the illumination of the dedication in Paris, BnF lat. 17716. A few passages in the customary of Bernard provide insight into how this intermittent lay presence affected the monks' use of space in the church. It seems that direct contact with laypeople was generally to be avoided. Bernard states that the guest master must always stay with someone who comes from outside, and "show him where he should pray, first (if the church is closed) at the Holy Cross, and (if the community is not there) in the choir, at the high altar, and at the end, at the altar of Saint Mary. If the church is not closed, and some laypeople are there, then he should just pray at the altar of Saint John, which is in the apse, and at [the altar of] Saint Mary."⁵¹ The locations for the outsider's

48. Paris, BnF lat. 17716, fol. 75v: *Sed et per omnia loca huic loco subiecta hoc idem agi pro cuiusque loci cimiterii defunctis sancitum est, uidelicet ut in monasteriis ubi congregatio fratrum est, nec minus hoc perficiatur, sed in cellis ubi non plus quam duo aut tres commorantur, si tot pauperes reficere nequeunt, saltem uel quot sunt fratres tot pascantur.* The statute was edited from a later manuscript, Paris, BnF nouv. acq. lat. 3012, in G. CHARVIN, *Statuts, chapitres généraux et visites de l'ordre de Cluny*, Paris 1965, t. 1, p. 17.

49. Paris, BnF lat. 17716, fol. 115v-116r.

50. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 100r.

51. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 22v: *Debet quoque adherere ei iugiter, et monstrare in quibus locis debet orare, primo scilicet si ecclesia clausa est, ad sanctam crucem, et si conuentus ibi non est in coro ad altare maius, et ad extremum ad sanctam Mariam. Et si ecclesia clausa non est, et ibi sunt aliqui populares, tantum ad altare sancti Iohannis, quod est in membro ecclesie et ad sanctam Mariam.*

prayer in the basilica are to be determined by the presence or absence of monks and laity. In prescribing the punishment of child oblates who make a mistake while singing, or fall asleep, Bernard notes that the presence of laity in the church is grounds for making an exception to the usual regime of punishment: “they are judged immediately, their frock and cowl removed, and wearing only their blouse they are beaten (unless there are laypeople in the church who could see them).”⁵²

During the liturgy of the Mass, the presence of lay congregants seems to have been assumed or at least anticipated. Bernard states that the abbot or his substitute should bring the *pax*, the ritual object kissed by the congregants during Mass, to any laypeople or secular clergy who might be in attendance.⁵³ He also alludes in passing to the stone holy water stoup installed in the abbey church for the use of the laity.⁵⁴ While the presence of laypeople at the principal Mass of the day must have been a fairly routine occurrence that is rarely mentioned in the sources, their participation in festal liturgies elicits prescriptions concerning the allocation of space. For the Veneration of the Cross on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) the customary of Bernard distinguishes clearly between the liturgical space of conventual performance and another unspecified location where laypeople may perform the ritual separately. After the entire monastic community has completed its veneration, “if laypeople (*populares*) arrive, the Cross is taken to them in another place so that they may venerate it.”⁵⁵ For the Veneration, each individual approached the Cross and prayed, prostrate, to the sound of chants and prayers; the ceremony combines a gesture of personal devotion with collective liturgical worship. On this occasion, the Cluniac space of performance is delineated not by physical walls, but by the designation of a separate space for the laity to perform the ritual. Laypeople were on occasion literally inserted into the Cluniac space of performance, where they functioned as instruments of its meaning, as was the case of the paupers who were admitted to the abbey for the Mandatum ceremony on Maundy Thursday, or the twelve who were fed during the annual commemoration of the dead in the cemetery.

When the monks performed a *clamor*, the ritual cursing of the monastery’s enemies, the people were called to take on more active roles as witnesses to the monks’ tribulations and agents of the remedy.⁵⁶ At Cluny the *clamor* would begin by convening the people in the principal church on a Sunday for the morning mass, the first mass of the day which was usually celebrated only by the monastic community. The Credo, which marked the solemnity of the Mass, would be sung only if laypeople were in attendance. A monk would preach and beseech them to

52. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 57r: *Absque mora frocco et cuculla exuti iudicantur, et in sola camisia ceduntur, nisi laici sint in ecclesia a quibus uideri possint.*

53. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 102v.

54. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 96v: *Conca lapidea ad usus laicorum.*

55. Paris, BnF lat. 13875, fol. 144v: *Adorata autem cruce ab omnibus... Post hęc si qui conuenerunt populares, defertur eis in alium locum et adorant eam.*

56. On the *clamor*, see L. LITTLE, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*, Ithaca 1993.

give alms and turn over the malefactor to the monks.⁵⁷ Such choreographed liturgical celebrations, like the processions on Palm Sunday and Rogation Days, articulated the Cluniac space of performance around the physical location of the abbey and manifested the identity of the monastic community in relation to the society in which it lived.

Susan Boynton
Columbia University

57. *Praecipitur ut omnes populares die dominica ad maiorem ecclesiam conueniant et tunc cantatur missa matutina ad crucifixum. Finito euangelio, quidam frater ascendit pulpitem et de preceptis diuinis aliquantis per primum loquens, tandem manifestat eis tribulationem, suggerens eis ut faciant elemosinas, atque rogent Dominum, quatinus illum malefactorem pacatum eis reddat, et conuertat de malo ad bonum. Adiungit quoque quaedam humilia et persuasoria dicens, Scitis quia si aufertur nobis nostra substantia non possumus uiuere. Rogate ergo fratres Dominum et nos faciemus ad eum proclamationem.*