

RECOVERING THE HISTORY OF A MALE CISTERCIAN COMMUNITY FROM ITS LITURGICAL CODICES (C. 1175-1350)

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Abstract

*This paper embarks upon the trail of the early years of the Monastery of Alcobaça from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century in order to contextualise the *modus operandi* of the scriptorium of Alcobaça which was so central to the history of this Cistercian community. Combining what may be gleaned as to the activities of abbots, and especially through analysis and dating of the liturgical books produced during the period, questions are probed concerning the typology of codices copied at that time and the liturgical identity therein portrayed in relation to the Cistercian desired ideal of uniformity across the Order.*

The present paper is in large part, a synthesis of research undertaken, and investigative methodologies developed over the last decade around the liturgical codices of the Monastery of Alcobaça.¹

From the outset the exploration was orientated to follow the steps of the monks of Alcobaça, from the moment they started to produce codices about 850 years ago,

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¹ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Approaches to the Study of a Fourteenth-century Breviary from the Cistercian Abbey of Alcobaça (ms. ALC. 66)," *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses*, 68 (2017): 249-276; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Investigating liturgical practise and ritualized circulation in the Monastery of Alcobaça. A preliminar view from the manuscripts", *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses*, 70, fasc. 3-4 (2019): 301-326; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Cistercian Liturgy and daily practice through the manuscripts of Alcobaça. Preliminary considerations from three sample rituals" in *O Gesto e a Crença: percursos, transferências e intermedialidade*, ed. Diana Pereira, Inês Afonso Lopes and Rosa Maria Sánchez (Porto: Faculdade de Letras/CITCEM, 2021), 67-77; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, Conceição Casanova and João Pedro Veiga, "Entre liturgia y materialidad: estudio de un códice iluminado del Monasterio de Alcobaça (Alc. 252)," *Medievalia* 25 (2022): 7-45; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Requiescant in pace. Death and memory in the Monastery of Alcobaça based on its liturgical codices" in *Loci Sepulcrales. Places of memory and burial in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carla Varela Fernandes, Catarina Fernandes Barreira, João Luís Inglês Fontes, Maria João Branco and Mário Farelo (Basel: Brepols FIDEM, 2023), 483-515.

“the beginning of a copious library,”² in the words of Brother Manuel dos Santos, while studying Cistercian liturgy and its reception and practice in Alcobaça, particularly in terms of performance in the monastic space, and adaption both to local cultural contexts, and to the evolution of the monastic building complex.

Of necessity, therefore, the research project “Cistercian Horizons”³ (hereafter the “Project”) was from its inception in 2018 designed as an interdisciplinary operation involving, besides examination of internal textual matter, the laboratory analysis of the physical and chemical composition of the codices (all procedures were non-invasive). As was the hope, synthesis of the data thus obtained, taking account of elements including additions made to the books over the centuries, and paying careful attention to marginal notes and other marks of use inserted by generations of monks, enabled a deeper understanding of the conditions under which the books were applied as practical tools of liturgical ritual. Importantly, the survival of an impressive number of medieval liturgical codices from the Alcobaça collection allowed for comparison across broad samples of similar types of books, Breviaries, Missals, Martyrologies, etc., providing fundamental information as to how the liturgy evolved within the Cistercian usage and how it was adapted here and there to the special conditions of the community of religious residing in the abbey, and of the wider locality.

With a clear focus on the connections between the monks themselves and the manuscripts handled by them on a daily basis, I also looked for anything in the manuscripts that might connect with the morphology of the monastic precinct of Alcobaça, important information which (especially in conjunction with archaeological interventions) can be used in the dating of physical changes taking place in the fabric of the abbey itself such as the addition of new features including doorways, additional buildings, or extensions or contractions of various spaces.⁴ Principally, this evidence took the form of added notes and testimonies, inscribed on the folios often in margins or in other available spaces around the core text.⁵

Sketching the history of a Cistercian community in its early years of functioning

In following the fortunes of the early monastic community, questions concerned the various ways in which the liturgical codices of Alcobaça slotted into the history of

² Frei Manoel dos Santos, *Descrição do Real Mosteiro de Alcobaça*. (Alcobaça: Associação para a defesa e valorização do Património Cultural da Região de Alcobaça, 1979).

³ About the Project: <http://cistercianhorizons.fcsh.unl.pt/> and Catarina Fernandes Barreira, Conceição Casanova and Catarina Miguel, “Cistercian Horizons or how Liturgical books can be sources to understand a monastic context from the 12th to the 16th centuries,” *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses*, t. 72, fasc. 1-4 (2021): 315-321.

⁴ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “Relics and Liturgical Practice in a Portuguese Cistercian House - the Cult of Saint Blaise in Santa Maria de Alcobaça”, in *Imagens e Liturgia na Idade Média. Criação, Circulação e Função das Imagens entre o Ocidente e o Oriente na Idade Média (séculos V-XV)*, ed. Carla Varela Fernandes and Manuel Castineras González (Lisboa: Editora Sistema Solar, 2021), 461-489.

⁵ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “*«Este livro he da sancristia dalcobaça...»*” Notas de pertença e circulação de livros em ambiente monástico” in *Mobilidades: Olhares transdisciplinares sobre um conceito global*, ed. Amélia Polónia and Francisco Mangas (Porto: Faculdade de Letras/ CITCEM, 2021), 441-462.

the abbey's scriptorium, the history of the monastery, and the history of the Cistercian Order itself. The search for answers in these directions, perhaps unsurprisingly, involved a revisitation of the available information concerning the founding process of Alcobaça, consummated in 1153 when the monastery was endowed with a huge, landed estate in Estremadura (between the Atlantic Ocean and the Aire and Candeeiros mountains) as recorded in a well-known charter addressed to Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux by Portuguese King Afonso Henriques (1110/1111-1185).⁶ Nevertheless, still very little is known about these early years, although notable inroads have been made by the studies of Saul Antonio Gomes⁷ which are shortly to be supplemented by of the publications resulting from this Project.⁸

Of course, the early regulations of the order on the foundation of new Cistercian houses stipulated at Chapter 9 in the *Capitula* that an abbot must not be sent out to establish a new foundation

“without at least twelve monks, without having among the books a Psalter, a Hymnal, a Collectar, an Antiphonary, a Gradual, a Rule, and a Missal, nor before the buildings of the oratory, the refectory, the dormitory, the house for guests and for the door-keeper, have been built in that place; this is so that [the monks] may immediately serve God and lead a regular life.”⁹

The final paragraph of the chapter stipulates that there shall be the same books for the Divine Office, as well as the same habit, the same type of food, and the same usages and customs in everything. Then in Chapter 10, entitled “Which books are not permitted to be diverse” the following books are listed: Missal, Evangeliary, Epistolary, Collectar, Gradual, Antiphonal, Hymnal, Psalter, Lectionary, Rule and Martyrology, it being added that “everywhere they should be possessed uniformly.”¹⁰ Although liturgical uniformity was a central tenet and a fundamental aspect of Cistercian identity, in many houses, over time, the liturgy was subject to certain local adaptations and, in this aspect, Alcobaça was one such example.

In general, many questions continue to surround Chapter 9, in particular as to how it would have been applied in practice. Sadly, the documentation available for the first two decades of Alcobaça (a paltry total of ten items) is tiny when compared

⁶ ANTT, Mosteiro de Alcobaça Documentos régios, M.º 1, nº 1.

⁷ Saul A. Gomes, “Entre memória e história: os primeiros tempos da Abadia de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (1152-1215)”, *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 2 (2002): 187-256, and Saul A. Gomes, “Revisitação a um velho tema: a fundação do Mosteiro de Alcobaça” in *Cister. Espaços, Territórios, Paisagens. Atas do Colóquio Internacional*. (Lisboa: IPPAR, 2000), 27-72.

⁸ Among these the forthcoming book, Jonathan Wilson, *Cistercians of the Western Edge, Politics, Patronage, and Settlement in Medieval Portugal, c. 1138-1223*, (Budapest: Trivent Publishing, in preparation).

⁹ “De construendis abbatibus. VIII. (...) Nom mitendum esse abbatem nouum in locum nouellum sine monachis ad minus XIIcim, nec sine libris istis: psalterio, hymnario, collectane, antifonario, gradali, regula, missali.” Chrysogonus Waddell, *Narrative and legislative texts from early Cîteaux* (Cîteaux – Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999), 187.

¹⁰ “Quos libros non liceat habere diversos. X. Quos libros non licet habere diversos. Missale, epistolare, textus, collectaneum, graduale, antiphonarium, regula, psalterium, lectionarium, kalendarium, ubique uniformiter habeantur.” Waddell, *Narrative and legislative*, 187.

with the following decades, and leaves us without answers in many respects.¹¹ Did twelve monks from Clairvaux come, accompanying the first abbot, D. Randulfo (1152 - 1164)?¹² And what of the abbots that succeeded him, D. Bartolomeu (...1164...) and D. Pedro (...1170...) - were they members of the original foundation party? Importantly, for the matters of primary interest herein, what books did the monks use during these first years? Although I can produce no definitive evidence in this respect, I can certainly speculate that the books necessary for correct liturgical practice in this period came on loan from the mother house of Clairvaux so that the liturgical life of the newly founded community of Alcobaça could begin without delay. Indeed, there is some support for this circumstance in so far as it is known that a Legendarium from Clairvaux was sent to Alcobaça to be copied (Clairvaux apparently was making available some of its older codices so that they could be put into circulation among its daughter abbeys).¹³ Certainly, the codices produced in Alcobaça retain distinct elements identifiable with the mother house, as has been demonstrated in the studies of Aires A. Nascimento and Manuel Pedro Ferreira.¹⁴

From the period of the abbacy of D. Martinho (1170-1191) a little more information is forthcoming concerning the Monastery and its functioning.¹⁵ Indeed, during this period two important events occurred. The first of these occurred in May 1178¹⁶ when the building of the abbey church began with the laying of the first stone as the process of the installation of the monastic community began according to the precepts of the regular life. The works commenced with the building of the church and continued with the construction of the other basic facilities essential to the functioning of the community. The second major event was the activation of the scriptorium of Alcobaça which began producing books for the resident monks at about this same time, or perhaps a few years earlier in about 1175. Indeed, there has long been a consensus as to the likely dating of the initiation of book production in Alcobaça among the scholars who have examined the issue, including, Aires A.

¹¹ António Joaquim R. Guerra, *Os diplomas privados em Portugal dos séculos IX a XII* (Lisboa: Centro de História, 2003), 238 and nexts.

¹² Gomes, “Revisitação a um velho tema,” 46 and Saul A. Gomes, *Imago & Auctoritas. Selos Medievais de Santa Maria de Alcobaça* (Coimbra: Palimage, 2008), 69.

¹³ François Douleau, “Le legendier d’Alcobaça. Histoire et Analyse,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 263-296; Aires A. Nascimento, “Legendarium Alcobacense,” in *Nos Confinos da Idade Média* (Lisboa, 1992), 149-150; Aires A. Nascimento, *O scriptorium de Alcobaça: o longo percurso do livro manuscrito português* (Lisboa/Alcobaça: Direcção Geral do Património Cultural, 2018), 136, and Aires A. Nascimento, “O scriptorium de Alcobaça: a experiência do livro na instituição monástica” in *Manuscritos de Alcobaça. Cultura, identidade e diversidade na unanimidade cisterciense*, ed. Catarina Fernandes Barreira (Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais e DGPC/Mosteiro de Alcobaça, 2022), 32.

¹⁴ Nascimento, *O scriptorium de Alcobaça: o longo percurso do livro manuscrito português*, 129 and 135, and Nascimento, “O scriptorium de Alcobaça: a experiência do livro,” 31; Manuel Pedro Ferreira and Mara Fortu Araújo, “Recitação do texto sacro: Claraval e Alcobaça,” in *Mosteiros Cistercienses: História, Arte, Espiritualidade e Património*, ed. José Albuquerque Carreiras (Alcobaça: Jorlis, Tomo II, 2013), 197.

¹⁵ On this abbot, see Gomes, “Entre memória e história,” 225 et seq., and see also Gomes, “Revisitação a um velho tema,” 47.

¹⁶ Gomes, “Entre memória e história,” 207 et seq.

Nascimento,¹⁷ Adelaide Miranda,¹⁸ and namely António Guerra,¹⁹ and our own findings in this respect served to confirm the same.²⁰ In this early phase, book production took place simultaneously with the production of other written instruments. In about fifty administrative documents identified by Antonio Guerra produced during the incumbency of Abbot D. Martinho, I find the monk-scribes Gonçalo (Gunsalvus), Pedro (Petrus) and Martinho (Martinus), among others, redacting documents.²¹ According to our results, here and there confirmed in previous published studies, the following liturgical codices, date from the period of Abbot D. Martinho's reign:

- **BNP, Alc. 11, a Psalter-Hymnal**, one of the first codices to be copied in the scriptorium of Alcobaça, dated around 1175.²²

- **BNP, Alc. 433, vol. 2 of a Lectionary for the Office** which is one of a set of three codices. The textual core of this lectionary dates to about 1175 to which folios (and quires) with new Feasts were added, having been authorised by successive General Chapters - from 1175 (*SS Trinitate*²³), - from 1292 (Exaltation of the Holy Cross²⁴), - from 1318 (*Corpus Christi*²⁵), and two Feasts dating in the seventeenth century (Fig. 1).

¹⁷ Aires A. Nascimento, "Le scriptorium d'Alcobaça: identité et corrélations", *Lusitânia Sacra* 4 (1992): 149-162; Aires A. Nascimento, "A experiência do livro no primitivo meio alcobacense", *Atas do IX Centenário do Nascimento de S. Bernardo* (Braga: Universidade Católica e Câmara Municipal de Alcobaça, 1991), 121-145.

¹⁸ Adelaide Miranda, *A Iluminura Românica em Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcobaça*, (Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996. PhD Thesis); Adelaide Miranda, "Manuscritos bíblicos românicos de Santa Maria de Alcobaça", *Cister. Espaços, Territórios, Paisagens. Atas do Colóquio Internacional, 16-20 Junho 1998* (Lisboa, Ministério da Cultura. IPPAR, 2000), 375-386 and Adelaide Miranda, "A Iluminura românica em Portugal" in *La miniatura medieval en la Península Ibérica*, ed. Yarza Luaces (Murcia, 2007), 375-418.

¹⁹ Guerra, *Os diplomas privados em Portugal*, 226.

²⁰ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Abordagem histórico-artística a dois manuscritos litúrgicos do scriptorium do Mosteiro de Alcobaça do último quartel do século XII ou o início de "huma livraria copiosa," *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 17 (2017): 33-62.

²¹ Guerra, *Os diplomas*, 238 et seq., and Gomes, *Imago & Auctoritas*, 30.

²² Barreira, "Abordagem histórico-artística," 33-62; Samuel Arrojado, *Contribuições para a caracterização do scriptorium de Alcobaça: estudo e preservação de um códice litúrgico medieval (BNP Alc. 11)*, (Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciência e Tecnologia da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2020, Master Thesis); Conceição Casanova, Samuel Arrojado, Catarina Fernandes Barreira, Catarina Miguel, Teresa Quilhó and Ana Tourais, "Narrating the Codex History: The Case Study of the Psalter-Hymnal from the Alcobaça Monastery, Portugal," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies. Special Issue: Connecting the Dots: New Research Paradigms for Iberian Manuscripts as Material Objects* 14:1 (2022): 127-141.

²³ According to the *Statuta Capitulum*, "Hystoria de Trinitate cantabitur et missa dicetur sicut in festo unius Apostoli." Joseph -Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis: ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, I (Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 1933), 82.

²⁴ Feast made universal in 1292 according to the *Statuta Capitulum* of that year: "In primis, cum ad honorem Dei et gloriam Redemptoris nostri omne genu humiliter incurvetur ac Redemptoris nostri gratiam omnis lingua debeat confiteri, generale Capitulum ordinat et diffinit quod sicut in abbatibus per regnum Franciae constitutis, sic ubique terrarum per orbem, per Ordinem universum festum, de sanctissima corona Domini solemniter dum duabus missis in crastino beati Laurentii celebretur." Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, III, 258-259.

²⁵ About this feast in Alcobaça see Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "A Festa do *Corpus Christi* no Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV", in *Equipamentos Monásticos e Prática Espiritual*, ed. Maria de Lurdes Craveiro, Carla Alexandra Gonçalves and Joana Antunes (Lisboa, 2017), 83-103.

It is very likely that this volume and the other two volumes (Alc. 432 and Alc. 434) that constitute the textual core of this Lectionary were all produced at about the same time.²⁶ - **BNP, Alc. 441-445, a Homiliary for the Office.**²⁷ This codex, containing the *lectiones* of the epistles and gospels glossed by various commentators was used for readings for the Divine Office in the Temporal cycle. Perhaps produced in 1175, it was compiled before news had arrived to Alcobaça of the authorization by the General Chapter in September of that year of the Feast of the *SS Trinitate* after Pentecost, since this celebration is not included in the work. Initially the text was divided into 3 volumes, but at some later date, probably during the thirteenth century, the codex was dismantled and re-bound in 5 volumes.²⁸

- **BNP, Alc. 260, a Sacramentary-collectar** dated between 1175-1191.²⁹

- **BNP, Alc. 166, a Collectar-ritual**, the primitive core dating between 1185-1191.³⁰ Analysis of the Sanctoral, litany, and occasional liturgical comments inscribed in the margins, indicates a date between 1185 and 1191 for the production of the primitive nucleus of this codex. The book was prefaced later with a calendar apparently compiled and added around 1260. The earliest of the various additions appearing at the end of the book is the Feast for St Bernard, in accordance with the stipulations of the General Chapter of 1202, with the latest addition dating to the turn of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries (Fig. 2).

The illuminated decoration of the manuscript displays marked similarities with BNP, Alc. 249 (see below).

- **BNP, Alc. 249, a Missal**, dated between 1185 - 1195/6. In this Missal both Temporale and Sanctorable are incomplete, each missing periods of liturgical time, although, apparently, there are no folios or quires missing and the quires are sequentially numbered. In the Sanctorable, which begins with the Feast of St Stephen and goes to the Invention of the Holy Cross, celebrated on 3 May there is a hiatus

²⁶ Shatila Fitri, *The Study of Biographical Trajectory of Portuguese 13th Century Illuminated Manuscript: LECCIONARIUM ALC. 433 from Alcobaça Collection held by The Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* (Évora: Universidade de Évora, 2020, Master Thesis) and Catarina Miguel, Shatila Fitri, Silvia Bottura-Scardina, Conceição Casanova and Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "On the Life of a Scriptorium: Unveiling the Interdisciplinary Study of the MS Alc. 433 Manuscript and its Unique Chronological Record of the Work at the Portuguese Scriptorium of Alcobaça" in *Drugs & colours in History*, ed. Maria Luisa Vázquez de Ágredos Pascual, Catarina Pereira Miguel and Claudia Pelosi (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanche, 2024), in press.

²⁷ With regard to Homilies, see Aimé-George Martimort, *Les lectures Liturgiques et leurs livres* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 93 and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the beginning of the Thirteenth century* (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book, 1998), 153 et seq. Did the Cistercian Homilies fall into disuse when the Breviary was imposed? Martimort, *Les lectures Liturgiques*, 103 and Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 156.

²⁸ Although this codex is dated in the Inventories as being from the thirteenth century, in *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses*. Vol. V (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1932), 412-415 and Aires A. Nascimento, *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses. Tomo VI (Índices)* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1978), 523. Another hypothesis is that this Homiliary was copied/compiled using a codex from before 1175 as a model and, for reasons unknown to us, it was not updated to include the Feast.

²⁹ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "No coração da liturgia monástica: os colectários de Santa Maria de Alcobaça," in *Manuscritos de Alcobaça. Cultura, identidade e diversidade na unanimidade cisterciense*, ed. Catarina Fernandes Barreira (Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais e DGPC/Mosteiro de Alcobaça, 2022), 154-182.

³⁰ Barreira, "Abordagem histórico-artística," 33-62 and Barreira, "No coração da liturgia monástica," 154-182.

up to the Feast of St Andrew on 30 November, and goes to St Thomas the Apostle. The logic is not the same as for a *Winter Missal*, which runs from Advent to Easter, leading me to suspect that the exemplar manuscript from which the Missal was copied was incomplete. The Missal contains the Feast of St Thomas of Canterbury (post 1185³¹) however the Feast of St Peter of Tarentaise (1196³²) is inscribed in the margin, which suggests the Missal was copied sometime between 1185 and 1196. From folio 243v onwards (end of quire XXVI) the contents are jumbled, this disorganisation being caused by a loss of the sequential order of some of the folios. Thus, after the votive Masses, the next quire begins with the Mass of St. James (Iacobi) and the Mass of St Michael the Archangel, Masses which were added to the codex at a date very close to its completion and, later, the Mass of St Bernard according to the stipulations of the General Chapter of 1202 (Fig. 3). In fact, these Masses and additions begin with the end of the Mass of St Bernard, more specifically with the *Postcommunio* (“*Suum in nobis omnipotens Deus, [intercedente beato Bernardo] cibis quem sumpsimus operetur effectum ut incorporet nos sibi esus edentes, qui tecum,*” folio 244),³³ followed by the Feasts of St James and St Michael the Archangel.

These are followed by the collect and the secret of the Mass for St Bernard (which should normally be followed by the *Postcommunio*), and again the end of the Mass of St Michael the Archangel, and a collect. Further additions follow, viz: the Mass of All Saints, the Mass of St Blaise and the Mass, *Pro defunctis*.

Of course, this list of codices is not an exhaustive survey of all the books produced during the incumbency of Abbot D. Martinho, but is a sample only, comprising the codices analysed within the scope of the Project over its four-years duration.

Nevertheless, the general picture that emerges confirms that production of codices began around 1175, as mentioned above. By this time, the conditions for the production of books were present, that is to say, the monastery had achieved the economic means necessary for the acquisition of materials (enabled by the patrimonial enrichment of the Monastery³⁴) and, further, possessed the necessary human resources in so far as there was a group of monks who had not only mastered writing, but also a range of technical skills in a complex process extending from the initial preparation of parchment, to writing, illumination, and, finally, to bookbinding. Figs 1 and 2 show the Feasts that date the original core-texts of two of the codices under examination, Alc. 433 and 166, indicating what was added to them, when, and in what order. It is clear that in addition to marginal notes, sometimes whole folios and/or quires containing Feasts or new celebrations were added to the volumes over the centuries, obviously indicating that the books were in regular use for very prolonged periods.

³¹ “*In festivitate s. Thomae martyris, Anglis ab olim concessae sunt duae missae, ceteris una.*” In Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 102.

³² “*Festum beati Petri Tarentasiensis de mandato domini Papae transferatur ad 8 idus maii, et versus anni recurso non dicatur.*” In Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 209.

³³ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 275-276.

³⁴ Gomes, “Entre memória e história,” 216 e ss.

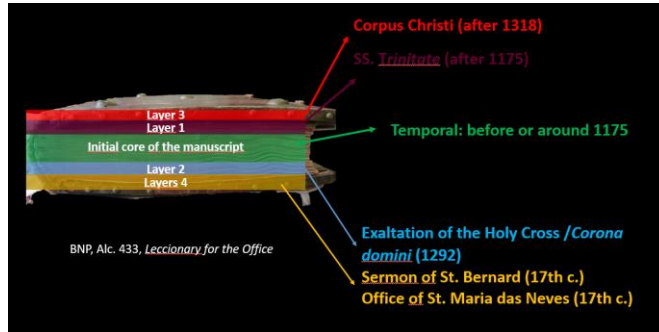


Fig. 1. Scheme showing the initial core of the manuscript BNP Alc. 433, and place of the additions, in various layers.

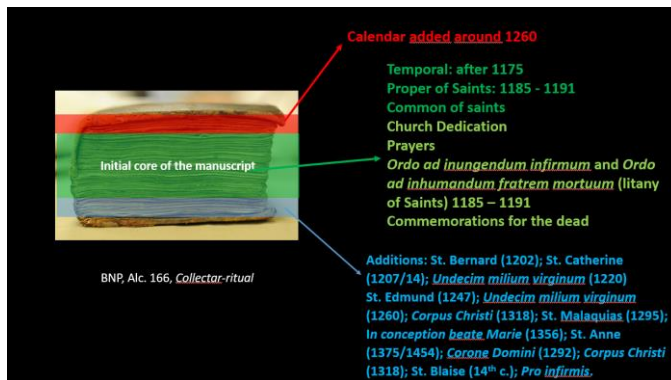


Fig. 2. Scheme showing the initial core of the manuscript BNP Alc. 166, and place of the additions.

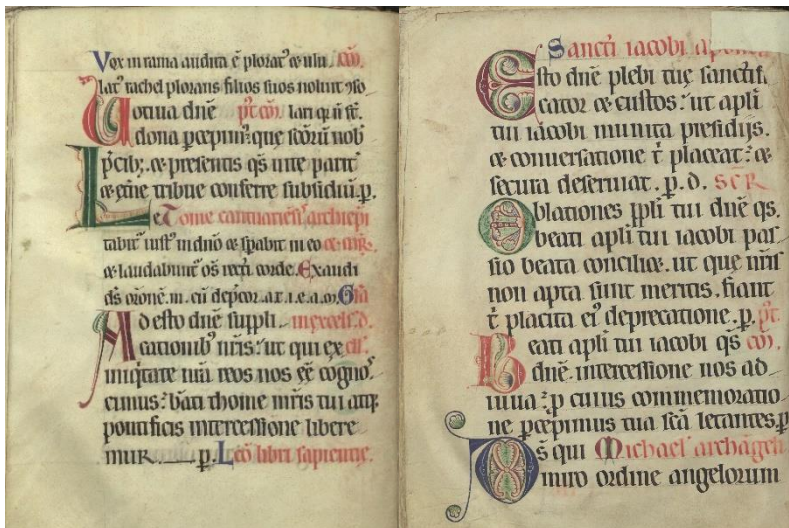


Fig. 3. BNP, Alc. 249, folios 139v and 244v © National Library of Portugal, Lisbon.

In gauging how far this set of books complied with the rules on the foundation of new houses mentioned earlier I can note the presence in Alcobaça during its early years of a Psalter-hymnal (Alc. 11); a Collectar-ritual (Alc. 166) and a Missal (Alc. 249), besides the Sacramentary, the Lectionary for the Office and the Homiliary and other examples that were not examined in detail during the Project. Thus, it is almost certain that the early scriptorium was principally engaged in the production of the books essential for the monks to serve their primary function in the performance of the Liturgy, both the Mass and the Divine Office, in due compliance with the Cistercian Rule.

The next question was as to how closely the first codices, produced in the Alcobaça scriptorium, follow the example of Dijon 114, a codex produced in Cîteaux to serve as a model for the Cistercian liturgy.³⁵ Indeed, Dijon 114 is contemporary with the abbacy of Dom Martinho and the production of the codices mentioned above,³⁶ some of which clearly reflect the liturgy as presented in this exemplar model, thus corresponding to this moment of stabilisation of the Cistercian liturgy in terms of formulas, prayers, texts, etc.

Abbot Dom Martinho was succeeded by Abbot Dom Mendo (1191-1206).³⁷ It has been argued by some authors that it was during this period, around 1190/1195, that the Monastery of Alcobaça became the target of a Saracen assault which caused severe damage to the community,³⁸ a conclusion which must be questioned since there appears to have been little or no interruption in the functioning of the monastery and there is only a vague reference to aggressive Muslim activity in Hispania contained in the *Statuta* of 1195: "*Statutum est Anno praeterito ut pro tribulatione terrae sanctae et incursu Saracenorum in Hispaniam...*".³⁹

If there had been a catastrophic Saracen attack on Alcobaça, it is likely it would have been reported in the General Chapter, however, there is no suggestion of the event and, indeed the first time the Monastery of Alcobaça appears mentioned in the *Statuta Capitulorum* is when Abbot D. Mendo was admonished in 1201 for his absence from the General Chapter of that year.⁴⁰ Although the reasons for his absence are

³⁵ The first folio includes a statement that its contents was in accordance with the requirements of the Cistercian rules of uniformity: a Breviary in three parts (it is in fact a Lectionary); Epistolary; Evangelary; Missal; Collectar; Calendar; Rule; Consuetudinary (- the last five are missing: Psalter; Canticles; Hymnal; Antiphonal and Gradual), in accordance with Dijon 114, Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon. And see Nicolas Bell, "Liturgy", in *The Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 263.

³⁶ There is no consensus on its dating, although the dating is very close: according to Martimort, it was made between 1175 and 1185 (Martimort, *Les lectures Liturgiques*, 93); between 1173 and 1191 according to Nicolas Bell (Bell, "Liturgy," 263), or between 1183-1188 according to Thomas Falmagne (Thomas Falmagne, *Les Cisterciens et leurs bibliothèques*, (Troyes: Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 2012), 17, a dating which, in fact, makes it contemporary with the Alcobaça codices referred to.

³⁷ On this abbacy see Gomes, "Entre memória e história," 229.

³⁸ José Mattoso mentions the scarcity and poverty of documentation of the cenobium for the twelfth century, which he relates to "the fact that the monastery was destroyed before 1195 by an incursion of Saracens that killed most of the monks or even the entire community." in José Mattoso, *Obras Completas. Religião e Cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2002), 185.

³⁹ Crysogonus Waddell, *Twelfth-century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter* (Belgium: Cîteaux - Commentarii cistercienses 2002), 306.

⁴⁰ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, I, 272-273.

unknown, it is clear that the abbacy of D. Mendo was a period of growth in terms of patronage and the income accruing to the monastery, in accordance with the continuing policy of attracting benefactors pursued by its abbots. During this time, which appears to have been one of transition and of the adoption of new materials in manuscript production (see Catarina Miguel's and Silva Bottura-Scardina study in this volume) the following Liturgical Codices were produced:

- **Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Mosteiro de Lorvão, ms 17, a Martyrology and Rule of Benedict.**⁴¹ These texts – Martyrology⁴² and the Rule – were bound together because they were both obligatory daily reading texts in the Chapterhouse, following the morning Mass. The first reading was taken from the Martyrology in order to mark the anniversary of one or more saints of that day, and could include passages taken their lives (*Vitae*), their virtues and miracles. Following this, a chapter from the Rule was read. That this codex, from the Convent of Lorvão, was originally produced in the scriptorium of Alcobaça sometime after 1191, is indicated by the inclusion, sequentially and integrated in the core text, of the death of the first abbot of Alcobaça, D. Randulfo (folio 42) and the death of the abbot D. Martinho (folio 124v), both entries having been crossed out after the codex came into the possession of the Convent of Lorvão. The codex was copied after 1191, but before 1196, since the Feast of St Peter of Tarentaise is inscribed in the margin and not integrated in the text (folio 54v).⁴³ Certainly, whilst the codex was still in the Monastery of Alcobaça it acquired marginal notes, which were quite possibly extensive, since it is clear that this codex has been very severely trimmed with the head margin having been reduced almost down to the text, a likely indication that the marginal notes, now superfluous, irrelevant, and inappropriate for use in Lorvão, were cut away. From what indications still remain from use of the codex in Alcobaça, it is possible to conclude that it received marginal notes in that house until, at least, 1247 (St Edmund⁴⁴), and possibly later since there is a note which is hard to read but which appears to concern the translation of the relics of St Benedict, a Feast which was made universal in 1291.⁴⁵ The volume received further marginal notes once it arrived into the possession of Lorvão, these later notes being duly adapted to fit the remaining available space in the margins. All the evidence indicates therefore that the folios of the codex were trimmed after 1247 or 1291, and before the death of Abbess D. Catarina de Eça of Lorvão in 1521. The codex was produced in the scriptorium of Alcobaça, apparently to be used in Alcobaça (otherwise, it appears there would be little point in inscribing memorial notes recording the deaths of the first and the fourth abbots of Alcobaça), but, for reasons unknown and at an uncertain date, the volume was taken to the Convent of Lorvão. Marginal notes subsequently added in Lorvão include those recording the deaths of some of its abbesses, for example Catarina de Albuquerque (folio 3v), Catarina de Eça, and Margarida de Eça (folio 20).

⁴¹ On this codex, see also the text by Alberto Medina de Seïça and Zuelma Chaves in this book, pages 143 and 187.

⁴² On these types of books see Jacques Dubois, *Les Martyrologues du Moyen Age latin* (Turnhout: Brepols 1978), 64 e ss. and Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 165.

⁴³ Authorized in the General Chapter of 1196, Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 209.

⁴⁴ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, II, 315.

⁴⁵ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, III, 249.

A significant finding here is that this codex was copied and illuminated after 1191 and before 1197, at a time when lapis lazuli was still being used to mix the blue pigment (see below).

- **BNP, Alc. 167, an Evangeliary.**⁴⁶ This codex was used in the Mass by the deacon, with pericopes from the Gospels presented in the order of the liturgical year of the Proper of Time and the Sanctorale. I estimate, from its Sanctorale, that it dates from the end of the twelfth century, more precisely between 1197 and 1198 because it contains the Feast of St Peter of Tarentaise, transferred to “8 idus maii” by the General Chapter of 1196,⁴⁷ however, the Sanctorale does not include the Feasts of St Anthony and St. Nicholas, respectively approved in 1198⁴⁸ and 1199⁴⁹ by the General Chapter (both however are inscribed at appropriate places in the margin).

Notable also is that the Feast of St Barnabas as originally included in the core text does not reflect the stipulations of the General Chapter of 1204.⁵⁰ Consequently, some diligent monk had crossed out the old stipulations for St Barnabas and inscribed the new directives alongside, in the margin.

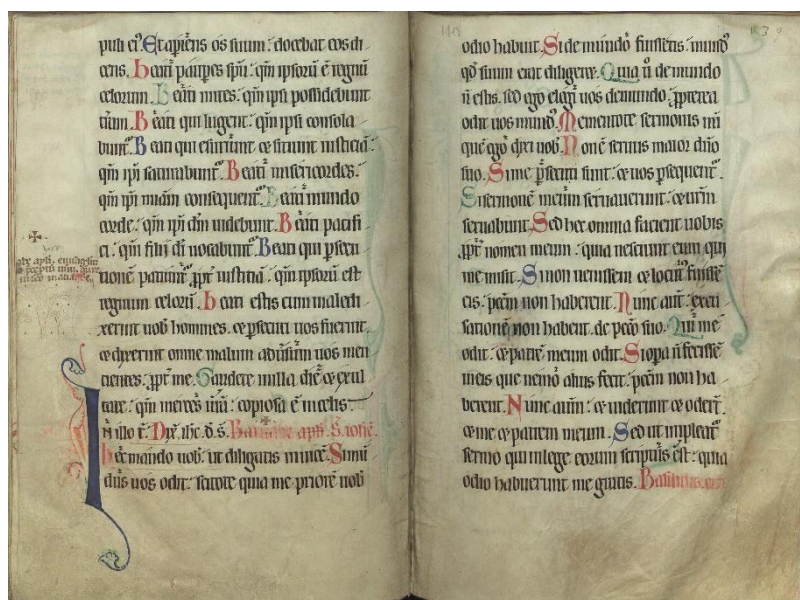


Fig. 4. BNP, Alc. 167, folios 139v and 140 (Feast of St Barnabas)

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⁴⁶ On this codex see Adelaide Miranda, “A iluminura dos manuscritos românicos alcobcaneses,” *Cistercium* 208 (1997): 239 and 240. On this type of book, see Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 94.

⁴⁷ According to the General Chapter of that year, in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 209.

⁴⁸ “De sancto Antonio fiat commemoratio sicut Pauli primi eremitae.” in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 224.

⁴⁹ “De Sancto Nicolao celebrentur duae misae et conversi laborent.” in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 234.

⁵⁰ “In officio sancti Barnabae lectiones ex commentario beati Augustini: Ait Dominus discipulis suis: Hoc est praeceptum meum. Evangelium: Hoc est praeceptum meum, cum homelia beati Gregorii: Cum cuncta sacra eloquia. In officio misae si tempore Resurrectionis venerit: secundum Alleluia Non vos me eligistis; Evangelium: Hoc est praeceptum meum.” in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 298.

This Evangeliary is highly significant for the history of the scriptorium of Alcobaça because two types of blue pigment are present, one made with the usual lapis lazuli and one, a made with a new ingredient, azurite, which we find introduced into the monastery for the first time (see also the article by Catarina Miguel and Silvia Bottura-Scardina in this book). Notable in this Evangeliary is that the azurite blue is used in the most important initials marking the major sections of the codex, whilst the lapis lazuli blue is used for the respective Feasts. The lapis lazuli blue is also used for smaller capital letters. Further, this Evangeliary contains a colophon: “*Obsecro uos qui hec legeritis ut Egidius peccatoris memineritis*” (I beseech you that read this that you will remember Egidius the sinner). It seems that this Friar Egidius (or Gil, as he would be called in modern Portuguese) was also the scribe who copied the codex Alc. 194 and perhaps Alc. 410, all with the same colophon. Notably, in the latter codex, Gil is referred to as a priest of Leiria and the colophon is dated 1219.⁵¹ If this is indeed the same Brother Gil, then the indication is that he worked as a copyist for about 20 years in the scriptorium of Alcobaça. Additionally, it can be observed that the blue used in codex Alc. 410 was that prepared from lapis-lazuli.

- **BNP, Alc. 255, a Missal.**⁵² In this book, azurite was used for only one initial, perhaps an indication that the scriptorium of Alcobaça was experimenting in order to assess the capabilities of this new material. In terms of dating this Missal, it was clear that its Sanctorale contained the stipulations of the General Chapter of 1202 on the Feast of St Bernard,⁵³ which means it must have been copied after 1202/3. Further, it does not contain the Feast of St Barnabas, authorized by the General Chapter of 1203; as mentioned above, with specific stipulations for the Office and the Mass in 1204; nor does it contain the Feast of St Catherine (1207/1214⁵⁴) nor the Feast of St William, nor the Feast of the fourth-century martyrs Saints John and Paul (General Chapter of 1218⁵⁵). However, at the end of the codex, after the votive Masses, and following the *Pro familiaribus* Mass, with the text continuing without proper spacing or interruption, there appears the Mass for the Feast of St Barnabas (folios 206v and 207) present in the version according to the stipulations of the 1204 General Chapter. This could be an indication that the copying of this missal was nearing completion when the Statutes of September 1204 were promulgated, and that accordingly the new texts for the Mass and of the Office of St Barnabas, arrived in Alcobaça shortly thereafter and were hurriedly squeezed into the remaining available space on the folio. If this hypothesis is correct, this Missal was copied in about 1205.

An important question arises concerning the materials used in the scriptorium during this period since this is the time when the use of the traditional lapis lazuli in the production of blue pigment begins to be supplemented by azurite, although precisely when azurite first began to be used in the scriptorium of Alcobaça and the reason why there was recourse to this new ingredient, are still matters of speculation.

⁵¹ Nascimento, *O scriptorium de Alcobaça: o longo percurso do livro manuscrito português*, 140 and 204.

⁵² On this missal, see Miranda, “A iluminura dos manuscritos românicos,” 231, 234.

⁵³ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 275-276.

⁵⁴ For the commemoration of Saint Catherine, see Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, p. 334. For a twelve lesson Feast, see Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 428.

⁵⁵ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, I, 485.

Certainly, one contributing factor may have been some interruption in the supply of lapis lazuli caused by the intensifying war between Christian forces and the armies of the North African Almohad dynasty who controlled almost all of al-Andalus. During this time Portuguese territory was seriously affected by powerful Muslim incursions, including that of 1190 when the Templar headquarters of Tomar was besieged with Alcobaça itself, some 75 km to the southwest, perhaps being attacked during this campaign, although, as outline above, if any such event occurred, it does not appear to have seriously impaired the functioning of the monastery.⁵⁶

II. Book production in Alcobaça during the thirteenth century

Abbot D. Mendo was succeeded by Abbot D. Fernando Mendes (documented in 1206, in 1209 and in 1215⁵⁷), followed by Abbot D. Pedro Egas (1215-1233) who presided over a period in the history of this Cistercian community that is important from several perspectives. It was Abbot D. Pedro Egas who in 1227 formally requested permission from the General Chapter that his community move from its provisional accommodation to its newly built facilities, thus ratifying, according to historians Artur Nobre de Gusmão, Mário Barroca, and Saul A. Gomes,⁵⁸ a move that in fact had taken place some years earlier, in 1223.

It was also during the reign of Abbot D. Pedro Egas that the scriptorium of Alcobaça produced another **Missal, BNP, Alc. 252**.⁵⁹ From an analysis of its Sanctoriale, as well as from notes inscribed in the margins and from additions made to the volume, it is likely this Missal dates to the early decades of the thirteenth century. Indications in this direction include the fact that it contains the Proper Mass for St Bernard, with the modifications introduced by the General Chapter of 1202, it is later than 1204 because the Mass of St Barnabas accords with the stipulations of the General Chapter of that year, and it is later still, because it contains the Feast of the martyrs Saints John and Paul, celebrated on June 26 and includes the stipulations promulgated by the General Chapter in 1218. It follows that this Missal must have been produced in the scriptorium of Alcobaça not long after 1218 but before 1221 on account of the presence of a note added to the Mass of the Assumption of the Virgin, which draws attention to an alteration to that celebration introduced by the General Chapter that year (I note in folio 184v an asterisk in the text, before the commune of the Mass of the Assumption of the Virgin, an asterisk that refers to a note in the margin, where I read the following: *Prefatio Et te in veneratione*. This note refers to a change to the Mass of the Assumption of the Virgin, introduced by the

⁵⁶ On this topic see Maria João Branco, *D. Sancho I*. Lisboa: Círculo Leitores, 2006, 143.

⁵⁷ On this abbot and the General Chapter of September 1206, and in later years, see Gomes, “Entre memória e história,” 212, 230 - 232 and following, and Gomes, *Imago & auctoritas*, 69, Quadro/Table I.

⁵⁸ Artur Nobre de Gusmão, *A Real Abadia de Alcobaça* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1992) 23; Mário Barroca, *Epigrafia medieval portuguesa (862 – 1422)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and FCT, 2000), 90, 130 and 157; Gomes, “Entre memória e história,” 208 and 233.

⁵⁹ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, Conceição Casanova and João Pedro Veiga, “Entre liturgia y materialidad: estudio de un códice iluminado del Monasterio de Alcobaça (Alc. 252),” *Medievalia* 25 (2022): 7-45.

General Chapter of 1221, referring to the “*Missa Beatae Mariae cum duobus ministris et cum Gloria in excelsis secundum tempus, et in praefatione videlicet: Et te in veneratione*”⁶⁰).

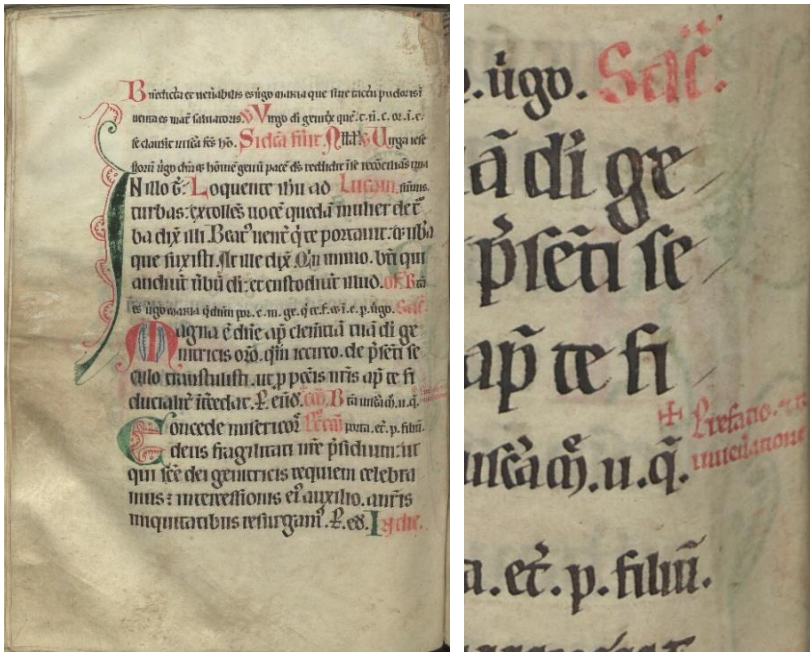


Fig. 5. BNP, Alc. 252, folio 184v and detail in the margin
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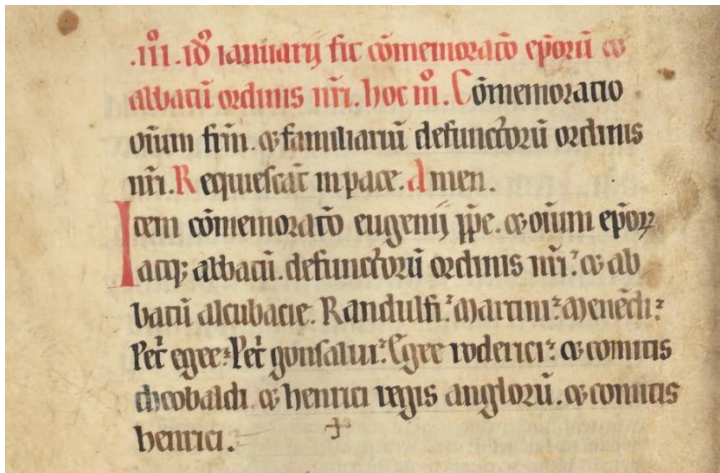


Fig. 6. BNP, Alc. 231, folio 137v © National Library of Portugal, Lisbon.

⁶⁰ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, II, 1.

This means that this Missal must have been produced in the scriptorium of Alcobaça between the years 1218 and the end of 1221, and that, at around the end of 1221 or beginning of 1222, it received this marginal note, concerning the changes introduced in September 1221.⁶¹ With regard to the materials used in the production of the colour blue in this Missal, only azurite is present.

The Abbey of Pedro Egas, who died in 1233 after an 18-year reign, was followed by a somewhat mixed-bag of successors. Saul A. Gomes has documented the following abbots: Abbot Pedro Gonçalves (1233-1246), Abbot Fernando Eanes (1246-1251), Abbot Egas Rodrigues who reigned very briefly during 1252⁶² before being replaced in that same year by Abbot Estevão Martins, who reigned for 23 years before finally resigning in 1275.⁶³

- **Codex BNP, Alc. 231**, containing a Martyrology along with two versions of the Rule of Benedict, one in Latin and one in Portuguese, is from this period. First of all, it must be said that the part containing the Martyrology and Rule in Latin has been attributed to the end of the twelfth century,⁶⁴ while the Rule in Portuguese dates from the early 1400s.⁶⁵ This Martyrology, Alc. 231, (like the previously mentioned Martyrology, follows very closely the model codex, Dijon 114, but Alc. 231 includes a set of new texts that contain important clues as to the dating of the volume. The Alc. 231 Martyrology includes St William, authorised by the General Chapter of 1218; Abbot St Robert (of Molesme) authorised by the General Chapter in 1222;⁶⁶ St Edmund, authorised by the General Chapter of 1247,⁶⁷ and, on folio 30, the Passion of St Peter (of Verona) the Martyr - canonised in 1253 by Pope Innocent IV, and authorised by the Cistercian General Chapter of 1255.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the Feast of the Translation of the relics of St Benedict (authorized in 1291, as mentioned previously)

⁶¹ I question why this missal, whose Sanctoral is after 1218, does not have the Mass of St. Catherine, authorised in 1214, a discrepancy for which I have no explanation. Perhaps the guidelines of the General Chapter on the Feast of this saint were slow to arrive to the Monastery of Alcobaça (the text for St. Catherine's Mass appears as an addition in the Alc. 253 missal, and properly integrated in the Sanctoral in Alc. 26, a missal after 1318, which will be considered later in this article.

⁶² On this abbot see José Albuquerque Carreiras, "Relações entre a abadia de Alcobaça e a abadia de Oseira no século XIII," in *Mosteiros Cistercienses: História, Arte, Espiritualidade e Património*, ed. José Albuquerque Carreiras (Alcobaça: Jorlis, Tomo III, 2013), 19 and nexts. See also codex Alc. 62, from 1475, an Ordinary of the Divine Office copied in Alcobaça, which has a note on folio 196 that refers to the date of the consecration of the church, the bishops present and the name of the abbot (D. Egas).

⁶³ Gomes, "Revisitação a um velho tema," 46; this list does not accord with that of Gomes, *Imago & Auctoritas*, 69. See also: João José Loureiro e Miguel Portela, *Abades perpétuos, comendatários e trienais da Real abadia de Santa Maria de Alcobaça e gerais da Congregação* (Edição dos Autores, 2017), 16 and 17.

⁶⁴ *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses*. Vol. III, 199 and 200; Nascimento, *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses*, 523; Thomas Amos and Jonathan Black, *Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Portuguese Libraries, The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon*. 3 Vols. (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1988), vol. II, 150 and 151; Sara Figueiredo Costa, *A Regra de São Bento em português. Estudo e edição de dois manuscritos* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri/Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2007), 24.

⁶⁵ Costa, *A Regra de São Bento em português*, 24.

⁶⁶ "De beato Roberto primo abbate Cistercii fiat festum XV^o kalendas maii cum XII lectionibus" in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, II, 16.

⁶⁷ "Sexto decimo kalendas decembris festum beati Edmundi per Ordinem universum fiat" in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, II, 315.

⁶⁸ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, II, 410.

is not included in the core text, but rather, it appears in a note made in the margin. From these indications it is possible to date the production of this Martyrology to sometime after 1247/1255 but before 1291.

Further, this book contains, at the end of the Rule of Benedict in Latin, on folio 137v, a text apparently added shortly after the copying of the original texts had been completed (fig. 6). This additional text concerns the commemoration of the abbots of the order, and it lists some of the abbots of Alcobaça but not in chronological sequence:

*“III idus Ianuarii fit commemoratio episcoporum et abbatum ordinis nostri. Item commemoratio Eugenii Papae, et omnium Episcoporum atque abbatum defunctorum ordinis nostri et abbatum alcobaciae Randulfi, Martini, Menendi, Petri Egee, Petri Gonsalvi, Egee Roderici...”*⁶⁹

Although some abbots are missing from the list, we think that the last abbot in this list (D. Egas Rodrigues) helps to corroborate the *terminus a quo* for the production of the codex, i.e., 1247/1255, the codex having been copied at the beginning of the abbacy of D. Estevão Martins.

Certainly, Alc. 231 is an interesting codex which raises some questions if we contemplate that it had been used as model the Lorrão Martyrology mentioned earlier, yet it does not include integrated into the core text, the deaths of the abbots D. Randulfo and D. Martinho. Instead, the deaths of these abbots are inscribed into the folio margins in different hands, which indicates to us that they were added somewhat later, and at different times. Was Alc. 231 copied because the Convent of Lorrão possessed no Martyrology and Alcobaça lent or sold the older, out-of-date Martyrology to Lorrão (ANTT, ms 17) and this codex was copied to replace it? For now, I do not know. In the early 1400s, the text of the Rule of Benedict in Portuguese was added to this Martyrology and Latin Rule of Benedict.

When the HERCULES Laboratory researchers and I came to analyse the composition of the blue pigment used in the codex, we were very surprised to find only the lapis lazuli blue present.

Considering the illumination of the codex more generally, I highlight the large historiated initial that marks the beginning of the Rule of St Benedict in Latin. This is a tri-colour composition showing two figures framed by an architectural border. The seated figure appears to be St Benedict, who points to his ear with one hand and, with the other, he presents a book to the monk next to him ... “My son, listen to the precepts and commandments ...” (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8).

As mentioned, it was during the incumbency of Abbot D. Estevão Martins, in fact at the beginning of his reign, that the abbey church of Alcobaça was consecrated. This took place on October 20th, 1252 and was presided over by the bishops of Lisbon and Coimbra, as recorded in the *Livro das Eras* of the Augustinian monastery of Sta. Cruz de Coimbra.⁷⁰ Today, seven consecration crosses survive and remain visible from this ceremony.⁷¹

⁶⁹ See the transcription of this excerpt in Gomes, “Revisitação a um velho tema,” 45.

⁷⁰ Gomes, “Revisitação a um velho tema,” 39; Gomes, “Entre memória e história,” 202 and 208.

⁷¹ Maria Augusta Pablo T. Ferreira, *A Igreja abacial de Alcobaça* (ACD Editores, 2009).



Fig. 7. BNP, Alc. 231, folio 92
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Fig. 8. BNP, Alc. 231, detail of the illumination of the folio 92
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Further it was during the thirteenth century that the so-called “Chapel of the Kings” (*Capela dos Reis*) of Alcobaça was built, housing the tombs of kings D. Afonso II and D. Urraca; D. Afonso III and D. Beatriz, Princess Sancha and Princes Fernando and Vicente. This Chapel of the Kings, or “galilee”, is no longer extant, and was situated in the narthex at the entrance to the church.⁷² The galilee narthex was probably built after 1214, the year in which Queen D. Urraca, wife of King Afonso II made her will, but before 1271, the year in which Afonso III stipulated the following in his will:

*“Imprimis mando corpus meum sepeliri in Monasterio Alcubaciae, in domo illa in qua jacent pater meus, & mater mea, & mando ibi cum corpore mea tria millia librarum ad construendum claustrum ejusdem Monasterij, & non expendantur in alijs.”*⁷³

Sometime between 1510 and 1519, Abbot D. Jorge de Melo demolished the Chapel of the Kings and moved the tombs to the transept.⁷⁴

Alcobaça in the first half of the 14th century

Between the second half of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the following century, the Monastery of Alcobaça was still far from being completed, as can be seen from the will of King Dinis.⁷⁵ Abbot Estevão Martins stepped-down in 1275 in

⁷² About the location of this chapel at the church entrance see: Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida and Mário Barroca, *História da Arte em Portugal. O Gótico* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2002) 38; a description of the space in Saul A. Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses em Portugal. Séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon: IPPAR, 1998) 159 and Saul A. Gomes, “Uma paisagem para a oração: o Mosteiro de Alcobaça em Quatrocentos” in *Paisagens Rurais e Urbanas – Fontes, Metodologias, Problemáticas. Actas das Terveiras Jornadas* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos, 2007), 49. The Alcobaça galilee was similar to that of Clairvaux, according to the Plan of Clairvaux made in 1708 by Dom N. Milley in Notice 91b, Plan au sol de L’abbaye de Clairvaux en 1708, in Arnaud Baudin, Nicolas Dohrmann and Laurent Veyssièrre, *Clairvaux. L’aventure cistercienne* (Paris: Somogy, 2015), 468–471. See also Terryl N. Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2002), 175 and 193.

⁷³ “I emphatically order my body to be entombed in the Monastery of Alcobaça in that house in which my father and my mother lie, and I order to go there with my body three thousand pounds towards the construction of a cloister in that same monastery and that money is not to be spent on anything else!” in António Brochado da Mota, *Testamentos régios – Primeira dinastia: 1109-1383* (Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2012, Master’s thesis), 192. See also Leontina Ventura, *D. Afonso III*. (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006), 156 and ss.

⁷⁴ Saul A. Gomes, “A Congregação cisterciense de Santa Maria de Alcobaça nos séculos XVI e XVII: elementos para o seu conhecimento,” *Lusitania Sacra* 18, (2006): 383 and Saul A. Gomes, “Uma paisagem para a oração,” 49.

⁷⁵ D. Dinis, in his wills, left a legacy for the church and cloister of the Monastery of Alcobaça. In his first will, of April 1299: “*Primeiramente mando ao Mosteiro de Alcobaça com o meu corpo sex mil libras para fazer a crasta deste Mosteiro.*” Mota, *Testamentos régios*, 195; In his second will of June 1322: “*Primeiramente mando que dem logo ao Moesteiro d’alcobaça pera se adubar a Igreja, e a Crasta, quando mester for, tres mil libras para serem os frades de esse Mosteiro theudos de rogar a Deos pela alma de meu Padre, e pola minba.*” In Mota, *Testamentos régios*, 198. In his last will, of December 1324, the stipulations concerning Alcobaça are very similar: “*Primeiramente mando que dem logo ao meu Moesteiro de Alcobaça para se adubar a Igreja, & a crasta quando mester for tres mil libras para serem os Frades deste Moesteiro theudos de rogar a Deos pella alma de meu padre, & pella minba.*” In Mota, *Testamentos régios*, 204. It can therefore be inferred from this that, at the date of the First Testament, the cloister was being built and, between 1322 and 1324, that is, a hundred years after the community had moved to the new premises, both the church and the cloister required interventions.

compliance with the orders of the General Chapter of the previous year which found that the abbot had committed excesses and, therefore, decreed his dismissal.⁷⁶

When King D. Afonso III was laid to rest in Alcobaça in 1280, abbot D. Pedro Nunes whose first reign was from 1275 until 1281, asked the General Chapter for permission to celebrate the king's birthday, this request being recorded in the Cistercian Statutes of 1280.⁷⁷ In fact, D. Pedro Nunes, would become abbot of Alcobaça for a second term, between 1295 and 1318. He was succeeded by D. Martinho III who reigned from 1318 to 1327.⁷⁸

I had the opportunity to examine two liturgical manuscripts dating back to the early fourteenth century: the Breviary Alc. 54,⁷⁹ dating between 1300 and 1317 and the Missal Alc. 26,⁸⁰ dating between 1318 and 1324. Both the Breviary and the Missal used azurite to make the blue pigment used in the illumination.

- The **Breviary BNP, Alc. 54** is a Winter Breviary, accordingly, containing the texts concerning the first half of the liturgical year. This Breviary begins with the psalterium, followed by canticles and prayers, the Creed, and a litany of saints. Litanies are an important identifying element because they tend to include those local saints enjoying particular veneration.⁸¹ This litany raises some questions not least because of a marked French influence. Following the first martyr, St Stephen the deacon of Jerusalem, there appears St Sernin, martyr and bishop of Toulouse, with the French predilection reinforced by the presence of Saints Justus and Pastor to whom the Cathedral of Narbonne is dedicated, St Dionysus bishop of Paris and his martyr companions, St Martial of Limoges, St Hilary of Poitiers, St Martin of Tours and St Faith or Foy, famously associated with Conques. We also note the presence of Mary of Egypt, uncommon in the litanies found in the liturgical manuscripts of Alcobaça.⁸² The litany is followed by the *Ordo ad inungendum infirmum*, a sacrament for anointing the sick with its own litany and the *Ordo ad inhumandum fratrem mortuum*, both of which are common Cistercian liturgies and appear frequently in other liturgical manuscripts compiled in Alcobaça, especially Breviaries and Collectars.⁸³

⁷⁶ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, III, 129 and 137.

⁷⁷ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, III, 201.

⁷⁸ Gomes, *Imago & Auctoritas*, 69.

⁷⁹ Examined by an interdisciplinary team comprising the following authors: Catarina Fernandes Barreira, Maria João Melo, Rita Araújo and Conceição Casanova, "Through the eyes of Science and Art: a fourteenth century winter Breviary from Alcobaça scriptorium," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies. Looking Ahead: New Approaches to Medieval Iberian Heritage* 8:2 (2016): 252-282.

⁸⁰ Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Um missal alcobacense dos inícios do séc. XIV (Alc. 26)," in *Medieval Europe in Motion. The circulation of artists, images, patterns and ideas from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Coast (6th – 15th centuries)* edit. Maria Alessandra Bilotta (Palermo: Officina de Studi Medievali, 2018), 151-168; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "O martírio de Santo Estevão em três manuscritos iluminados da abadia cisterciense de Alcobaça," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46/2 (2016): 617-649; Barreira, "A Festa do Corpus Christi no Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV", 83-103.

⁸¹ Litanies reflect "the piousness of the community to which it is directed," Joaquim Oliveira Bragança, "Pontifical de Braga do século XII," *Didaskalia* VII (1977): 332.

⁸² Barreira et al, "Through the eyes of Science and Art," 258.

⁸³ Luís Miguel Rêpas and Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Um Ritual descoberto em Salzedas ou a história de um mosteiro através do estudo dos seus códices litúrgicos. Propostas de leituras no espaço e no tempo" in *Manuscritos de Alcobaça. Cultura, identidade e diversidade na unanimidade cisterciense*, ed. Catarina

Following the Temporal which duly begins with Advent, the Sanctorale opens with St Stephen and the Common of Saints ending on folio 309v. Next there are two additions from the fifteenth century: the first occupying folios 310 to 327v is a collection of hymns. From folio 328 onward, the final additions begin after the *Corpus Christi*, where we find yet a third litany including the Cistercian saints (Bernard and Robert) also commonly found in other litanies compiled in Alcobaça. On folio 339v and folio 340 there is a text written in 1491 by a monk, Francisco da Costa, in which he states that this Breviary was from Alcobaça Abbey. Brother Francisco had received the Breviary as a present from his abbot, Isidoro of Alcobaça (r. 1488–1493) sometime between 1488 and November 1490, when he left for the monastery of St Paul of Almaziva. A year later, he wrote the note in the manuscript, with the notion of returning it to Alcobaça Abbey, to which it belonged, as if it were his obligation.⁸⁴ This book dates from the early years of the fourteenth century, although taking account of the Sanctorale, this manuscript appears to have been copied from an exemplar dating in last third of the thirteenth century. It what concerns illuminated decoration, this manuscript displays some historiated initials, with silver and having many points in common with two other manuscripts copied in the first half of the fourteenth century, in the scriptorium at Alcobaça: the abovementioned **Missal Alc. 26**, with a total of 23 historiated initials with gold, and the *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis*, Alc. 376 (dated from 1332).⁸⁵ The Missal Alc. 26 was produced in Alcobaça's scriptorium between 1318 and 1329, a critical date that arises from an analysis of the Tempore, with the Feast of *Corpus Christi*,⁸⁶ authorized in 1318 and which appears following the Feast of The Holy Trinity; and of the Sanctorale, which is missing the Feast of St Thomas Aquinas, authorized by the General Chapter in 1329⁸⁷ but which

Fernandes Barreira (Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais e DGPC/Mosteiro de Alcobaça, 2022), 234-265.

⁸⁴ "My Lord Jesus Christ, I, Friar Francisco da Costa, humble myself before Your Holy Majesty every day of my short life, made greater by your holy Catholic faith. If perchance death may snatch me unaware and so that my enemies will not catch me offhand, I confess to You (...) my Lord and Redeemer to whose hands I commend my soul and body (...) And such being what the Holy Mother Church expects and believes, I hope for this reason to enjoy good health for a long time. I place Your judgment and my sins before [the] witnesses (...) For which I pray and commend that this Breviary of mine, with all the good deeds that I have made for it, be taken to the monastery of Alcobaça, where I am a professed brother, because Abbot Dom Ysidoro has given it to me during my life. Written in the monastery of Sam Paulo, on the 9th day of September, one thousand IIIIc LRI [1491]." Published in Barreira et al, "Through the eyes of Science and Art," 261.

⁸⁵ Similarities that were pointed out first by Horácio A. Peixeiro, "A produção universitária e a iluminura em Portugal nos séculos XIII a XV," in *A Iluminura em Portugal: Identidade e Influências. Catálogo de exposição*, ed. Adelaide Miranda (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1999), 241-245. See also Catarina Fernandes Barreira, "Le *Compendium theologiae veritatis* de l'abbaye d'Alcobaça", in *Portuguese Studies on Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Maria Adelaide Miranda and Alicia Miguez (Brepols Publishers, Barcelona-Madrid, 2014), 105-129.

⁸⁶ Barreira, "A Festa do *Corpus Christi* no Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV", 83-103.

⁸⁷ "Item, cum omnes sanctos quos sancta Ecclesia colit, etiam teneamur congrua veneratione et dignis laudibus praeconium honorare, hinc est quod generale Capitulum ordinat et statuit et diffinit, quod de beato Thoma de Aquino Ordinis Praedicatorum, qui vitae et conversationis sanctimonia firmamentum militantis Ecclesiae decoravit, et suis scriptis et salutaribus documentis multipliciter, ut stella lucidissima, praelustravit, septimo die mensis martii fiat festum duodecim lectionum, sicut de beato Dominico, per Ordinem universum." according with Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, III, 385. In the article Barreira, "Um missal alcobacense," 158, I mentioned the date of 1324 because I

includes the Feasts of St Hugo (authorized in 1320⁸⁸) and the octave of St Bernard (authorized by the General Chapter in 1321⁸⁹).

This Missal was enriched with some later additions: at the beginning of the volume there is a note concerning the shortage of olive oil in the monastery in 1565, the Credo has also been added, and another addition appears concerning the ritual of monastic profession from the late fifteenth century that we had the opportunity of study.⁹⁰ Further additions occur in the middle of the votive Masses, one Mass *pro pestilentia* and a Mass for St Anne, mother of the Virgin.

For all three manuscripts, Alc. 54, Alc. 26 and Alc. 376, a certain similarity with the initials found in French manuscripts is notable, in particular those from the second half of the thirteenth century and the start of the fourteenth century, contemporary with the Winter Breviary. In general, we can characterise this period of the scriptorium, particularly in terms of illuminated decoration, as a period of opening up to external influences, of adapting to models linked, on the one hand, to the Parisian university milieu and, on the other, to foreign exemplars employing more figurative motifs, that is to say, codices whose illuminated ornamentation featured historicised or figurative initials.

It seems to us that these developments may have been occasioned by the introduction of university “textbooks” perhaps from the book markets of Paris, through the purchase of codices necessary for the study of Theology in the university, such books arriving to Alcobaça on account of monks being sent to Paris to be educated, notably in the College of St Bernard in the city. This is the likely reason for the presence, of a significant set of codices dating from c.1275-c.1300 that were required university reading and came to form an important part of the Alcobaça library collection.⁹¹ This appears to have prompted the pictorial innovation that occurred in the scriptorium of Alcobaça during this period. Indeed, the filigree pen work appearing at this time tends to confirm our hypothesis that the Alcobaça scriptorium was now being influenced by the colour initials with filigree of these university manuscripts.⁹²

followed Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. Vol. 1. (Paris, 1934), XCIX, that mentions the date of 1324 for the Feast of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

⁸⁸ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, III, 347.

⁸⁹ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, III, 352.

⁹⁰ Rêpas and Barreira, “Um *Ritual* descoberto em Salzedas,” 250 and 251, and Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “Do *benzimento das monjas*. A profissão monástica feminina nos códices de Alcobaça,” *Lusitania Sacra* 37 (2018): 189-213.

⁹¹ Isaías da Rosa Pereira, “A Pecia em manuscritos universitários. Estudo de três códices alcobacenses dos séculos XIII e XIV,” *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História* 22 (1973), 245-267; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “Manuscritos universitários para o estudo da Teologia na livreria do Mosteiro de Alcobaça,” *Lusitania Sacra* 33 (2016): 99-128; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “A importância de um manual universitário na abadia de Alcobaça: os quatro livros das Sentenças de Pedro Lombardo (Alc. 417),” in *Luz, cor e ouro. Estudos sobre manuscritos iluminados*, ed. Catarina Fernandes Barreira (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2016), 133-154.

⁹² Concerning filigree initials in this respect, see Patricia Stirnemann, “Fils de la Vierge. L’initiale à filigranes parisiennes: 1140-1314,” *Revue de l’Art* 90 (1990): 58-73.

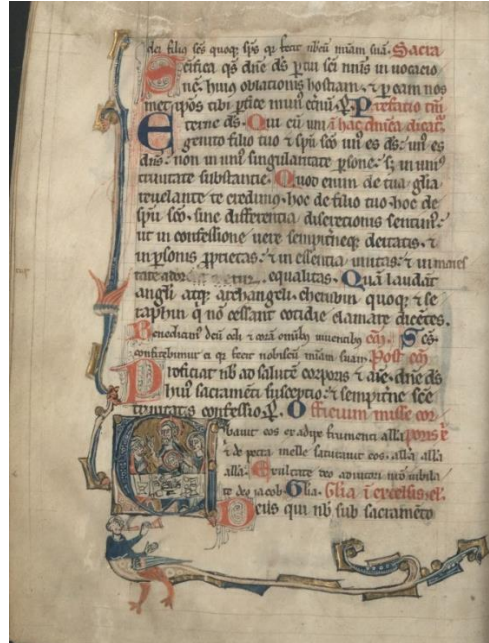


Fig. 9. BNP, Alc. 26, folio 135v © National Library of Portugal, Lisbon.



Fig. 10. BNP, Alc. 26, detail of the folio 135v © National Library of Portugal, Lisbon.

Conclusion

I have here tried to trace a part of the history, particularly over a period of about 180 years of the Monastery of Alcobaça through analysis of some of its surviving liturgical codices. This is the first time this type of analysis has been attempted for Alcobaça, involving a correlation of the data contained in liturgical codices, with matters of the contemporary life of the monastic community, and the evolution of the monastic precinct. Alcobaça's liturgical codices are testament to the way the Cistercian liturgy

was applied and adapted in the context of this particular community – and are, to a greater or lesser degree, reflections of how the scriptorium of the Monastery of Alcobaça, from its early years, responded to the needs of the monastic community, the dynamics of its various abbots, the close connections established with the monks that copied, annotated and used the books, and of the Cistercian Order in its striving for the ideal of Liturgical uniformity. Ultimately, it is possible to say, that with a little deviation to accommodate local traditions, this ideal was indeed largely achieved in Alcobaça, far away from its motherhouse in Burgundy in the heart of Europe.

In addition to this, and more specifically, the rigorous and in-depth study of the liturgical content of each of the codices mentioned, with their sometimes obscure marginal annotations, occasional additions of folios and quires over the years, and the broader circumstances of their manufacture, has enabled us to achieve a more precise dating, in many cases, and sometimes even to propose a surprising re-dating, as in the cases of the *Evangelary Alc. 167*, and the *Martyrology Alc. 231*, in relation to the chronology previously attributed. Further, these investigations have contributed to a better understanding of liturgical practice in the monastery enabling both the identification of the elements that were added and an assessment of the time in which they were added. Further, careful note was taken of what was adapted and what was rejected through a consideration of the decrees of the Cistercian General Chapter, regarding which Feasts the community decided to incorporate into the *Sanctorale* and which Feasts were dispensed-with entirely or, if not, considered less important.

Circulation of books had an important impact on Alcobaça's scriptorium from the moment of its inception. However, it is especially during the period c. 1275-1300 when the circulation of university manuscripts was intense, that there is a perceptible atmosphere of cultural openness that not only enriched the library, but stimulated the illuminated decoration of the working liturgical codices that went on to be produced in the scriptorium during the fourteenth century.

For all these reasons, the liturgical codices of Alcobaça, when studied in terms of their liturgical content, analysed, dated, and compared with each other in order to understand their uses and connexions, become unique witnesses of the devotions of this religious house and its dynamics, constituting authentic repositories of memory of this particular community that produced them, used them, read them, annotated them and, sometimes, augmented them with timely up-dates in the form of added folios and "tacked-on" quires.

The in-depth liturgical study of the codices opened a window into the past of this Cistercian community, alongside with their material analysis, conducted through non-invasive laboratory techniques delineated within several texts within this compilation. Consequently, this made it possible to start writing the history of the Alcobaça scriptorium, delving into the materials and methodologies employed in book production from its establishment in the latter part of the 12th century to the mid-14th century – a period around 180 years. Undoubtedly, while this narrative is nascent, it already underscores the potential trajectory of such research endeavours in the future: although the Project, *Cistercian Horizons*, has come to an end, our investigations and our interest in the codices of Alcobaça will continue to present

new daily challenges, especially within the context of the recently launched twin-sister-project, dedicated to the codices of the Cistercian Nunnery of Lorvão.

Acknowledgements

This study was funded by the Portuguese Science Foundation through a research project *Cistercian Horizons. Studying and Characterising a Medieval Scriptorium and its Production: Alcobaça, dialogues between local identities and liturgical uniformity* (PTDC/ART-HIS/29522/2017) and by National Funds through the FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the Norma Transitória – [DL 57/2016/CP1453/CT0070 and DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54499/DL57/2016/CP1453/CT0070>].

I am heavily indebted to Jonathan Wilson, my friend and text reviser for all the hours he spent with this article. I am deeply grateful to the researchers and friends who worked with me during the last five years, in particular Paulo Lopes, Mário Farelo, Luís Rêpas and João Luís Fontes, as well as Conceição Casanova and Catarina Miguel.

A special thanks to the National Library of Portugal (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal), partner of the project, for facilitating the viewing and analysis of the codices of Alcobaça.

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