Approaches to the Study of a Fourteenth-Century Breviary from the Cistercian Abbey of Alcobaça
(MS ALC. 66)

Catarina Fernandes Barreira

The monastery of Alcobaça was founded by Clairvaux in 1153 but work on the church and monastic precinct did not begin until 1178. The church was consecrated on October 20, 1252 by the bishops of Lisbon and Coimbra, a date memorialized in the calendars of the liturgical manuscripts made in the monastery’s

Abbreviations


1 The manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal, and this research has been made possible by the generous support and collaboration of the directors and staff. The study was funded by the Portuguese Science Foundation through a post-doctoral grant awarded to the author [SFRH/BPD/70067/2010].


scriptorium. The scriptorium likely started to produce illuminated manuscripts during the last quarter of the twelfth century,\(^5\) even before the monks moved into the monastic facilities that we know today.\(^6\) It remained active until at least the early sixteenth century, the volumes produced (to which printed books were eventually added) remaining in use throughout the centuries.\(^7\)

Aires A. Nascimento, an expert on the Alcobaça manuscripts, has shown that approximately eighty surviving examples from Alcobaça have been preserved in their original bindings, and they are a type with different characteristics than French bindings.\(^8\) In addition to the characterisation and “identification of a scriptorium”,\(^9\) Nascimento also confirmed that the guidelines for constituting the Alcobaça library were similar to those followed in other Cistercian abbeys, notably the mother abbey of Clairvaux. But Alcobaça also established strong links with its local context, especially through liturgical practice.\(^10\)

As was stipulated in early Cistercian legislation, a new abbot was not to be sent to a new place without at least twelve monks or without a psalter, hymnal, collectary, antiphonary, gradual, Rule and missal.\(^11\) According to Aires A. Nascimento, the first manuscripts presumably provided for Alcobaça by Clairvaux have disappeared, making it impossible to confirm their origins. However, there is no doubt that such manuscripts were furnished in later periods.\(^12\) By comparing the palaeography of the Alcobaça manuscripts with Cistercian examples now in Troyes, Manuel Pedro Ferreira believes that they were modelled after Clairvaux manuscripts.\(^13\)

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\(^7\) Luana Giurgevich and Henrique Leitão, Clavis Bibliothecarum: Catálogos e Inventários de Livrarias de Instituições Religiosas em Portugal até 1834, Lisbon 2015.


\(^11\) Non mittendum esse abbatem novum in locum novellum sine monachis ad minus duodecim, nec sine libris istis: psalterio, hymnario, collectaneo, antiphonario, gradali, Regula, missali... in Narrative and Legislative Texts from early Cîteaux, ed., Chrysogonus Waddell, Cîteaux – Studia et Documenta 9, Brecht 1999, p. 408.

\(^12\) Nascimento, “A experiência do livro no primitivo meio alcobacense” (see n. 8), p. 123.

Alcobaça’s library is an excellent case study because—in comparison with other Cistercian libraries, especially in France—a large number of manuscripts have come down to us. Despite some losses (the eighteenth-century inventories, especially the *Index codicum Bibliothecae Alcobatiae* made in 1775 by the monk Francisco de Sá, counted 476 manuscripts; the current number is 467), this abbey library is one of the most impressive to have survived. Nevertheless, work continues: the 467 codices were mostly produced in the abbey’s scriptorium, others were acquired, while still others were produced in different scriptoria. Some of the manuscripts came to the library when monks from Alcobaça went to the College of Saint Bernard in Paris to study theology.

It is also important to remember that—as with Clairvaux and other libraries—some liturgical manuscripts were eventually used as binding material. Once studied and dated, the fragments used in the bindings of the Alcobaça codices will certainly tell a more detailed story of the library and the production of its scriptorium.

### I. The *Alcobacense 66* Manuscript

Liturgical manuscripts are the most “dynamic” and interesting manuscripts in a monastic library because they testify to the evolution of liturgy, the important relationship between liturgy and the community of monks who used the manuscripts

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through the centuries, and finally, the relationship between manuscripts and monks within the convent. It is common for Alcobaca liturgical manuscripts to feature additions, especially additional feasts.

The Breviary was a book used to celebrate the liturgy of the Hours, and although I refer to manuscript Alcobacense 66 (Alc. 66) as a Breviary in the title of this paper, the designation is not in fact correct. This type of manuscript cannot be a Breviary because the manuscript contains only the offices of matins and lauds; so it corresponds to a portion of a Breviary only, one that is usually called a Matinal.

With respect to their internal structure, the Alcobaca liturgical manuscripts—and breviaries in particular—frequently include the following sections: Calendar, Psalter, Temporal, Sanctoral and Common of Saints. The manuscripts usually have additions inserted before the calendar and after the Common of Saints. Not only are these additions significant because they help to date the manuscripts, but they also attest to the community’s concern with liturgical unanimity over the centuries.

Usually at the start of the most important sections (Psalter, Temporal and Sanctoral), and the more significant feast days within those sections, an historiated, decorated or puzzle filigree initial is shown. Alcobacense 66 displays this last type of illuminated decoration, but it also contains two interesting narratives in the margin that will be analysed.

1. Codicological description

The Matinal Alc. 66 is 190 × 134 mm in size and contains a total of 443 folios organised into 39 quires, most of them containing six bifolios. Of the two parchment flyleaves, the second contains a handwritten description of the manuscript: (Cod. 183) Breviarium secundum antiquum ritum cisterciensem. This note is likely contemporary with the current binding and exhibits the symbol of the Alcobaça library—common to almost all the manuscripts—that was stamped on the manuscripts in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

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22 Sousa Viterbo (“Calígrafos e iluminadores portugueses”, Coimbra 1916, p. 408) questioned whether the monk-author of the 1775 Index was also responsible for the sheets of paper identifying and describing the books. See also Aires A. Nascimento, “Percurso do livro na História da Cultura Portuguesa Medieval”, in Ler contra o tempo. Condições dos textos na cultura portuguesa, Lisbon 2012, p. 293, n. 85.
The binding of the codex possibly dates from the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth. The leather binding covering the wooden boards is decorated with blind tooling motifs and has two (broken) leather clasps. (Fig. 1) Leather cords with fragments of parchment attached are visible on the inside of the boards. These were probably added in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, an hypothesis reinforced by the existence of a silk headband in red and yellow, as well as parchment tabs cut out of thirteenth-century pages of an earlier manuscript. (Fig. 2)

The following major sections of the manuscript will be analysed in detail:

- Additions (fol. 1 to fol. 11v, corresponding to the first quire);
- Calendar (fol. 12 to fol. 17v, corresponding to the second quire);
- Temporal (fol. 18 to fol. 219v);
- Sanctoral (fol. 220 to fol. 336v);
- Common of saints (fol. 337 to fol. 365v);
- Hymns (fol. 366 to fol. 384);
- Rituals (fol. 384 to fol. 400);
- Additions and a Chronicon (fol. 401 to fol. 443, corresponding roughly to the last four quires).

2. Liturgical analysis

The manuscript begins with additions in different hands: Collects (fol. 2v), the Office of the Dedication of the Church, with the colophon Obsecro vos qui hic legitis ut frater Egidius memineritis deo ago gratias (fol. 9) that corresponds to this specific Office (fol. 3 to 9). This addition finishes with a hymn, Christe, cunc-
Fig. 2. Matinal A1c. 66: Inside front cover board showing leader cords and parchment fragments recycled in the post-medieval binding, BNP Lisbon. (photo: author)
torum dominator alme, sung in vespers in the Office of the Dedication of the church\textsuperscript{23} (fol. 9v-10), followed by Collects (fol. 11-11v). The liturgy in this addition, corresponding to the first quire, is heterogeneous and written in various hands; it includes the Collects, the Office, and the Hymn. These Collects include twelve lessons: Collect for the Mass for Saint Blaise, Saint Nicholas, Saint Vincent, and Saint Thomas; Saint Francis, from 1228 (the commemoration of the saint) and 1259 (celebrated with an office of twelve lessons); and collects for Saint Catherine, from 1207 (commemoration) and 1214 (twelve lessons).

For the Cistercian celebration of the Divine Office during Sundays and Feasts, the Office of Matins was divided into three nocturnes, each including four readings, a total of twelve lessons.\textsuperscript{24} In the Calendar these feasts are mentioned as: XII Lc. Concerning the commemorations (or cõ/comm.), “[they were] a pious subterfuge to provide for saints who could not be reasonably be assigned a twelve-lesson Office without wreaking havoc with the structure of the liturgical year by multiplying beyond all due measure the number of twelve-lessons Offices.”\textsuperscript{25} The calendar of this manuscript (Table 1) as it appears in in the second quire raises some dating problems, especially when compared with the Sanctoral.

An analysis of the feasts in Table 1 suggests that the Alc. 66 Calendar dates between 1348 (Saint Ivonis conf.) and 1356 (when the feast of Conceptio Marie was added).

Regarding the palette used, the feasts are written in three colors: red, blue and black. The choice is hierarchical and differs from twelfth-century Calendars, for only in the mid-thirteenth century was hierarchical organization through color developed.\textsuperscript{26} It is not known when this began to be applied to Alcobaça Calendars, but it appears in the Matinal: black for the commemoratio, red and blue for the twelve-lesson feasts.

It is important to note that the Dedicatio ecclesie was signed on October 20—the date of the consecration of Alcobaça’s church\textsuperscript{27}—and the Dedicatio ecclesie of Cîteaux was added to the calendar on October 17, by a later hand. (Fig. 3)

\textsuperscript{23} Waddell, Breviary, p. 637.
\textsuperscript{25} Waddell, Breviary, p. 61.
The Temporal (or Proper of Time) begins in the third quire, and extends from the first Sunday in Advent to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost (fol. 219v).

Following the Office of Dominica prima de Sancta Trinitate (fol. 159), the Temporal does not show the Feast of Corpus Christi. Rather, it continues with the Dominica II post Pentecost; the celebration of Corpus Christi having gone through a complex process initiated by Pope Urban IV in 1264 with the Bull Transitusus de hoc mundo. As Urban IV died within the year, copies of that Bull were never sent and only a small number circulated. It was not until 1317 that the pope

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liturgical feast</th>
<th>General chapter</th>
<th>Alc. 66 Calendar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 10</td>
<td>Willelme epi.</td>
<td>1218 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1294 Proper/specific Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 17</td>
<td>Antonii abb.</td>
<td>1260 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1</td>
<td>Vigilia Ypapanti Domini</td>
<td>1294 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 7</td>
<td>Thome conf.</td>
<td>1329 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29</td>
<td>Hugonis conf.</td>
<td>1320/1 (comm.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8</td>
<td>Petri episc. conf.</td>
<td>1294 (2 masses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 19</td>
<td>Ivonis conf.</td>
<td>1348 XII lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11</td>
<td>Translatio Benedicti abb.</td>
<td>1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 26</td>
<td>Anne matris</td>
<td>1366 (comm.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1375 XII Lc</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 11</td>
<td>Corona domini</td>
<td>1292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 25</td>
<td>Ludovici conf.</td>
<td>1298 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 27</td>
<td>8º Bernardi</td>
<td>1295 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 7</td>
<td>Vigilia Nativi. Marie</td>
<td>1292</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 15</td>
<td>8º Nativi. Marie</td>
<td>1245</td>
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<td>October 4</td>
<td>Francisci conf.</td>
<td>1259 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2</td>
<td>Undecim milium virg.</td>
<td>1260 XII Lc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1</td>
<td>Edmundi episc.</td>
<td>1247 (2 masses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1294 Proper/specific Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 8</td>
<td>Conceptio Marie</td>
<td>1356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Comparison of selected commemoration dates in Cistercian and Alc. 66 Calendars. The two first columns show the saint’s name and commemoration date; the third, the date when the feast entered the Cistercian calendar; the last, its presence (or not) in the Alc. 66 Calendar.

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Fig 3. Matinal Alc. 66, fol. 16v: Calendar, month of October (the *Dedicatio ecclesie* at 20th), end of 13th / beginning of 14th c., BNP, Lisbon. (photo: author)
approved this feast, and in September 1318 that the Cistercian General Chapter authorized it. The Proper of Time must therefore either have been copied before 1318, or copied from an older manuscript that was not updated with this feast.

It was common for each of the twelve-lesson feasts in the calendar of the Proper of Saints to have a corresponding office in the Sanctoral (Table 2).

When comparing the Calendar and the offices in the Proper of Saints as in Table 2, the following can be highlighted: this Sanctoral would appear to date from between 1268 (the year in which the feast of Saint Julian, bishop and confessor, was transferred to January 29) and 1291 (because the Sanctoral did not include the feast of the Translation of Saint Benedict first). Nevertheless, there are some inconsistencies in this manuscript. The absence in the Sanctoral of the following offices cannot be explained: the Vigil of the Purification of the Virgin; Saint Peter, bishop and confessor (introduced in Cistercian calendar in 1196); the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin (authorised in 1245); and absence of the Office of Saint Francis (introduced in 1259).

The presence of the Office Corona domini also raises questions. One hypothesis is that the core of the manuscript (the Temporal and the Sanctoral) was copied between 1268 and 1291, a dating that would explain the absence in the Temporal of the Office of Corpus Christi. Another is that the core of the manuscript reproduces a model in use around 1240/1245. The second theory would justify the inclusion of the Office of Corona domini, a feast introduced in the Cistercian calendar in 1241, but only in a French context. It would seem that the Alcobaça scribe copied the Office, perhaps from a French manuscript borrowed when the abbot attended the General Chapter around that date?

Another problem arises when comparing Calendar and Sanctoral: the discrepancy between the chronologies is significant: 1348-1356 and 1268-1391 respectively. Was the Calendar, which is displayed in an independent quire, a later addition?

An element specific to Alcobaça’s liturgical manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century must be highlighted: the presence of the Office of Saint Blaise in the Calendar on February 3, and also in the additional collects and hymns. The feast was added to older manuscripts such as Alc. 166, Alc. 163, Alc. 249, Alc. 258, Alc. 8, Alc. 26, Alc. 189, among others. This saint is not common in French manuscripts, but Alcobaça had a relic of Saint Blaise. Information documenting local devotion may be found in Alc. 64, called Regimento dos Sacristães-mores, from the first half of the fifteenth century.

31 Barreira, “A Festa do Corpus Christi...” (see n. 29), where I have examined the celebration of this feast and the origins of the office of twelve lessons at Alcobaça.

32 As occurred in another manuscript; Barreira, “Abordagem histórico-artística a dois manuscritos litúrgicos...” (see n. 5).


34 Gomes, “A vida litúrgica...”, p. 447 and 448.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liturgical feast</th>
<th>General chapter(^{35})</th>
<th>Alc. 66 Calendar</th>
<th>Alc. 66 Sanctoral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 10(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Willelme epi.</em></td>
<td>1218 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1294 Proper/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>specific Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 17(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Antonii abb.</em></td>
<td>1260 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Juliani epi. Conf.</em></td>
<td>1267 XII Lc,</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>celebrated on</td>
<td>Yes (January)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>January 28(^{th})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1268 moved to</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>January 29(^{th})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1(^{st})</td>
<td><em>VigiliaYPapanti</em></td>
<td>1294 XII Lc</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Domini</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 7(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Thome conf.</em></td>
<td>1329 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>April/March</td>
<td><em>Roberti abb</em></td>
<td>1224 (feast</td>
<td>Yes, April 29(^{th})</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>March 29(^{th})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Hugonis conf.</em></td>
<td>1320/1 (comm.)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Iohannis ante portam latinam</em></td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 8(^{th})</td>
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<td>1196</td>
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<td>May 19(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Ivonis conf.</em></td>
<td>1348 XII Lc</td>
<td>No – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Translatio Benedicti</em></td>
<td>1291</td>
<td>No – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>abb.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 26(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Anne matris</em></td>
<td>1366 (comm.)</td>
<td>Yes – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1375 XII Lc</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 11(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Corona domini</em></td>
<td>1241 in a French</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1292 for all the</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>abbeys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 25(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Ludovici conf.</em></td>
<td>1298 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 27(^{th})</td>
<td><em>8º Bernardi</em></td>
<td>1295 XII Lc</td>
<td>No – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 7(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Vigilia Nativi. Marie</em></td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>Yes – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 15(^{th})</td>
<td><em>8º Nativi. Marie</em></td>
<td>1245</td>
<td>No – added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 17(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Lamberti epi.</em></td>
<td>1246 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 4(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Francisci conf.</em></td>
<td>1259 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 21(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Undecim milium</em></td>
<td>1260 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>virg.</em></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 5(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Malachie epi.</em></td>
<td>1191 XII Lc</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1274 Saint</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bernard Sermon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Edmundi episc.</em></td>
<td>1247 (2 masses)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1294 Proper/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>specific Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 8(^{th})</td>
<td><em>Conceptio Marie</em></td>
<td>1356</td>
<td>Yes – added</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Comparison of Cistercian twelve-lesson feasts in the Proper of Saints and the Sanctoral of Alc. 66.

Following the Proper of Saints (its illuminated decoration will be discussed below), are the Common of Saints, the Hymns (with the Hymns of Saint Blaise and also Saint Bernard), and the Canticles.

From fol. 384 to fol. 398 the manuscript features two Cistercian Rituals, namely *ordines*: the first is a sacrament for anointing the sick, or *Ordo ad inungendum infirmum*, along with its corresponding Litany, and the second is an *ordo* for deceased monks, the *Ordo ad inhumandum fratrem mortuum*. Both were common in Cistercian liturgy and are included in the Breviaries from Alcobaça. The *Ordines* in the Alcobaça manuscripts seem to proceed from the so-called model-manuscript of Cîteaux, Dijon BM MS 114, and are present in one of the oldest manuscripts in Alcobaça, a Collectary dating between 1185 and 1191.

Let us concentrate on the sacrament of anointing the sick, in particular the Litany of Saints. Introducing a new saint in the Litany required—in theory—commemoration with a feast of twelve lessons, which sometimes also implied two masses. But this was not always the case: Saint Bernard was celebrated with twelve lessons and two masses in 1175, a quarter-century before he was included in the litanies (1200). In this Litany we find the same inconsistencies appearing in the Calendar and Sanctoral. The Litany included Saint Robert—meaning that it was updated after 1254—but not Saint Catherine (the information was added in the margins), who was added to the Cistercian calendar in 1214. Saint William, integrated into the litany after 1261, was added in the margins along with Peter (1261), Edmund and Malachi. This can only be explained if this Litany was copied from an older manuscript, updating Saint Robert but excluding Saint Catherine for unknown reasons.

After the two *Ordines* come the exorcism of the salt and the blessing of the water, and on fol. 400 a colophon concerning the core of the manuscript: *Frater Johannes, me scripsit Obsecro vos qui me legeritis ut fratris Johannis memineritis*. [Brother João has written me. I beseech you, readers that you read me in his memory.] (Fig. 5). The last folios of the thirty-fifth quire, written later by another hand or hands, include some collects, notes about Saint Bernard as the first abbot of Clairvaux, and a hymn with musical notation that its repeated on fol. 434v (*Bernardus inclitus*).

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36 Répas and Barreira, “Place and Liturgy…” (see n. 16), p. 216; Barreira et al., “Through the eyes…”, p. 258.
37 Barreira, “Abordagem histórico-artística…” (see n. 5).
Fig. 4. Matinal Alc. 66, fol. 387: Litany of Saints, end of 13th / beginning of 14th c., BNP, Lisbon. (photo: author)
The additions to the core of the manuscript begin in the thirty-sixth quire, fol. 403, listing several feasts that are important in dating this part of the manuscript: *In vigilia sollemnitate sacramenti altaris* and *In sollemnitate Corpore Christi* were both promulgated by the General Chapter in 1318. Thus, considering the absences and these additions, either the Proper of Time and the Sanctoral were both copied between 1268 and 1291 (the Calendar being a later addition), or the Proper of Time and the Sanctoral were copied between the end of the thirteenth century and 1318 from an older manuscript that had not been updated.

Both hypotheses are coherent with the data. Nevertheless, another manuscript, Alc. 54, a winter Breviary recently studied by an interdisciplinary team, is also difficult to date:

“Taking the Sanctoral into account, we can highlight an inconsistency when analysing the offices: the presence of the abbot Antonii authorized by the General Chapter in 1260 and the absence of the vigil of the Purification of the Virgin and its octave, authorized by the General Chapter in 1294, lead us to suggest that this Breviary was copied between 1260 and 1294. But the Sanctoral has the Office of Saint Gregory, authorized by the General Chapter in 1300. One hypothesis to explain this is that the core of this manuscript, copied around 1300, reproduces an older manuscript, in use after 1260.”  

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42 Barreira et al., “Through the eyes …”, p. 252-282.
43 Ibid., p. 261.
The problem is that one of the oldest manuscripts from Alcobaça—the Collectary Alc. 166, copied between 1185 and 1191—already included Saint Gregory, meaning that I misunderstood the orientation of the General Chapter which, in 1300, authorised the celebration of Saint Gregory with two masses. In fact, the saint was already celebrated, but with just one mass and twelve lessons. We must therefore conclude that, like Alc. 54, Alc. 66 was copied from an older manuscript and dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In the beginning of the thirty-eighth quire (fol. 422) another group of additions consists of blessings, an Office with musical notation, and further collects and hymns (the hymn *Bernardus inclitus* is repeated).

The manuscript concludes with an important addition, a *Chronicon* concerning the first Portuguese kings, from Afonso Henriques to Afonso IV, highlighting their dates of birth, consorts, and places of burial. Alcobaça was a royal mausoleum; the monks refer to the monastery in 1331 as “a noble chamber of kings” (“estremada camara dos Reis”). The kings who were buried at Alcobaça when the *Chronicon* was written were Afonso II, his wife, queen Urraca, and Afonso III with his wife, Beatriz. The *Chronicon* also tells us that “Sancho II died in 1248 after having left the kingdom and was buried in Toledo,” but his will “has reached us in good condition because the monks of Alcobaça kept it among the royal documents.” For the monks, the preservation of the king’s memory, as well as attempts to reclaim his body (from Toledo) in the years following his death, had symbolic value. And surely to the monastic community—the *Chronicon*’s author in particular—it did not go unnoticed that in their first will King Dinis and his wife had originally chosen Alcobaça as their mausoleum. Eventually, that king and queen found different locations for their tombs: Dinis at Odivelas, a Cistercian monastery

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44 Barreira, “Abordagem histórico-artística…” (see n. 5).
48 Rex Alfonsus (…) sepultus est alacobacie cum uxore sua domna Urraca (…) Iste rex alfonsus iacet alacobacie cum uxore sua (fol. 438v and fol. 439).
49 Post mortem dicti regis alfonsi regnavit Sanchius filius eius XXIII. et annis et exit a regno et iacet Toledo (fol. 439).
51 Iadem, p. 17 and 18.
he had founded, his wife in a Franciscan convent in Coimbra. The *Chronicon* finishes with an episode dated to *Era M CCC LXXXX III* (i.e., 1355), when king Afonso IV went to Coimbra to kill Inês de Castro.

The *Chronicon* lauded nearly all the kings, especially King Dinis, but not Afonso IV, who was not much appreciated mainly because of offenses to the monks perpetrated by royal delegates in the 1330s. Alcobaça was also praised as a royal mausoleum in another two manuscripts from the abbey’s scriptorium: Alc. 62, an *Ordinary of the Divine Office* copied in 1475, and a manuscript from the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century, the *Salzedas Ritual*, recently discovered in the Cistercian monastery of Salzedas but which was copied in the scriptorium of Alcobaça and intended for use at Alcobaça.

In his book *Descrição do Real Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, Manoel dos Santos (1672–1740), a professed monk at Alcobaça, mentions Alc. 66 while highlighting the *Chronicon*: “At the end of a breviary [there is] a chronology of the kings of Portugal up to Afonso IV; at which point [it is said] that this king murdered Inês de Castro on the seventh of January in the era of 1396, or ‘93 because the last character is worn and could be read either way”.

The so-called Breviary Alc. 66 is mentioned in the cited Index to manuscripts made in 1775 by Francisco de Sá, but without any special reference to the *Chronicon* or its illuminated decoration.

**II. ILLUMINATED DECORATION**

In addition to the intricacies of dating manuscripts through liturgy, we might also ask whether illuminated decoration can help to place this manuscript more accurately in time. It should first be said that narrative illuminations with figures are unusual in Alcobaça manuscripts; more common are foliate initials or color initials with filigree. Two figurative illuminations from Alc. 66 are therefore worth special attention.

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53 “*Dinis sepultus est in Monasterio quod ipse fecit quod dicitur odiuelas. Regina sancta (…) sepulta est columbrie in Monasterio sancte clare quod ipsa construxit*” (fol. 440v).


56 RÊPAS and BARREIRA, “Place and Liturgy…” (see n. 16), p. 166.

57 “No fim de hum Breviario a chronologia dos Reys de Portugal até D. Afonso 4; e ahi, que deste Rey matou D. Ignes de Castro aos sete do mes de Janeiro da era de 1396, ou 93, porque a ultima letra de velha se pode ler por ambos os modos” (Manuel dos SANTOS, *Descrição do Real Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, Alcobaça 1979, p. 65).

58 SÁ, *Index codicum Bibliothecae Alcobatiae*… (see n. 15), p. 85-86.
1. St. Stephen

Almost all liturgical manuscripts from Alcobaça—and this Matinal is no different—begin their Sanctoral with Saint Stephen, commemorated on December 26, a Cistercian characteristic found in a significant number of manuscripts made in other scriptoria. In it neither the saint nor the date coincide with Advent, since Advent starts between the end of November and the beginning of December, and the most important saint of that period is Andrew. Commenting on an Epistolary from Périgueux, Yolanda Zaluska and Marie-Françoise Damongeot mentioned that beginning the Sanctoral with St. Stephen indicated that the manuscript belonged to a group in which the Temporal and Sanctoral were “radically” separated, the three festivities of the Christmas liturgy being set apart in seemingly arbitrary fashion.

Later narratives of Stephen’s martyrdom—a key inspiration for the saint’s iconography—were inspired mainly by the Bible. Stephen was one of the seven deacons “full of faith and the Holy Spirit” whom the apostles recruited for their mission of spreading the word of God. After performing miracles among the people, Stephen was betrayed and presented before a tribunal, where he had a vision that transformed him so that “his face looked like an angel” (Acts 6:15); his sentence was to be expelled from the city and put to death by stoning.

In another two manuscripts copied in the scriptorium of Alcobaça that our team has studied, the Winter Breviary Alc. 54, and the Missal Alc. 26 (made not long after 1318 as it contains the mass of Corpus Christi), the Sanctoral opens with Saint Stephen. In Alc. 54, Stephen is represented within the initial h; he is dressed as deacon with blood running down his head and a book in his left hand, while his right hand clasps a stone. (Fig. 6) In Alc. 26, the saint is depicted in the context

60 Bell, “Liturgy...” (see n. 19), p. 260.
61 Baury, p. 160, The Primitive Cistercian Breviary, a breviary of the Cistercian liturgy before the Bernardine reform (Waddell, Breviary...), the so-called model-manuscript Dijon BM MS 114, and the Clairvaux Breviary (Maitre, Le bréviaire...), have in common the fact that the Sanctoral begins with Saint Stephen, as do almost all the manuscripts from Clairvaux.
64 The use of silver (instead of gold leaf) explains the degraded look of the illumination; under a microscope the stone appears, painted in pale yellow (Barreira et al., “Through the eyes...”, p. 252-282).
Fig. 6. Winter Breviary Alc. 54, fol. 198: Detail of initial H with Saint Stephen, end of 13th / beginning of 14th c., BNP, Lisbon. (photo: author)

Fig. 7. Missal Alc. 26, fol. 171v: Detail of initial E with Saint Stephen, c. 1318. BNP, Lisbon. (photo: author)
of his martyrdom within the initial E, hands together in prayer, two tormentors aiming stones at him.  

In the Alc. 66 Matinal, the Office of Saint Stephen is indicated in a colour initial with filigree, but a diligent monk perhaps thought that this was too simple and drew the “story” in the lower margin, making this illumination very different from the previous one. The narrative begins on the left with a crowned male figure dressed in a red cape and seated on a throne. His right hand holds a sword, while the raised left hand points in exaggerated fashion—a clear representation of authority and power. Hovering near his right ear is a small black multi-legged figure with horns and a tail whose presence serves as a conduit, either divine or diabolical. In this case, it represents a devil, negatively influencing a decision or imposing its will on the seated figure. 

In the middle of the folio margin stands a group of four male figures whose gestures suggest anger and aggression, emphasized by raised arms holding stones. On the right is the tonsured and haloed Stephen, kneeling to face his tormentors.

Fig. 8. Matinal Alc. 66, fol. 219v: Martyrdom of Saint Stephen, end of 13th / beginning of 14th c., BNP, Lisbon. (photo: author)

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65 Barreira, “O martírio de Santo Estevão...” (see n. 59), p. 630; Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “Um missal alcobacense dos inícios do séc. XIV (Alc. 26)”, in Medieval Europe in Motion II. The circulation of artists, images, patterns and ideas from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Coast, ed. D. Ciccarelli and Maria A. Billotta, Palermo: Officina de Studi Medievali, (in press).

66 Barreira, “O martírio de Santo Estevão...” (see n. 59), p. 635.
Who is the figure seated on the throne, replete with kingly attributes, absent from every other illuminated manuscript from the Alcobaça scriptorium, who orders the stoning of Stephen? I propose an explanation based on the Bible as well as a comparison with illuminated manuscripts of French origin. Saul (the future St. Paul) was present at the stoning, and it was he who approved the death of Stephen. To justify Saul’s misconduct, in the Alcobaça Matinal he appears under the influence of a demon whispering in his ear.

2. St. Vincent

Other than that of Stephen, one might ask what feasts in this manuscript were highlighted with this kind of narrative in the margins. We find only the Office of Saint Vincent, martyr and deacon of Saragossa, celebrated on January 22. No other feasts in the Temporal were highlighted in this way, which gives us a clue as to the importance of these two feasts in the Alcobaça liturgy during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Chrysogonus Waddell believed that the Office of Saint Vincent should be in the Common of Saints because a specific office was never developed for him, and for this reason, the antiphons, hymns and responsories used are the same as in the Common of Saints. In the Primitive Cistercian Breviary, however, his Office is in the Sanctoral and it consists of twelve lessons, a circumstance that Waddell explains through the connections between the Primitive Breviary and its sources, which are very close to Saint Vincent of Metz. In 1184 the General Chapter authorised the celebration of Vincent with two masses, and in the following year with twelve lessons.

The Alcobaça Matinal must therefore be examined within the context of devotion to Vincent: his relics were in Valencia, but Muslim persecution caused their dispersal. Later, in 1173, some relics were translated by boat from Algarve to Lisbon cathedral, leading to the development of an important cult there around the saint. In fourteenth-century liturgical manuscripts from Alcobaça, Vincent always appears in the Sanctoral. The Office consists of only eight lessons (instead of the

67 Namely the following manuscripts, using the database Enluminures: a Cistercian Breviary from the abbey of Bellevaux (Bibl. mun. Vesoul MS 022, fol. 231r, late 13th/early 14th c.); a Diurnal from Châlons-sur-Marne (Bibl. mun. Chaumont MS 0029, f. 252v, after 1297); a Lectionary from Saint-Evroult d’Ouche (Bibl. mun., Alençon MS 0128, fol. 019, second half of the 14th c.); and two Bibles: Paris, Bibl. Mazarine MS 0015, fol. 417v (mid–13th c.), and Bibl. mun. Toulouse MS 0008, f. 438v (mid–13th c.). Consulted on: http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/.
68 BARREIRA, “O martirio de Santo Estevão...” (see n. 59), p. 637.
69 WADDELL, Breviary, p. 53.
70 IDEM.
71 LEROQUAIS, p. 97.
usual twelve) taken from the Sermons of Saint Augustine, the other four coming from the Common of Saints, non-bishop martyrs (to follow the designation in fol. 233). In fact, one of the oldest manuscripts copied in Alcobaça’s scriptorium, the Collectary Alc. 166 (dated between 1185 and 1191), contains the collects for the Office of Saint Vincent.\footnote{Barreira, “Abordagem histórico-artística…” (see n. 5).}

In Table 3, it can be observed that in three manuscripts from Alcobaça—the Matinal Alc. 66, its near-contemporary Winter Breviary Alc. 54, and Alc. 432, an early thirteenth-century Lectionary for the Office—the excerpts chosen for each \textit{Lectio} of the twelve lessons are different although all come from the same text, the Sermons of Augustine. This confirms what was observed in the Winter Breviary Alc. 54,\footnote{Barreira \textit{et al.}, “Through the eyes…”, p. 252-282.} and about the uniformity of Alcobaça’s liturgical manuscripts.\footnote{Barreira, “Questões em torno da unanimidade…” (see n. 20), p. 37-39.} For that, I compared the texts of the \textit{Lectiones} for the first Sunday of Advent\footnote{Excerpts from Isaiah, chapter 1. The four \textit{Lectiones} of the third Nocturnal should be extracted from the Fathers of the Church, in this case Bede’s \textit{Commentaries on the Scriptures} (\textit{Ibid.}, p. 38).} and the Office of Saint Stephen\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 44.} in five Breviaries from Alcobaça. From this examination I concluded that no liturgical deviation existed in excerpts from the same text for the twelve readings of the office for Matins. Each reading from the Lectionary consisted of excerpts from the Sermons of Saint Augustine, and each breviary generally followed the guidelines from Cîteaux and Clairvaux. Did this dynamic—which represents a variant but not a deviation from Cistercian uniformity—exist also in other Cistercian abbeys, in other contexts?

Thomas Falmagne believes that the Patristic Lectionary of the Office can serve as another indicator that liturgical practices were not identical throughout the Cistercian network. Since liturgical books might become obsolete, he suggested that it was perhaps the cantor who organized the Patristic readings based on previous collections, or even works of the early Fathers from the monastic library.\footnote{Thomas Falmagne, \textit{Les Cisterciens et leurs bibliothèques}, Troyes 2012, p. 17.} Falmagne’s hypothesis can be applied to the Alcobaça scriptorium: according to two other manuscripts from the Alcobaça scriptorium, the \textit{Ordinaries of the Divine Office} and the \textit{Book of Usages} of Alcobaça, the responsibility for choosing different excerpts to the twelve lessons did indeed belong to the cantor.\footnote{Barreira, “Questões em torno da unanimidade litúrgica…” (see n. 20), p. 40-41.}

Concerning the illumination in the Matinal, in the lower margin of the Office dedicated to Saint Vincent, the saint is shown lying in the boat transporting him from Algarve to Lisbon, escorted by three crows (Fig 9). This iconography is believed to have developed in a Portuguese context.\footnote{Carla Varela Fernandes, “D. Afonso IV e a Sé de Lisboa: a escolha de um lugar de memória”, \textit{Arqueologia & História}, vol. 58/59, 2006/2007, p. 143-166, p. 152; Pedro Picoito, “A Trasladação de S. Vicente. Consenso e Conflito na Lisboa do século XII”, \textit{Medievalista}, vol. 4, 2008: http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/medievalista-picoito.htm.} St. Vincent became the
Table 3. Comparison of the readings and lessons for the Office of Saint Vincent taken from the Sermons of Saint Augustine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lectionary of The Office, Ak. 432</th>
<th>Winter Breviary, Ak. 54</th>
<th>Matinal, Ak. 66</th>
<th>Troyes Breviary (1247)</th>
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<th>Vesperal, Ak. 44</th>
</tr>
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<td>Sermon sanctorum Augustini: In passionem beati Vincentii...</td>
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<td>Lection 2</td>
<td>Valtas nosse quia utrumque...</td>
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<td>Lection 3</td>
<td>Acceperat hac ora beatas...</td>
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<td>Lection 4</td>
<td>Habebat beatus Vincentius...</td>
<td>Habebat beatus Vincentius...</td>
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<td>Lection 5</td>
<td>Quod ergo miramur...</td>
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<td>Lection 6</td>
<td>Poterat martyris...</td>
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<td>Lection 7</td>
<td>Omelia beatæ Augustini: Se autem dixisset discipulis...</td>
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<td>Nemo ergo de suo corde praesumatur...</td>
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<td>Lection 9</td>
<td>Qui amate animam suam...</td>
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<td>Qui amate animam suam...</td>
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patron of the diocese as well as the municipality of Lisbon, as evidenced by two
seals dating from 1233 and 1255 in which the boat and crows, traditional Vincen-
tian symbols in Portugal, are represented.

I believe it is possible to place this illuminated drawing in time, and propose
that it was produced after 1342-1345 when King Afonso IV ordered extensive
work in Lisbon Cathedral where Saint Vincent’s relics were located. In his will
of 1345, the king sought to obtain the protection of Saint Vincent for himself and
his family by transforming the cathedral into a royal mausoleum where he was to
be buried. Descriptions before the 1755 earthquake indicate that the king’s tomb
was decorated with scenes from the martyrdom of Saint Vincent. My hypothesis
is that both this illumination, and that of the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, were
produced between the renovations of Lisbon cathedral in 1342-1345 when the cult
of Saint Vincent was fashionable, and the end date of the Chronicon, 1355. The
Chronicon was an addition, made not long after the core of the manuscript, and
covered the reigns of all Portuguese kings from Afonso Henriques up to Afonso IV,
ending in 1355.

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81 Ferreira, “The Lisbon Office…” (see n. 72), p. 81; Fernandes, “D. Afonso IV e a Sé de Lisboa…”,
p. 151-153; Sousa, D. Afonso IV (see n. 54), p. 255-256.

82 António Caetano de Sousa, Provas Genealógicas da Casa Real Portuguesa, Lisbon 1739-1748,

83 Fernandes, “D. Afonso IV e a Sé de Lisboa…”, (see n. 80), p. 151.
3. The filigree initials

The colour filigree initials in this Matinal are important because of the identity of the illuminated production of this scriptorium in the context of the studies surrounding other manuscripts copied in Alcobaça.\(^{84}\) The research carried out by Patricia Stirnemann on filigreed initials demonstrates as much:

“Ornament is even more important than miniatures as a tool for dating and placing manuscripts because of the pyramid of craftsmen. (…) Monasteries with large homemade libraries operate largely in a vacuum and tend to create ingrown families of books with similar script, ornament and display script that we can structure in time.”\(^{85}\)

In an examination of the Alcobaça manuscripts in which the colour filigree initials are similar to initials of the original core of the manuscript, the closest are the Missal Alc. 26,\(^ {86}\) the Compendium Theologicae Veritatis, represented by two manuscripts, Alc. 210 and Alc. 376,\(^ {87}\) and the Doctrinale, Alc. 52, and the Winter Breviary, Alc. 54.\(^ {88}\) (Table 4) In all of these manuscripts, the coloured initial is filled with spiral motifs with curlicues on the outside.

There are many similarities among these filigree initials, especially the curly motifs, which attest to their proximity in time, around the middle of the fourteenth century. When compared to similar earlier motifs, however, I believe that a change occurred between the end of the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth.\(^ {89}\) Testimony to the evolution of the coloured initials with filigree are Alc. 45 (dated to 1289), Alc. 28 (end of the thirteenth century), and Alc. 8 (beginning of the fourteenth). These three manuscripts indicate a period of transition—a formal evolution of the scriptorium—which I believe was caused by the arrival of French university manuscripts.\(^ {90}\) My research has proven that at least seven such manuscripts (some copied by pecia) reached the Alcobaça library between the end of the thirteenth century and the first years of the fourteenth.\(^ {91}\) These manuscripts influenced the illuminated production of this scriptorium, particularly the filigree initials.

\(^{84}\) Barreira et al., “Through the eyes …”, p. 264.


\(^{86}\) Barreira, “Um missal alcobacense dos inícios do séc. XIV…” (in press).


\(^{88}\) Barreira et al., “Through the eyes…”, p. 264.

\(^{89}\) Barreira et al., “Through the eyes …”, p. 270-271.

\(^{90}\) Barreira, “Manuscritos universitários…” (see n.17), p. 99-128.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winter Breviary, Alc. 54</th>
<th>Matinal, Alc. 66</th>
<th>Doctrinale, Alc. 52</th>
<th>Missal, Alc. 26 (after 1318)</th>
<th>Compendium Theologicae Veritatis, Alc. 210 (c. 1332)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 153v</td>
<td>Fol. 55v</td>
<td>Fol. 17v</td>
<td>Fol. 290</td>
<td>Fol. 144v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 154</td>
<td>Fol. 173v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fol. 301</td>
<td>Fol. 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 132</td>
<td>Fol. 174v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fol. 9v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Filigree initials from five Alcobaça manuscripts. (photos: author)
III. DATING OVERVIEW

What may be concluded here? An overview of the time frame for the relevant sections of this Matinal within the context of illuminated decoration may help us to clarify the evolution of the scriptorium (Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additions</th>
<th>Calendar</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Sanctoral</th>
<th>Litany of the sacrament of anointing the sick</th>
<th>Additions</th>
<th>Chronicon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saint Thomas after 1329</td>
<td>After 1348 and before 1356</td>
<td>Before 1318 (absence of the Office of Corpus Christi)</td>
<td>Between 1268 and 1291</td>
<td>Between 1254 and 1261</td>
<td>After 1318</td>
<td>Finished in 1355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Summary of dates of the different sections of Alc. 66.

One hypothesis is that the core of the manuscript was made in the second half of the thirteenth century because of the Sanctoral and the Litany, the Calendar being an addition contemporary with other additions as well as the Chronicon. Another hypothesis is that the manuscript was copied in the mid-fourteenth century—and, for unknown reasons, never updated—using as model a mid-thirteenth century manuscript for the Temporal and the Sanctoral, yet with an updated Calendar. A third hypothesis—derived by comparing this Matinal with other manuscripts and considering its filigree initials—is that the core of the manuscript was copied sometime between the last years of the thirteenth century and 1317 (because of the absence of the Corpus Christi Office), using an older manuscript as a model to explain why the Sanctoral and the Litany were not updated. Then, nearly four decades later, a Calendar and various additions, including the Chronicon, were incorporated into the manuscript along with illuminations highlighting the offices of Saint Stephen and Saint Vincent.

CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt but that Alcobaça’s liturgical manuscripts are an important testimony of how questions surrounding liturgical unanimity were applied in practice, and how they developed through the centuries. Liturgical manuscripts can be placed in time with more accuracy than other manuscripts, so they are a significant contribution to the study of the evolution of illuminated decoration, namely of filigreed initials, but also of the identity of Alcobaça’s scriptorium which had profound links to local practice.

Nevertheless, research on this Matinal has prompted a number of questions that I cannot yet answer. How long did it take to implement the decisions of the General Chapter concerning celebrations, namely the feasts of the Sanctoral? Why
does it seem that in this scriptorium at least two liturgical manuscripts were copied from older models and not updated to reflect new feasts? Can the litanies provide sufficient and rigorous enough elements to use them for dating?

The originality of the illuminations in this Matinal raises an interesting point, especially the narrative of Saint Stephen’s martyrdom. Its narrative with historiated initials is very different from the other two manuscripts, as is the type of materials used. In the others—Missal Alc. 26 and the winter Breviary Alc. 54—silver and gold leaf were used with a proteinaceous binding medium; this Matinal displays a technique closer to water colour, unlike any other manuscript from Alcobaca.

Also worth noting is Saint Vincent and his identity, strongly linked to Lisbon cathedral, and to the local context and history as exemplified by the Chronicon.

This study is still a work in progress, the starting point of a project aimed at examining the liturgical manuscripts produced in the Alcobaca scriptorium in order to date them more accurately. It opens new paths of research concerning Alcobaca’s liturgical manuscripts, new routes that can provide a different understanding of Alcobaca, its library, the identity of its scriptorium, and the monks who used the manuscripts for their everyday liturgy.

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Catarina Fernandes Barreira
Approches en vue de l'étude d'un bréviaire du XIVe siècle provenant de l'abbaye cistercienne d'Alcobaça (Ms Alc. 66)

La collection des manuscrits médiévaux provenant d'Alcobaça est l'une des plus importantes du monde cistercien : le scriptorium est resté actif de la fin du XIIe au XVIe siècle. Plus de 460 manuscrits ont survécu ; la plupart d'entre eux ont été produits à l'abbaye, y compris le bréviaire du XIVe siècle, Ms Alc. 66. Les éléments constitutifs, à savoir le calendrier, le sanctoral, les rituels, contiennent des variantes et font l'objet d'une analyse détaillée en vue d'une datation soignée. Le manuscrit se révèle également intéressant pour son contenu liturgique et pour ses enluminures bien différentes de celles des autres manuscrits d'Alcobaça. Ms Alc. 66 montre comment l'identité du scriptorium d'Alcobaça est liée au contexte local, tout en gardant des liens étroits avec les autres abbayes cisterciennes, en particulier avec Clairvaux.

Approaches to the Study of a 14th-c. Breviary from the Cistercian Abbey of Alcobaça (Ms Alc. 66)

The collection of medieval manuscripts from Alcobaça is one of the most important in the Cistercian world, its scriptorium having remained active from the end of the 12th to the 16th century. More than 460 manuscripts have survived, most of them produced at the abbey, including the 14th-c. Breviary, Ms Alc. 66. The written components – namely the calendar, sanctoral, rituals and the additions – contain inconsistencies, and are the object of a detailed analysis in view of dating it accurately. The manuscript is also of interest beyond its liturgical contents, for the illuminations reveal exciting features which differ considerably from other Alcobaça manuscripts. Ms Alc. 66 demonstrates how the identity of the Alcobaça scriptorium was linked to the local context, while maintaining close ties to other Cistercian abbeys, particularly Clairvaux.

Ansätze zur Untersuchung eines Beviers der Zisterzienserabtei in Alcobaça aus dem 14. Jahrhundert (Ms Alc. 66)