

# French Romanesque Bibles in Portugal. The “Codex Capituli Ecclesiae B. Mariae Vernonensis”\*

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**Abstract:** This article investigates an imposing Romanesque Bible set from France that has hitherto escaped the attention of manuscript researchers. The two volumes, kept in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, are among the oldest illuminated manuscripts preserved in Portugal. The early provenance history of the Bible can be pointed out thanks to the analysis of a series of mediaeval inscriptions present on the flyleaves and concerning, i.a., the deeds of King Philippe August and the translation of a relic of Saint Maximus. In addition, the later history of this exceptional set can be reconstructed in detail on the basis of a variety of early modern sources, including several historical catalogues of the library of the Necessidades Convent in Lisbon. The article will also describe and discuss the fine illumination, and seek to position the volumes within the development of Romanesque Bible production.

**Keywords:** Bible Manuscripts, Romanesque Art, Hagiography, France, Normandy, Philippe August, Portugal, Convento de Nossa Senhora das Necessidades, Biblioteca da Ajuda.

## **Bíblías Românicas francesas em Portugal. O *Codex Capituli Ecclesiae B. Mariae Vernonensis***

**Resumo:** Este artigo resulta da investigação sobre uma imponente Bíblia Românica proveniente de França e que até agora tinha escapado à atenção dos investigadores. Os dois volumes desta Bíblia, conservados na Biblioteca da Ajuda, em Lisboa, estão entre os manuscritos iluminados mais antigos preservados em Portugal. O percurso histórico é possível de conhecer graças à análise de uma série de inscrições medievais presentes nas folhas de guarda, a respeito das ações do rei Filipe Augusto e da tradução de uma relíquia de S. Máximo. Além disso, a história posterior deste conjunto excepcional pode ser reconstruída em detalhe com base numa variedade de fontes modernas, incluindo vários catálogos históricos da biblioteca do Convento de Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa. O artigo descreve e aborda também a iluminura dos códices, e procura posicioná-los no quadro de desenvolvimento da produção das Bíblías Românicas.

**Palavras-chave:** Manuscritos da Bíblia, Arte Românica, Hagiografia, França, Normandia, Filipe Augusto, Portugal, Convento de Nossa Senhora das Necessidades, Biblioteca da Ajuda.

\* Lisboa, Biblioteca da Ajuda, ms. 52-XIV-13 and ms. 52-XIV-14.

Abbreviations used ANTT: Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo; BAJuda: Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda; BHLms.: bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be; BL: London, British Library; BM: Bibliothèque municipale; BNP: Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; BnF: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; BPE: Évora, Biblioteca Pública; BGUC: Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade; BVMM: bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr; COL: Congregação do Oratório de Lisboa; ECF: enluminures.culture.fr; INIT: initiale.irht.cnrs.fr; OBL: Oxford, Bodleian Library.

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This article is the first in a series that aims to offer detailed descriptions of three complete French twelfth century Bibles in Portugal. One – Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cod. CXXV/2-1 and 2-2 – has attracted some attention<sup>1</sup>; the other two, both preserved in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, have remained practically submerged in Lethe's waters of oblivion<sup>2</sup>. The present essay will primarily examine Ajuda 52-XIV-13 and 14, to date one of, if not, the oldest complete Latin Bible in a Portuguese public collection<sup>3</sup>. At the center of attention are its context of production, and the volumes' medieval and early-modern provenance history.

## Codicology, Script, and Illumination

Ajuda 52-XIV-13 and 52-XIV-14, not listed in modern day handbooks, are clad in post-medieval bindings<sup>4</sup>. The manuscripts consist of 231 and 156 not overly supple parchment leaves generally assembled in quires of eight and, albeit cut down considerably, still measuring 502x345 and 508x350. The text, comprising Old and New Testament and copied out by a single scribe in brown and black ink, is presented in a clear two column, dry-ruled and on the whole regular lay-out, with wide margins and 51 to 53 lines<sup>5</sup>. The Bible starts with Jerome's preface to the

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- 1 For an introductory description with bibliography, see App. I, 1. The characteristics of this volume, and above all those of textual and liturgical nature, undoubtedly merit further comprehensive examinations.
  - 2 BAJuda 52-XIV-10 and 11, and *Id.*, 52-XIV-13 and 14. One other complete French XII<sup>th</sup> c. Bible has been preserved in Portugal: BNP, Alc. 396-399. In comparison it is relatively well-known, primarily, it seems, because in contrast to the Évora and Ajuda Bibles, Alc. 396-399 has a medieval, Portuguese provenance history. For slightly differing views conc. its origin see Walter Cahn – *La Bible romane: Chefs-d'oeuvres de l'enluminure*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1982, 292; Maria Adelaide Miranda – *A iluminura românica em Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcobça. Subsídios para o estudo da iluminura em Portugal*. 2 vols. Unpubl. PhD thesis - Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996, 1.153-61, figs 66-82; *In Principio. A Bíblia medieval em diálogo com a pintura de Ilda David*. Cat. exh. BNP. Ed. Luís Correia de Sousa; collab. José Mattoso, Xavier van Binnebeke, José Tolentino Mendonça, et al. Lisboa: Documenta, 2016, nos 1-4. Consider among the incomplete XII<sup>th</sup> c. French Bibles in Portugal: BGUC, Ms. 3088-3090 (XII<sup>ex</sup>-XIII<sup>in</sup> c., England or France; *Exposição bibliográfica. I. Cimélios. II. Dois séculos da tipografia coimbrã – secs. XVI e XVII*. Coimbra: Impr. de Coimbra, [1966], 3; *Inventário dos códices iluminados até 1500*. Eds Isabel Vilaras Cepeda, Teresa Duarte Ferreira. 2 vols. Lisboa: BNP, 1994-2001, 2. no. 151); BPE, Pasta 1, doc. 89-94 (XII<sup>ex</sup>-XIII<sup>in</sup> c., ?France; *Inventário*, 2. no. 204; *Tesouros da Biblioteca Pública de Évora. Bicenténario, 1805-2005*. Ed. João Ruas. Lisboa: INAPA, 2005, 33-35). I have not yet had the chance to consult these mss *in situ*.
  - 3 For an introductory description of BAJuda 52-XIV-10 and 11, see App. I, 2.
  - 4 Concise descr. in *Exposição bíblica*. BAJuda, vi 1957. Coord. M. A. Machado Santos [unpubl. library dactyloscript]; *Exposição d'arte caligráfica*. BAJuda, xii 1982 – iii 1983, 9, no. 2 [id.]; *Inventário da Estante 52-VI-XIV*. Comp. Maria da Conceição Geada. Lisbon: BAJuda, 2013 [id.], nos. 362-363. *In Principio*, nos 15-16. Lacking from Carlos A. Ferreira – *Illuminuras, aguarelas, ornatos e desenhos à pena dos manuscritos da Biblioteca da Ajuda. Boletim da BGUC*. 18 1943 295-352; *Inventário*. *Reprod. História de Portugal. II. A monarquia feudal (1096-1480)*. Ed. José Mattoso; collab. Armando de Sousa. Lisboa: Ed. Estampa, [s.d.], 268 (initial *III Kings*; call number not provided); *In Principio*, 44-45 (opening *I Chr.*). For the bindings, see nn. 5, 88 *infra*.
  - 5 Because only sporadically a Roman numbering survives at quire end (low down, center), and quires have received masses of glue during post-medieval rebinding, it is not always easy to ascertain original quire sequence and size (cf. 54-XIV-14, f. 87-117). The first quire, as well as several other openings, is damaged and discolored; no leaves appear to be missing; quires start hair-side out; pricking holes for horizontals and verticals are visible, esp. in vol. 2; f. 165 has a non-cut down corner (ca. 527x347). The two column text block, with double bounding ll., measures ca. 405x254 (v. 1) and ca. 420x255 (v. 2). Note that part of *Ps.* has 63 ll., and the *NT* has 60 ll. for ff. 87-117. Before long a specialist, detailed codicological description of the Bible will hopefully be presented by Chiara Ruzzier. For the text, see n. 10 *infra*.

Pentateuch *Ad Desiderium* with the heading "Incipit Prologus Sancti Hieronimi Presbiteri In Libro Geneseos", written out in display script in lines alternating red – blue – green (fig. 1). A fine, unfortunately rather faded decorated initial D in the same colors marks the beginning of Jerome's letter: "Desiderii Mei desideratas accepi epistolas [...]". with the ink capitals of the first line touched in green. Throughout the volume the capitals of the display script generally used for *explicit*s, *incipit*s, and occasionally *incipit* words, are square or rounded, at times elongated; the colors are among those also employed in the Bible's illumination<sup>6</sup>. Some capitals present subtle decorative flourishes, and sequences can be rather intricate, entangled and packed, undoubtedly in order to economize space (figs 7, 13). The result is similar to, for instance, the more *baroque* headings in a Bible from Fleury datable to the second quarter of the twelfth century<sup>7</sup>. Apart from minor variations overall unity of execution of the decorative script can be pointed out, probably due to a restricted group of skilled men that included the scribe. His formal and generally steady late Caroline minuscule has a distinctive outlook too, characterized by the *positura* marking the closure of text sections (figs 8, 18), an idiosyncratic collection of *signes de renvoi* below the last ruled line to link to the text what are generally single word insertions, and various additional particularities<sup>8</sup>. Other manuscripts in the same hand are yet to be identified, but a comparison with items published by Walter Cahn suggests a date well before the middle of the twelfth century and central to north-western French origin<sup>9</sup>.

One of the most pleasant surprises of the Ajuda Bible are the sixteen very fine, contemporary historiated, zoomorphic, and ornamental initials in the Old Testament<sup>10</sup>. The principal master proves to be an accomplished story teller. His first

6 The display script is laid out in three, two or single line bars, with each bar followed by a single line left blank; colors alternate per bar, text section, word, or character.

7 Orléans, BM, Ms. 13. See: *ECF*; Walter Cahn – *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*. 2 vols. In *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France*. Eds François Avril, Jonathan J. G. Alexander. London: Harvey Miller, 1996, II. no. 18, ill. 39, 40. Cahn notes the illumination "is unrelated to [ ] other Loire centers [ ] evokes Norman illumination [ ] one of the illuminators of a Bible in Paris" [Id. - II. no. 17, western France?] "and [ ] the Saint-Bénigne Bible." [Id. - II. no. 64; Dijon, ca. 1125-35]. See also n. 9 *infra*.

8 Last line insertions are supported by a carefully designed opened hand, animal heads with opened beaks, decorative brackets, or a combination of signs (e.g. v. 1 f. 141<sup>v</sup>). Note also: Minims are placed slightly above the line; tall s, often with curvy top stroke, generally starts on the line; letters and words are fairly well spaced; the lower bowl of g is mostly slightly open and compressed; g's connection stroke is relatively elongated; b and d are squat; round s is only common – enlarged and often superscript – at line end; p and q often have hair-lines; slightly forked ascenders l, d, and b are rather recurrent; or fusion, ligature st, and & are common, but ct less so; gothic d is infrequent, tironian et near absent; y dotted; majuscules often stand out; abbreviations are few, with uncommon ones lacking. The scribe controls script hierarchy, starts above top line, and may have changed quill on f. 34 of v. 2.

9 See e.g. Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II. nos 18 (XII<sup>2/4</sup> c.), 59 (a. 1111), 94 (XII<sup>m</sup> c.). Hairlines, forked ascenders, and a slight angularity of minims reveal infiltration of proto-Gothic writing modes.

10 The NT (52-XIV-14, f. 86-156<sup>v</sup>) only has pen decorated initials of varying quality, but contemporary. Contents 52-XIV-13: *Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Josh., Judg., Ruth, I-IV Kings, Ps., Isa., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., XII Min. Proph., Job*. 52-XIV-14: *Prov., Eccles., Song., Wis., Sir., I-II Chr., Est., Tob., Jdth, Ezra and Neh., I-II Macc., Matt., Mark, Luke, John, Acts, VII General Epist.*

contribution – the *Genesis* initial *I* – is unfortunately poorly preserved, with especially the paint layers of the lower half mostly faded. The structure and storyline can still be appreciated though. The opening consists of four geometric compartments in red or red-white, interconnected by bars enlivened by curly, naturalistic vegetal ornament against blank and green colored parchment (figs 2-4). Motifs and forms are repeated with slight, subtle variations. The top section figures God enthroned, his so-called *Kastenthron* placed in front of a mandorla from which sprout flowered branches on both sides. He is dressed in a sinuous blue robe and a white and red tunic with characteristic angular sleeves, holds a book, and makes a sign of benediction. The next, rectangular frame shows God who creates man. Both figures are placed on the frame-edge, with the picture space deepened by the tunic draped over God's arm appearing as if prey to the wind, and by Adam, an erect and still rather stiff character, standing in front of a rocky backdrop with what may be the four rivers of the Garden of Eden. In the next scene Adam and Eve stand on a similar quadrangular stage, and in between them the snake moves up the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the second plan; Adam points at Eve who eats the forbidden fruit and offers Adam one as well. In the roundel below the archangel Gabriel, enthroned, indicates Adam and Eve the way out of Eden. Adam, close to the tree, looks up to the angel, while Eve, with in her left hand the bobbin and in her right another, unidentified object, is a moment away from stepping outside of the initial. She does not look back: Paradise is already history.

The precarious state of conservation of the *Genesis* initial hinders full appreciation of the artist's qualities, but luckily all of his talent is laid bare in the following biblical books<sup>11</sup>. At the beginning of *Exodus* (figs 5-6) the twelve tribes of Israel are depicted in animated conversation. The illuminator stages this vivid scene starting with a clear compositional red and blue knot-work Roman capital H occupied by four groups of interlocutors seated on *Kastenthronen*. A range of gestures, alternating and opposing colors for nimbi, the four thrones, and the tunics, as well as diverse characterizing props, enliven the scene. The artist further strengthens his narrative with angular and curved drapery, and with his decision to design one of the representatives entirely in ink and a hint of yellowish wash, but to dress another in fully decorated, blue and green attire. The body structure of some characters is, in addition, outlined in black, while others get a shade less. Once more spatial play

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*Pauline Epist., Apoc.* Prologues and lists of chapters are not invariably present; the only *OT* stichometry note is at the end of *Sir.* (f. 31<sup>v</sup>). Ultimately, the article series will incl. a full text concordance of the Ajuda and the BPE Bibles. Note, for now, that not a single Bible descr. in Samuel Berger – *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premières siècles du Moyen Age*. Paris: Hachette, 1893, has 52-XIV-13 and 14's book sequence; the text does not readily disclose the origins of the ms.

<sup>11</sup> Unaltered, later medieval marginalia seem to indicate that the leaf was damaged early on. Subsequently the text was traced over in a Gothic style script. The red tracing of some pictorial elements in *Gen.* is neither linked to this restoration, nor certainly original.

between figures and initial is key. Remarkably, besides the brightly colored and decorated capital, the artist does not rely on a multi-colored background for the scene.

Movement and rich palette is even more clearly perceptible and purposeful at the start of *Leviticus*. In the initial V (fig. 7) – freely positioned on the parchment and with a letter body inscribed with exquisitely drawn white floral ornament on blue – God is seated on his *Kastenthron* below a grand tabernacle, firmly pressing His Law to the chest. He actively addresses Moses who stands outside the initial, in turn discussing with the Lord. Beautifully expressive is the play of the draperies. The tabernacle curtain meanders through the initial, is mirrored in the sinuous blue tunic of the Lord<sup>12</sup>, and then, when the wind swept cloth flows down like a cascade, finds itself paralleled in the vehement red cloak of Moses. The image is powerful and spurs the reader on to abide by the Word of God and to accompany Moses on his difficult task. Indeed, hesitation, persuasion, urgency, and the internal conflict that is so much at the center of Moses character and faith pervade the miniature. Emblematically Moses is positioned on the blank parchment between the divine content of the biblical text and the believer – with the movement of his left hand, he even appears to temporarily hush both<sup>13</sup>–, and the calm architecture of the Lord's *ara coeli* inscribed in the dynamic V-shape. In this initial the artist shows of all his abilities to tell almost theatrically a story and introduce monumentality onto the parchment. Thus he takes his audience, more than in *Genesis* and *Exodus*, by storm, making this historiated initial medieval narrative at its best.

The Pentateuch cycle is complete at the start of *Deuteronomy* (fig. 8)<sup>14</sup>. Our artist constructs an imposing uncial *H* with great care for line and form, volume and proportion. The left leg of the initial is made of heavy, blue colored, and white lined geometrical interlace on green, with top endings showing dragon heads with flaming red tongues. At its center the illuminator has placed a mandorla in a slightly different hue and adorned with a yellow pearl motif. Within this *architectural* element a nimbed Moses is depicted, frontal, with his characteristic blue hair and beard, wearing a red cloak and white tunic on which pen-decorations simulate the garment's richness. Moses stretches his arms and proffers a blank scroll that hangs down the right-hand side, the tip lifted by the rural breeze. At the other end the scroll partakes in the complex pictorial construction of Moses' hand and the

12 In most *OT* initials, the finishing in black – vestments, contours – seems to be the last layer of original paint/ink. Incarnations are sparingly applied, and thus the underdrawing is often visible. The diversity of expressions, especially in *H* of *Exod.*, is notable and reveals quality draughtsmanship.

13 Note the same gesture by the top left and bottom right figures in *Exod.* H. Cf. François Garnier – *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge. Signification et symbolique*. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1982, 174-75, 212, 220. For the absence of framing: Jonathan J. G. Alexander – *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*. New Haven – London: Yale UP, 1992, 84-85.

14 Only *Num.* has a simple 8-l. pen decorated initial.

initial, at exactly the point where the rounded body of the capital starts that shelters the seated tribes of Israel; the tension of the uncial curve is contained by arch-like solidity and a counter-weight ornament. The whole scene appears somewhat cramped, but the pictorial solutions and creativity that characterized the preceding initials are again present. Once more the artist succeeds to establish unity between the compartments of the initial, and to illustrate the opening lines of the Bible Book persuasively.

Stylistic and formal differences and parallels suggest that alongside the Pentateuch Master other artistic personalities contributed to the illumination of the Old Testament, and that theirs was a close-knit collaborative unit consisting of a principal master (e.g. figs 2-8), his direct apprentice (e.g. figs 12-13, ?14), and possibly another two artisans of whom one a creative mind with a distinct decorative idiom (e.g. fig. 11)<sup>15</sup>.

Other works by the Ajuda artists have not yet come about, but preliminary comparisons and considerations shed light on the region and context the Ajuda Bible was produced in. First of all the *Kastenthron* attracts the attention<sup>16</sup>. The typology is common in medieval art, but finding the right *ménusier* is not obvious. The design in a *Vitae Sanctorum* from Fécamp, produced in Normandy ca. 1120-30, comes very close (fig. 19)<sup>17</sup>. Ornamentation, monumentality, and movement in this volume's (historiated) initials correspond, moreover, in part to solutions in the Ajuda Bible; even text hand and display script are not too dissimilar. Secondly, Moses in *Deuteronomy* (fig. 8) clearly resembles the nimbed figure in the same opening in the Bible of Saint-Martin de Sées and the image of *Sapientia* at the start of *Sirach* in a Bible in Reims<sup>18</sup>. These volumes date to ca. 1100 and have been attributed to Normandy and the Champagne respectively. Thirdly, the panel structure of the Ajuda *Genesis* is comparable to a Bible now in Paris and to three Bibles from abbeys on the river

15 The counter-weight ornament in *Deut.* fits the decorative language of *Dan. A* (fig. 10), which, in turn, relates to *prol. Dan. D* (fig. 9) through *Ezek. H* and *E* (fig. 11). A particular branch type decorating the *Gen.* mandorla (fig. 3), fits *D, H*, and *E. B* of *Ps.* (fig. 12) depends on the formal idiom of the Pentateuch illumination – direct involvement of the Master is an option, but a distinctive drollery (a head with dangling, bell-shaped tongue) may be some sort of signature: it recurs in the historiated *E* (see n. 4 *supra*) and ornamental *C* (fig. 13) of preceding III and IV *Kings*, with *E* particularly close in terms of quality to the Pentateuch works. Form and finishing of ornaments in *B* and *C* is related to those in *Gen.* and the historiated initial *A* at I *Chr.* (see n. 4 *supra*). The latter is, in turn, comparable to *Dan. A*, and to some extent to the Pentateuch illustrations. Near identical color palettes further link single illuminations. Other extant initials do not significantly change these preliminary conclusions – for these see *Isa.*, V (Isaiah on *Kastenthron* with book and fleur-de-lis); *Jer.*, V (zoomorphic initial); *Job*, V (fig. 14; nn. 27-28 *infra*); *Eccles.*, V (zoomorphic initial with King David on *Kastenthron*, dressed in tunic with remarkable bell fibula). Cf. also Alexander – *Medieval Illuminators*, 10-20.

16 The illumination of I *Chr.* includes a different throne typology (crossed legs type).

17 Rouen, BM, Ms. 1404, esp. ff. 24, 101. See *Manuscripts Normands XI-XII<sup>ème</sup> siècles*. Exh. cat. François Avril. Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1975, no. 83; Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II, 28, and cf. fig. 37; *ECF*.

18 Reims, BM, Ms. 21, f. 176; Sées, Archives diocésaines, Ms. 1, f. 69. See Cahn – *La Bible*, nos 101, 109; François Garnier – *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge. II. Grammaire des gestes*. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, s.d. [1989], 394-95; *ECF*; *INIT*.



Scarpe<sup>19</sup>. The former has been tentatively ascribed to western France – possibly the region of Le Mans –, and dated to ca. 1125 or 1125-1150<sup>20</sup>. The Scarpe group consists of the Alardus Bible made at the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand in ca. 1100 (fig. 20)<sup>21</sup>, a Bible from Saint-Rictrude in Marchiennes of ca. 1125<sup>22</sup>, and the slightly later Bible from Saint-Sauveur in Anchin (fig. 21)<sup>23</sup>. Between the latter communities close relationships existed and the *Genesis* initials in the younger two manuscripts do follow the example of Saint-Amand. More generally their style has been attributed to northern France and Flanders<sup>24</sup>. Still, besides the framing, other features 52-XIV-13 and 14 share with the Alardus group are not sufficiently distinctive<sup>25</sup>. The stage like use of the frame and the spatial play within the initials are also less accomplished in the Scarpe valley Bibles and their style is not as expressive and monumental: Ajuda is in these aspects more in line with the Bible in Paris<sup>26</sup>. The three Bibles lack, finally, the complexity of the iconographic program of Ajuda.

The iconography of the Old Testament miniatures will be examined carefully in combination with the picture cycle of the second Bible set preserved in the Biblioteca da Ajuda. One preliminary observation in this direction may already be presented though: it sheds light on the context of production. Concerned is the *Job* opening, depicting a King seated on a *Kastenthron*, dressed in a blue and white checkered robe, and with a fleur-de-lis in the right hand and a book in the

19 On structure and content of *Gen.* initials see: Geneviève Mariéthoz – Monogrammes et initiales historiées introduisant la Genèse dans les bibles d'époque romane. In *Comment le Livre s'est fait livre. La fabrication des manuscrits bibliques (IV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle). Bilan, résultats, perspectives de recherche*. Actes du colloque international, Namur, v 2012. Eds Chiara Ruzzier, Xavier Hermand. Turnhout: Brepols 2015, 111-29.

20 BnF, lat. 10. See Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II. no. 17; cf. Id. – *La Bible*, no. 86.

21 Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 9: Cahn – *La Bible*, no. 116; *ECF*.

22 Douai, BM, Ms. 1: Cahn – *La Bible*, no. 67; *ECF*. One of the artists working on this Bible was very talented (f. 159<sup>v</sup>); the others were less competent than those active in 52-XIV-13 and 14. Cf. also f. A<sup>v</sup>.

23 Id., Ms. 2: Pavol Černý – Les manuscrits à peintures de l'Abbaye de Marchiennes jusqu'à la fin du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bull. de la Comm. Départ. d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du Pas-de-Calais*. XI 1981 49-70, 53-4; Cahn – *La Bible*, no. 68; *ECF*.

24 Considering the network of Marchiennes ascription to the Soissonnais in the South, and up to northern Picardie and the West-Flanders coastal region around Ter Duinen, is credible. See: Jean-Pierre Gerzaguët – Les confraternités de l'abbaye de Marchiennes au Moyen Age (XII<sup>e</sup>– XV<sup>e</sup> s.). *Revue Bénédictine*. 110 (2000) 301–54, in part. 339. Saint-Amand's region of influence was evidently way larger.

25 Zoomorphic and interlace patterns, vegetal ornament, props (footwear, particular hat types), and ornamental initial endings are also present in other volumes that are, however, chronologically and geographically rather disparate. Among such stock repertoire, for instance, a particular type of acorn-topped branch encountered in the Ajuda Bible (figs 9, 11) and the Alardus group, but also in Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, Ms. 18 (Gregory, *Moralia*, attr. to XII<sup>1/2</sup> c., England, on *INIT*), Rouen, BM, Ms. 489 (misc. from Fécamp, prod. Normandy, ca. 1035-1066; *ECF*), Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 3 (Bible, prod. western France / Touraine, XII<sup>1</sup> c., from Beaulieu-lès-le-Mans; *BVMM*; *INIT*), and Amiens, BM, Mss 142 and 143 (Lectionary-Homiliary of Saint-Pierre de Corbie, possibly prod. at the abbey and said to be related to mss of the monastic communities in the diocese of Arras, like Saint-Vaast, Anchin and Marchiennes, ca. 1140-50; Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II. no. 105; *ECF*). These mss, and in part. the Beaulieu and Corbie volumes, also share possibly more distinctive features with Ajuda. Cf. also the dog in Ajuda's I *Chr.* with Rouen Ms. 489, f. 60<sup>v</sup>; and n. 27 *infra* for an iconographic parallel with Sorbonne Ms. 18.

26 Note comparable solutions for the mandorla ornamentation, frame knots, and frame solidity in BnF, lat. 10 and Ajuda's *Gen.*, *Deut.*, and *Ps.* Angers, BM, Ms. 25 (prod. Angers, ca. 1125; Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II. no. 12), appears similarly close in some details.

other (fig. 14). This initial *V* employs pictorial solutions also present in the Bible's images at III *Kings* and *Isaiah*, and the royal image of Job generally corresponds to the same scene in a Bible from Senlis and a manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia* in the Sorbonne library<sup>27</sup>. Ajuda's initial is one of the distinguishing images of the Bible's Old Testament cycle: Analyses of the King Job iconography in both Latin and Byzantine sources by Jannic Durand suggest that the decoration originated in a context in which secular influence on ecclesiastical affairs was promoted rather than rejected<sup>28</sup>.

Taking into consideration the latter notion, and the volumes' illumination, handwriting, and display script, the ideation of the set can be dated and localized with some precision. Ajuda 52-XIV-13 and 14 were presumably produced in a relatively small size *scriptorium* in north-western France towards the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century<sup>29</sup>. The religious institutions in the domains in this large area dependent on the French Crown enjoyed a certain amount of ecclesiastical freedom, contrasting especially, it appears, with the state of affairs within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence<sup>30</sup>. The recurrent use of the *Kastenthron* may prove, from such a perspective, a distinctive element plausibly defining Normandy as the region of origin of the volumes. The Ajuda Bible provides additional details that enable us to elaborate on our assessment of the Bible's medieval context.

## Medieval Provenance History and a Hagiographic Conundrum

Two inscriptions following the Book Job and added by the same hand towards the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, disclose a connection between

27 Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 5, Bible, f. 117<sup>v</sup> (*BVMM*; prod. XII<sup>1/4</sup> c., north-eastern France, proposed by Walter Cahn; *INIT* points out that Cahn's comparisons are unconvincing; the ms. is part of a set with post-med. ex-l. of the Cathedral of Senlis); Id., Bibl. de la Sorbonne, Ms. 18, f. 13<sup>v</sup> (I thank Patricia Stirnemann for pointing out this volume; n. 25 *supra*). Note: in these images the book is lacking; the fleur-de-lis tops in Sorbonne the scepter of a standing King Job; in Senlis he holds a flower in one, a scepter in the other hand. I have not yet encountered a good parallel for the crown type worn by Ajuda's Job, and in effect used throughout the *OT* cycle. For his tunic see also III *Kings* and *Eccles.*, and cf. i.a. Dijon, BM, Ms. 14, ff. 13, 44<sup>v</sup>, 191 (Cîteaux, ca. 1109-1111; Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II. no. 58); Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 9, f. 262 (Champagne, XII<sup>ex</sup> c.; Id., II. no. 81). Cf. also the fibula ribbon in the initial in Senlis and the initial of Ajuda's *Eccl*.

28 Jannic Durand – Note sur une iconographie méconnue: le "saint roi Job". *Cahiers archéologiques* 32 1984 113-35; cf. Alexander – *Medieval Illuminators*, 84; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert – Les préfaces des Bibles latines. Essai de typologie et application à Job. In *Comment le Livre s'est fait livre*, 145-54. For the complex meaning of the fleur-de-lis cf. François Garnier – *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge*. II. *Grammaire des gestes*. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, s.d. [1989], 205-22, 350, 378-81, 386-87. Job's book and fleur-de-lis possibly express the divine Law and God's alliance with the *OT* King, but how such symbolism fits the context of the iconography's ideation has yet to be established. To the (partly) similar examples of King Job in Latin mss from Normandy, Artois, Flanders, and Italy, provided by Durand, add those in n. 27 *supra*. The book in Job's hands app. is an uncommon feature: Durand gives a few Byzantine, southern French and German examples.

29 Patricia Stirnemann (by letter) provides a date ca. 1115-1130.

30 François Neveu – Les évêques normands et la conquête française. In 1204. *La Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens*. Eds Anne-Marie Flambard Hélicher, Véronique Gazeau. Caen: CRAHM, 2007, 357-88, 369.



the community that used the Bible and the King of Capetian France Philippe August (1165-1223)<sup>31</sup>. The first records how during the third crusade Acre was handed over to Philippe by Sultan Saladin's commanders Saïf al-Dîn Meshtûb and Behâ al-Dîn Qarâqûsh<sup>32</sup>. The second inscription (fig. 16) recounts the principal episodes and protagonists of the battle of Bouvines in July 1214<sup>33</sup>. *Ad pontem bovinarum*, situated between Tournai and Lille, the French suzerain recorded a spectacular victory over a coalition pulled together by his adversary King John of England, led by Emperor Otto IV, and principally consisting of a German contingent of nobles, of count Ferrand of Flanders, count Renaud of Boulogne, and count William of Salisbury. Bouvines marked the end of long-term Anglo-French conflicts and both freed Philippe August of the unsettling presence of the (then Angevin) King of England and reaffirmed his preeminence in the feudal pyramid of north-western Europe<sup>34</sup>.

The same inscriptions are transmitted in a late mediaeval miscellany that belonged to a "conseiller en court lay demourant a Vernon-sur-Seine"<sup>35</sup>. The scribe of this volume may even have copied them from the Bible, or a source close to it. Indeed, by 1216, and probably until at least the later seventeenth century, the Ajuda Bible was in Vernon-sur-Seine, one of the strongholds of Paris and the Île-de-France during the reign of Philippe August<sup>36</sup>. An inscription following the *Apocalypse* (fig. 18) offers a first clue:

31 BAjuda 52-XIV-13, f. 231v.

32 "Anno domini MCXC reddita est acharon civitas transmarina civitas nobilis. Philippo Regi francorum a duobus viris nobilibus et eiusdem civitis custodibus, scilicet Mestondo, et Karacoso, Mense iulio, Regnante Saldino rege sarraceno viro probo et illustrissimo si fidem dei suscepisset.". The rendition of Acre effectively took place 12 July 1191 (Steven Runciman – *A History of the Crusades*. 3. *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*. Cambridge: UP, 1954).

33 "Anno domini MCCXIII VI Kal. Augusti die dominica, ad pontem Bo<vin>arum (vin eras.), dimicavit Philippus rex Francorum contra Othonem regem Alemagnie, et imperatorem Romanorum, et contra comitem Flandrensem nomini Ferrandum. Et contra comitem bolonie nomine Renaldum. Et contra comitem Salob[o]n[ie] nomine Willelmum et contra multos nobiles alemagn. quos omnes longum est enumerare. Videns autem Otho imperator quod a franci< >s (?i eras.) esset superatus non gladio non ense, sed fuge presidio fuit liberatus. Multi vero ex parte eius, occisi, multi captivati, (?) scilicet comites Ferrandus et comites Renaldus et comites Willelmus omnes. In quam Rei lese maiestatis, coniuurati in mortem Philippi Regis.". For a similar inscription see: *Les registres de Philippe Auguste*. I. *Texte*. Ed. John W. Baldwin; collab. Françoise Gasparri, Michel Nortier, Elisabeth Lalou. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1992, 546-47. Before (now erased) and after the two inscriptions 4 vv.: "Es data Christicolis acharon licet inopia nolis / Urbs mala plena dolis ydola vana colis / (add. Urbs) inimica cruci sine luce <modo> data luci, / (add. Non) es digna truci suddere colla duci.". Cf. with, e.g., Marbod of Rennes, *De civitate Redonis* (PL 171, 1726D).

34 Georges Duby – *Le dimanche de Bouvines: 27 juillet 1214*. Paris: Gallimard, 1973; John W. Baldwin – *The Government of Philip Augustus. Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley: UCP, 1986, 207-19; François Neveux – Les événements de 1204 dans leur contexte historique. In *1204*, 9-20; John W. Baldwin, Walter Simons – The Consequences of Bouvines. *French Historical Review*. 37 2014 243-69.

35 BnF, fr. 1555, f. 58<sup>r</sup> – ms. and ex-l. datable to XIV<sup>ex</sup>-XV<sup>in</sup> c. The counsellor's name is Symon Pierre<s> (f. l<sup>o</sup>). See Leroux de Lincy – *Essai historique et littéraire sur l'Abbaye de Fécamp*. Rouen: Edoard Frère, 1840, 386-87.

36 For Vernon's importance in XII<sup>ex</sup>-XIII<sup>in</sup> c.: Baldwin – *Government*, 167-71, 273; Daniel Power – L'établissement du régime capétien en Normandie: structures royales et réactions aristocratiques. In *1204*, 319-43, 331-32; Michel Nortier – Vernon, clef de la France en Normandie. *Les Cahiers Vernonnais*. 19 1997 21-22. For its earlier strategic and economic significance: Pierre Bauduin – *La première Normandie (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle). Sur les frontières de la haute Normandie: identité et construction d'une principauté*. Caen: PU, 2006, 232-33.

“XI. Kl. Maii. Translatio beati Maximi Cuius reliquie in federe dilectionis perpetue cum omni reverentia et devotione A venerabili .A. Morinensi episcopo et eiusdem loci reverendo capitulo ecclesie beate Marie Vernonensis per eiusdem ecclesie humiles ministros transmise sunt, et ibidem honorifice suscepte. Anno domini Millesimo Duocentesimo sextodecimo.”<sup>37</sup>

Most importantly this inscription, or translation notice, anchors chronology and medieval provenance. It also opens up various lines of inquiry: Who were the individuals involved, and who was the saint behind the relic; what linked him to Vernon and the church of Notre-Dame; which motivation lay behind the *translatio* sanctioned by the bishop of Thérouanne, the *episcopus morinensis*? Moreover, is this inscription in any way related to the other two and does it tell us anything about the origin of the Bible?

Before addressing these queries another document ought to be introduced. In 1635 a Vernon presbyter, Jean Theroude, recorded a letter – now lost – that corroborates the translation notice and provides additional information:

“Epistola V. decani et capituli Morinensis ad decanum et capitulum Vernonensis monasterii quâ, cùm, domino largiente, thesaurum sanctissimi corporis S. Maximi Regiensis episcopi ferè totum possideant, ad instantiam canonicorum dicti monasterii Vernonensis, eisdem, in perpetuae dilectionis memorabile pignus, munus auro et topasiis pretiosius, unam scilicet de costis huius pretiosissimi confessoris, liberaliter impertuntur. Datum anno Domini MCCXVI, in crastino post Quasimodo.”<sup>38</sup>

Letter and inscription unveil several distinct performances – petition, authorization, transfer, reception – relating to a single liturgical event: the translation of a rib of Maximus – designated *sanctus episcopus regiensis, confessor, beatus* –, secured in a precious jewel clad reliquary, from the chapter of Thérouanne to the monastery or church of Notre-Dame de Vernon in April 1216.

The acting *episcopus morinensis* – though not explicitly named – was the Capetian protégé Adam de Montreuil, canon of Lillers, archdeacon of Paris, and elected to the regalian see of Thérouanne in 1213; in 1216 Willelmus II served as

37 BAjuda 52-XIV-14, f. 156<sup>v</sup> – with *sextodecimo* corr. from *septodecimo*; XI Kl. Maii is April 21; the handwriting of the inscription is approximately in line with date and location.

38 Cit. in M. de Bréquigny (cont. by M. Pardessus) – *Table chronologique des diplômes, chartes, titres et actes imprimés concernant l’histoire de France*. Vol. V. Paris: Impr. Royale, 1846, 48 (with date April 18, 1216), from Jean Theroude – *Abrégé de la vie de S. Maxime ou Maxe evesque de Riez en Provence, apostre du Teroüennois, & patron de la ville de Vernon sur Seine au diocèse d’Evreux* [...]. Paris: N. Charles, 1635, 16, as ex orig. Cf. *Gallia christiana* [...]. T. 10. Paris: Typ. Regia, 1751, 1553 (a. 1214), 1581 (a. 1216); Olivier Bled – *Regestes des évêques de Thérouanne. T. I: 500-1414*. Saint-Omer: Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, 1904, n° 1219 (May 18, 1216). For Theroude see Raymond Baustert – *La consolation érudite. Huit études sur les sources des lettres de consolation de 1600 à 1650*. Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2003, 306-7. Was Theroude’s original perhaps among the antique charters of Notre-Dame de Vernon – present whereabouts unknown – descr. by Adolphe-André Porée – *Les anciens livres liturgiques du diocèse d’Évreux: essai bibliographique*. Évreux: Impr. de l’Eure 1904, 51?

his dean<sup>39</sup>. It has not yet been possible to name the *decanus* on the receiving end, but we may assume he was a lay member heading the chapter of twelve secular canons that served the collegiate church of Notre-Dame founded by Guillaume de Vernon and consecrated by the Anglo-Norman bishop of Évreux Gilbert Fitz Osbern in ca. 1072<sup>40</sup>.

The identification of Maximus is problematic, in particular because divergent hagiographies are transmitted for Théroouanne and Vernon. To begin with the local tradition of Théroouanne recounts how Beatus Maximus Regiensis, accompanied by the deacons Valerius and Rusticus, travelled from Riez "... usque ad urbem Teruanensium que ultima est in septentrionali parte urbium Gallie [...]"<sup>41</sup>. After having spent the night in the church of Saint Martin the men left for the coast, planning to cross the Channel to reach the British Isles. At mid-day they rested "[...]" in desertum quattuor ferme miliaribus ab urbe prefata distans [...], and whilst doing so a celestial voice urged Maximus: "[...] Maxime, consummata est via tua.". The group stopped on the spot and dedicated an oratory to the Virgin and the apostle Andrew. Here Maximus, *vir apostolicus*, lived for a good eight years christening the population of the Morinie before journeying to the afterlife<sup>42</sup>. In 954 bishop Wicfrid,

39 Bled – *Regestes*, 3, 22, 212-13, and nos. 1200-1450 (of interest many, and for what follows i.a. nos 497, 681, 1200, 1211, and those listed below); Anne Lombard-Jourdan – Fiefs et justices parisiens au quartier des Halles. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. 134 1976 301-88, 311-13; Baldwin – *Government*, 66-68, 440. Adam (abdicated 1229; d. 1250) app. was testamentary executor of Mathilde of Portugal (1157-1218), cf. *L'histoire ecclésiastique du Pays-Bas [...]. Par [...]. M. Guillaume Gazet [...]*. Arras: Impr. de la Riviere, 1614, 565.

40 Bauduin – *La première Normandie*, 236 n. 334, and cf. Marcel Baudot – Vernon. In *Dictionnaire des églises de France. IV<sup>e</sup>: Normandie*. Tours: Laffont, 1968, 186-87 ; Anne Massoni-Huber – Qu'est-ce qu'une collégiale? *Les Collégiales dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge*. Actes de l'atelier-séminaire, Carcassonne, ix 2000. Ed. Michelle Fournié. Milau: Centre d'études Cathares, 2003, 13-16 (15: relatively few collegiate churches were founded in Normandy); lamop-appli.univ-paris1.fr/collegiales does not yet list Vernon. Material evidence from the original church is scarce. Parts of the choir colonnade survive, incl. a capital in Musée A. G. Poulain in Vernon, inv. 24.71 (fig. 17), and XII<sup>th</sup> c. architectural structures from the quarters of the chapter of canons are still visible in the Rue du Chapitre. I thank Jean Baboux of the Cercle d'études vernonnais for kindly sharing his views on these elements. For the de Vernon and their (purported) lineage, the Reviers or Redvers, counts of Devon, see Jacques Polonovski – La famille de Reviers-Vernon (de 1000 à 1280). *Revue généalogique normande*. 53 1995 6-14; Bauduin – *La première Normandie*, 232-37; Véronique Gazeau – *Normannia monastica*. 1: *Princes normands et abbés bénédictins (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. 2: *Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Caen: CRAHM, 2007, 1.97 n. 334, 316, 2.196; Jean Claude Viel – Les Vernon, une famille de seigneurs en Normandie et en Angleterre. *Les Cahiers Vernonnais*. 31 2009 6-35; Christophe Maudit – L'abbaye de Montebourg en Angleterre (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). *Tabularia "Études"*. 11 2011 81-103; n. 92 *infra*; cf. van Houts, *Gesta* (cit. n. 58 *infra*), 2. 122n, 275n. For the Fitz Osbern, at the center of the political hierarchy of the Évreux area and near-by Vexin, and during the XI<sup>th</sup> c. even closer to the Dukes of Normandy than the Reviers-Vernon, see Andrew Wareham – Two Models of Marriage: Kinship and the Social Order in England and Normandy. In *Negotiating Secular & Ecclesiastical Power. Western Europe in the Central Middle Ages*. Eds Henk Teunis, Andrew Wareham, Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, 107-32, 116-25; Bauduin – *La première Normandie*, 219-31, 245. Cf. also Alexander – *Medieval Illuminators*, 82. For secular canons and collegiate churches, see nn. 72, 74-75 *infra*.

41 Eugène Van Drival – Mémoire liturgique et historique sur Saint Maxime. *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, lettres et arts d'Arras*. Ser. 2 t. 14 1883 312-334, 323-25; Bled – *Regestes*, xxxiv-vi.

42 For secular and ecclesiastical matters pertaining to the Morinie see Jeff Rider, Benoît-Michel Tock – Introduction. In *Le diocèse de Théroouanne au Moyen Âge*. Actes de la journée d'études, Lille, v 2007. Eds Eid. Arras: Comm. Départ. d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du Pas-de-Calais, 2010, 7-10, 7; Charles Mériaux – Deux cités pour un diocèse: Boulogne et Théroouanne jusqu'au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. In *Le diocèse*, 31-51.

directed by a vision, discovered the saint's relics in Wismes, a locality on the road from Thérouanne to Boulogne-sur-Mer<sup>43</sup>. The body of Maximus was translated to the see and guarded there until 1082 when, at a time of uncertainty surrounding the episcopal election and in order to protect the relic from being despoiled by the Count of Flanders, the canons decided to transport it to Boulogne. The danger subsided and Maximus was brought back to Thérouanne. But upon inspection of the relic in 1134 the body turned out to be acephalous: the head had been embezzled by the Boulonnais. Bishop Milon protested and the relic was restored. Thirty years on the saintly remains briefly resided in nearby Montreuil, again in fear of Flemish violence. It was a short stay: in 1165 Milon II ostended the body to his community in the presence of the bishops of Noyon and Amiens.

Founded as the see of the *diocesis morinensis* in the seventh century Thérouanne struggled for recognition on a number of levels. Boulogne-sur-Mer challenged the primacy of Thérouanne, whilst Sithiu (Saint Omer) held both territorial and ecclesiastical preeminence<sup>44</sup>. Located just North of Thérouanne Sithiu preserved the venerable relics of Saint Bertin and the tombs of the principal early bishops of the diocese, new foundations in the region emanated almost invariably from its monasteries, and it was favored over Thérouanne by the Flemish<sup>45</sup>. Nonetheless, by appropriating the relic of a saintly bishop believed to be the earliest apostle in the Morinie – Maximus of Riez – the bishops of Thérouanne could, arguably, assert their own prerogatives<sup>46</sup>. Maximus' significance is indeed well attested for in the see's liturgy. Moreover, the recurrent, protective translations of his relic are specifically pointed out in the episcopal sources – and this is not the case for other relics –, as well as prominently repeated in chronicles of the area<sup>47</sup>. The Counts of Flanders and the Boulonnais clearly had their agendas too. The former, for instance, systematically looked for opportunities to acquire, redistribute, and activate the region's relics in order to foster geo-political influence and control ecclesiastical matters<sup>48</sup>. Maximus' tribulations highlight that Thérouanne headed a divided

43 For this paragraph, see Bled – *Regestes*, nos. 159, 284, 537, 540, 736.

44 Mériaux – Deux cités, 38, 41-44; Laurent Morelle – Nouveaux regards sur le privilège d'Omer, évêque de Thérouanne, en faveur de Sithiu (662). In *Le diocèse*, 11-29, 11.

45 Charles Mériaux – *Gallia irradiata. Saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006, 112, 167-70, 172-92, 232-33; Karine Ugé – *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*. York: Medieval Press, 2005, 26.

46 Cf. Thomas Head – *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*. Cambridge: CUP 1990, 292.

47 Bled – *Regestes*, xxxv, nos 284, 736, *passim*.

48 Mériaux – Deux cités, 43-47, n. 83; Karine Ugé – Relics as Tools of Power. The Eleventh-Century *Inventio* of Saint Bertin's relics and the Assertion of Abbot Bovo's authority. In *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power*, 51-71, 52-53. For the Flemish *Reliquienpolitik*, expression of territorial cohesion, see also: Edina Bozóky – La politique des reliques des premiers comtes de Flandre (fin du IX<sup>e</sup> - fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècles). In *Les reliques, objets, cultes, symboles*. Actes du colloque international, Boulogne-sur-Mer, ix 1997. Eds Ead., Anne-Marie Helvetius. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, 271-92; Ead. – *La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis: protection collective et légitimation du pouvoir*. Paris: Beauchesne, 2006, 180-81, 191-94; Brigitte Meijns – Les premières collégiales des comtes de Flandre, leurs reliques et les conséquences des invasions Normandes

diocese located at the crossroads of a territory key to the secular powers not only of Flanders, but also of Capetian France, and England and Normandy<sup>49</sup>. What comes to the fore as well in the saint's Théroouanne dossier is the importance of the completeness of the relic. Besides securing customary protection and peace, in particular a complete *corpus sanctus* could enable communities to develop a viable cult that would attract pilgrims and donations<sup>50</sup>.

Taking into account these geo-political mechanisms and contexts of worship of Maximus, the partial translation to Vernon in 1216 is remarkable, and more so because Vernon was part of the diocese of Évreux, two hundred kilometers South of Théroouanne. In addition, well before the beginning of the thirteenth century a different saint by the name of Maximus was presumably known in the town on the Seine. Four essential phases can be distinguished in his dossier.

In primis a *Passio* of Maximus *episcopus* and his twin-brother, the archdeacon Venerandus, has been transmitted<sup>51</sup>. It is said to have been composed in the ninth or tenth century, and ends with their martyrdom *in vico Aciniaco*, Acquigny-sur-Eure, just West of Vernon. Manuscripts containing this hagiographic account are few, with the earliest extant witness an early thirteenth century addition to a volume from Évreux cathedral<sup>52</sup>. Liturgical sources are invariably post-medieval, at least for Vernon<sup>53</sup>.

The Sacramentary of Saint-Wandrille (1033-1053) transmits, secondly, the earliest known reference to the invention and translation of the relics of the two men<sup>54</sup>. The actual account of these episodes is tucked away in the *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*, a work composed at the Norman abbey in 1053-1055<sup>55</sup>. It relates how a *transmarinus* named Amelbertus, after having learned in a vision that

(IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles). *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*. 85 2007 539-75; Steven Vanderputten – Itinerant Lordship. Relic Translations and Social Change in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Flanders. *French History*. 25 2011 143-63. Cf. also Bled – *Regestes*, nos. 153, 747. In evaluating the *inventio* of Maximus (954) the impact of the appropriation by Arnould I of the relic of Silvin of Auchy on behalf of Saint-Bertin (951) is worth contemplating. Silvin was, allegedly, one of the early bishops of Théroouanne, and evangelist of the Morinie – see Mériaux – *Gallia*, 181-85.

49 Mériaux – Deux cités, 46.

50 Head – *Hagiography*, 174-78, 200-201, 292-93; Lucile Trân-Duc – Les princes normands et les reliques (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles). Contribution du culte des saints à la formation territoriale et identitaire d'une principauté. In *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*. Ed. Jean-Luc Deuffic. Saint-Denis: PÉCIA, 2006, 525-61, 540-41.

51 *BHLms* 5848, ed. by J.-B. Mesnel – *Les saints du diocèse d'Évreux*. 5: *Les bienheureux martyrs d'Acquigny Saint Mauxe et Saint Vénérand*, V<sup>e</sup> ou VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Évreux: Hérissey, 1917, 5, 47 (date).

52 Mesnel – *Les saints*, 7, 42 n. 1, 49, relied on: 1) Évreux, BM, Ms. 101. The volume dates to the XII<sup>th</sup> c., with the *Passio* added in XIII<sup>th</sup> c. Mesnel refers to Henri Omont who "ne croit pas qu'elle [l'écriture] descende bien bas dans le XIII<sup>e</sup>"; 2) BnF, lat. 815 (XV<sup>th</sup> c.) – the only ms. listed on *BHLms*; 3) Id., Rés. 27834.

53 See Porée – *Les anciens livres*, 38, 47, 48, 50, for sources once in the Bibliothèque Cantonale du Presbytère de Notre-Dame de Vernon and the church. For their present whereabouts consider *Patrimoine des bibliothèques de France: un guide des régions*. 9: *Haute-Normandie, Basse-Normandie*. Paris: Payot, 1995, 42.

54 Rouen, BM, Ms. 272. See Gazeau – *Normannia*, 1.209.

55 *BHLms* 8740; *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*. Ed. J. Laporte. *Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie*. Sér. 14 1938 7-87, 33-34. For date and provenance see Trân-Duc – Les princes, 530.

the “sanctorum corpora Maximi et Venerandi martyrum” reposed in Acquigny, seized the relics and embarked for foreign shores. But his plans were thwarted and the Duke of Normandy Richard I (ca. 932-996) decided the remains were to be brought to Saint-Wandrille. Subsequently a second translation took place, to Rouen and in company of the *corpus sanctus* of Saint Wulfram<sup>56</sup>. Of *Passio* and *Inventio*, the latter in particular may have had a relatively broad (regional) readership, not in the least because it emanated from Saint-Wandrille and concerned Rouen, “the political and spiritual center of the Norman cosmos”<sup>57</sup>.

A third text can, in addition, be pointed out that features Maximus and Venerandus. Robert of Torigni, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, blended *Passio* and *Inventio* into one narrative in his continuation of the *Chronicle* of Sigebert of Glemboux, first ‘published’ by Torigni in 1156-1157<sup>58</sup>. His personal manuscript survives – Avranches, BM, Ms. 159 –, as do several twelfth and thirteenth century witnesses primarily produced in Normandy<sup>59</sup>. The work, which catered for a diverse audience of readers, provides significant evidence: it confirms that in the mid-twelfth century both *Inventio* and *Passio* circulated – the latter indeed more widely than the extant manuscript evidence suggests –, and signals the esteem Maximus enjoyed in the Norman duchy.

The 1215 foundation charter of a priory at Acquigny completes the present Maximus dossier<sup>60</sup>. It is the earliest dated reference to actual worship of the saint in the diocese of Évreux and suggests, alongside the early thirteenth century manuscript witness of the *Passio*, that the cult was re-kindled in the region at around this time<sup>61</sup>.

Ajuda’s *translatio beati Maximi* inscription of 1216, to my knowledge the earliest extant record linking Maximus and Vernon, would have fitted the latter picture splendidly, was it not for the fact that the dean and chapter of Vernon explicitly requested a relic safeguarded in Théroouanne. Why they chose to do so remains difficult to establish. It certainly is indiscriminate methodologically to

56 *Inventio et miracula*, 44-45.

57 For Saint-Wandrille, one of the principal monastic centers of the early Middle Ages from which a lot of narrative and hagiographic documentation emanated, see Mériaux – *Gallia, passim*; Gazeau – *Normannia, passim*. For Rouen: Bauduin – *La première Normandie, passim*, and 232 (for Rouen and Vernon, primarily during the X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> c.); *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911-1300*. Eds Leonie V. Hicks, Elma Brenner. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. See Benjamin Pohl ([history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1559](http://history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1559)) for the cit.

58 Léopold Delisle – *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel* [...]. 2 vols. Rouen: Société de l’Histoire de Normandie, 1872-73, 1.iii, 20-24; Elisabeth van Houts – *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-95, 1. lxxviii-lxxix.

59 Delisle – *Chronique*, 1.iii-lv; Benjamin Pohl – *Abbas qui et scriptor?* The Handwriting of Robert of Torigni and his scribal activity as abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154-1186). *Traditio*. 69 2014 45-86. The various exemplars generally come from Norman abbeys – Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Fécamp, etc.

60 Mesnel – *Les Saints*, 84-85.

61 There is no concrete evidence that before 1215 the cult flourished, as suggested by Mesnel – *Les Saints*, 85.



judge the translation a mere case of mistaken identity. In fact, although the Bible inscription does not specifically record Maximus as *episcopus regiensis* – as does the letter from Théroouanne –, it is unlikely considering the sources that survive that the Vernonnais were entirely oblivious of the actual whereabouts of the relic of their local saintly protector. The two inscriptions in Ajuda 52-XIV-13 that prominently feature Philippe August appear to favor another rationale. Since 813 one of the principal authorities in matters of *translatio* had been the lay ruler, and thus the secular component and meaning of what essentially was a liturgical performance had increased considerably<sup>62</sup>. By assenting to the (partial) translation of Maximus from Théroouanne to Vernon Philippe, sole suzerain after the battle of Bouvines in late July 1214, could have recompensed Vernon and its *Hinterland* for the role played in the establishment of Capetian rule and peace<sup>63</sup>. Ultimately staged by a regalian bishop of his choice and recorded in the principal Book preserved in Vernon's religious hart, the translation thus effectively authenticated Philippe's sovereignty over both towns. What is more, Maximus 'morinensis' – a saint who had chosen not to cross the Channel to England, and had weathered hostile relic appropriations by the King's unruly Flemish and Boulonnais subjects – was to establish a permanent association between two frontier regions of strategic importance: Morinie-Théroouanne, and Évrechin-Vernon. In other words, the *translatio sancti Maximi* consecrated one of the principal perimeters of Philippe August's territorial politics.

Other aspects ought to be borne in mind. John Baldwin has pointed out, first of all, that both Évrechin and Artois, in which Vernon and Théroouanne respectively lay, were singled out by Philippe to receive favourable treatment in ecclesiastical affairs<sup>64</sup>. Secondly, according to Lucile Tràn-Duc and François Bauduin the eleventh century *Inventio* spelled out claims of the Duke of Normandy to borderlands between Normandy and the French domains – i.e. to the Évrechin<sup>65</sup>; a century on the *Chronicle* of Robert of Torigni similarly bolstered these prerogatives by joining *Inventio* and *Passio* and updating the map of Maximus' saintly protectorate. The *cultus* of Maximus, revived in the diocese of Évreux at a time of a major change in territorial rule, did in a way counter such earlier Norman appropriation of local sainthood, and an additional 'Capetian' Maximus may well have empowered this particular perspective as well as any single one of his secular servants.

Caution is due, obviously. For one, Charles Mériaux has pointed to ties between the monastery of Saint-Wandrille, which had generated the *Inventio*, and the

62 Martin Heinzelmann – *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979, 35-36; Bozóky – *La politique*, 179 sqq., 224-25.

63 See n. 36 *supra*.

64 Baldwin – *Government*, 187-88, cf. 177-79. See also Bled – *Regestes*, nos. 945, 974, 1002, 1064, 1144, 1147, 1200, 1211; Neveux – *Les évêques*, 376, 385-86.

65 Tràn-Duc – *Les princes*, 549-50; Bauduin – *La première Normandie*, 86-87, cf. 178.

Thérouanne region, and such links merit closer examination<sup>66</sup>. In addition, definitive written records to back up the present hypotheses are lacking<sup>67</sup>. The politically driven discourse of relic translations is also said to have become increasingly antiquated from at least the middle of the twelfth century on<sup>68</sup>. An erasure of uncertain date in the second inscription of the Ajuda Bible, finally, casts some doubts on the accuracy of the reconstruction proposed. It reduced *pons bovinarum* to *pons boarum* (fig. 20). That is to say, the cattle bridge which had played a pivotal role in Philippe's victory – it was the only means of retreat across the marches for his adversaries – was turned into a serpent's nest. Which reader was responsible for the erasure is, evidently, difficult to ascertain, as is its meaning. The suppression may epitomize, however, how Vernon, gateway to Paris, had wavered in its alliances. During the eleventh and twelfth century, the upper echelons of the city and its region had effectively parted up with the Capetians on various occasions, revolting against the Anglo-Norman and Angevin rulers. The stance of the de Vernon family, responsible for the foundation of the collegiate church and its chapter of canons, was, in this respect, not wholly uncharacteristic<sup>69</sup>. During the late twelfth and early thirteenth century the treaties of Gaillon (a. 1196) and Le Goulet (a. 1200), and the truce of Chinon (a. 1214), stabilized the political situation<sup>70</sup>. However, regional animosity as well as adherence to lineage and allegiance cannot have given way easily<sup>71</sup>, and certain ill-feelings presumably subsisted among the members of the collegiate community too. The erasure seems a silent witness to this long-term process, and begs the question whether, from a Capetian point of view, a jewel clad reliquary token from up North really was an effective choice for attaining *stabilitas regni*.

Although the inscriptions have laid bare an evocative historical and hagiographic narrative for the church and chapter of Notre-Dame de Vernon, they do not explicitly designate the community as the Bible's first port of call. And

66 Mériaux – *Gallia*, 112-17.

67 Consider, however, Bozóky – *La politique*, 50, who asserts that conc. the “fonction particulière des reliques [ ] d'assurer la paix et l'ordre social [ ] des formulations explicites [sont] plutôt rares”. Records for similar instances of northern French, transregional relic exchange are, to my knowledge, also not extant for Eure and Morinie during the reign of Philippe August. Examinations of the Capetian cult of (non royal) saints during Philippe's rule are rare though: Head – *Hagiography*, 59-60, 64-65; Bozóky – *La politique*, 139, 153-59; Vanderputten – *Itinerant Lordship*, 144; Axelle Neyrinck – *La formation d'un espace sacré à Paris sous Louis VII et Philippe Auguste: cimetière des innocents, communauté parisienne et exclusion des juifs. Circé. 4* 2014, s.n. [online], in part. at n. 56. Cf. Pierre Héliot – *Voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du Moyen Âge. Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. 107 1963 90-96, 92.

68 Vanderputten – *Itinerant Lordship*, 162-63.

69 Judith Green – King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy. In *La France anglaise au Moyen Âge. Actes du 111<sup>e</sup> congrès national des Sociétés Savantes* (sect. d'Hist. méd. et de Philologie), Poitiers, 1986. Paris, CTHS, 1988, 1.161-73, 162-63; Bauduin – *La première Normandie*, 234, 337-40; Daniel Power – Angevin Normandy. In *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*. Eds Christopher Harper-Bill, Elisabeth van Houts. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007, 63-85, 66-67. Cf. Id. – *L'établissement*, 328-32.

70 For these three settlements, see Baldwin – *Government, ad indicem*.

71 Power – *L'établissement*, 341-42; Philippe Contamine – *Conclusion*. In *1204*, 401-10.

neither do script and illumination favor such an ascription: As has been shown the Bible was produced about half a century after the foundation of the church (a. 1072), and although Normandy appears to be a viable attribution for the two volumes, too little is actually known about Vernon's collegiate church during the late eleventh and early twelfth century to push the argument<sup>72</sup>. User marks are, additionally, few and generally too late to draw affirmative conclusions in this direction from<sup>73</sup>. The proposed narrative does seem to fit, in contrast, an observation by Michelle Parisse who pointed out that the foundation of collegiate churches in France was predominantly politically driven<sup>74</sup>: hundred and fifty years on politics still appear to have played an important part at Notre-Dame de Vernon<sup>75</sup>.

## Late and Post-medieval History

The last significant medieval user mark that can be pointed out in the volumes, a *signum tabellionatus* at the start of *Chronicles* (fig. 15)<sup>76</sup>, was presumably added by either Pierre (Jacques) or Jacques Le Prévost, early 1430s canons. It may be linked to the wholesale substitution of the liturgical books of Notre-Dame de

72 See Étienne Deville – Comptes de la collégiale de Vernon (1432-1439). Extr. *Bull. historique et philologique* 1910. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1911; Ulysse Louis – Le "cartulaire" du chapitre collégial de Vernon. *Les Cahiers Vernonnais*. 16 1994 5-16; Pierre Pajot – La collégiale Notre-Dame de Vernon. *Id.* 17 1995 59-65; n. 40 *supra*. For post-medieval, archival sources, see Evreux, Arch. Départementales de l'Eure, G. 278-301, G. 2095, G. 2519.

73 Worth mentioning are – of uncertain and varying date, but before 1500: early, simple corrections, occasional marginal annotations pointing out passages to be read during service, accents in some sections, XIII-XIV<sup>th</sup> c. nota-signs, XIII<sup>th</sup>-XIV<sup>th</sup> c. preparatory lead-point notes and rubrication (chapter numbers, book titles), and sewing holes for fore edge bookmarkers. For a *signum tabellionatus*, see n. 77 *infra*. The tracing of the text – evidently in order to restore several faded sections – may or may not date from the later Middle Ages.

74 Michel Parisse – Le redressement du clergé séculier. In *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*. T. 5: *Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la Chrétienté (1054-1274)*. Ed. André Vauchez. Paris: Desclée, 1993, 241-75, 260.

75 Further aspects may be highlighted. Vincent Tabbagh – Cathédrales et collégiales au Moyen Âge: rivalité et complémentarité. In *Les Collégiales*, 277-87, 285, notes that in general collegiate churches did not own important relics. The saintly protectorate of Saint Maximus is a keen reminder of how such 'flaws' could in time be remedied. John D. Cotts – Peter of Blois and the Problem of the 'Court' in the Late Twelfth Century. In *Anglo-Norman Studies. XXVII. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004*. Ed. John Gillingham. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005, 68-84, 70-71, asserts that "secular clergy represent a kind of blank space on our conceptual map of the High Middle Ages: we [...] do not have a single model for explaining their activities and ideals". Do mss such as the Vernon Bible not provide model opportunities? Cf. Matthias Tischler – Dal Bec a San Vittore. L'aspetto delle Bibbie 'neomonastiche' e 'vittorine'. In *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*. Ed. Paolo Cherubini. Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 2005, 373-405, 373. For recent bibliography conc. collegiate churches and secular canons see also n. 40 *supra*; *Les chanoines dans la ville. Recherches sur la topographie des quartiers canoniaux en France*. Ed. Jean-Charles Picard. Paris: De Boccard, 1994; Brigitte Meijns – Les chanoines séculiers: histoire et fonctions dans la société (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle). In *Les chapitres séculiers et leur culture. Via canoniale, art et musique à Saint-Yrieix (VI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Actes du colloque, Limoges, Saint-Yrieix et Poitiers, vi 2009. Eds Claude Andrault-Schmitt, Philippe Depreux. Limoges: PU, 2014, 15-30; Véronique Gazeau – En terre bénédictine, les établissements de chanoines de la Normandie médiévale: genèse et géographie des implantations, enjeux de pouvoir et lieux sacrés. In *Les chapitres*, 31-45; Anne Massoni-Huber – Collégiales royales, ducales et comtales, des institutions de fonctionnaires? In *Église et État, Église ou État? Les clercs et la genèse de l'État. Actes du colloque, Bourges, vi 2011*. Eds Christine Barralis, Fabrice Delivré, Jean-Patrice Boudet, et al. Rome: ÉFR, 2014, 137-39.

76 BAJuda 52-XIV-14, f. 32.

Vernon documented in the collegiate accounts of 1432-39<sup>77</sup>. One of the records mentions the reuse of precious metals from the “couverture du vieux texte [de l’Évangile]”<sup>78</sup>, and if this note does indeed refer to the second volume in the Ajuda library, the Bible most probably fell in disuse there and then. In this perspective the *signum* perhaps authenticates the chapter’s decision to replace the book<sup>79</sup>. In any case, no further, clear evidence of manipulation of the Vernon Bible can be pointed out until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century when it was rebound for Nicolas Joseph Foucault.

Nicolas Foucault (1643-1721), whose super-libros is impressed in gold on the upper and lower boards of the bindings of 52-XIV-13 and 14 (figs 22-23), was a close collaborator of Jean-Baptiste Colbert and a well-known antiquarian<sup>80</sup>. He assembled a large book collection which he sold during his lifetime, presumably between 1715 and 1719<sup>81</sup>. Léopold Delisle identified a Foucault manuscript in the library of Étienne Baluze bought by the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1719, and cited Jacques Le Long, librarian of the Oratorians of Saint-Magloire in Paris, who wrote in his *Bibliothèque historique* (1719) that “les manuscrits de M. Foucault sont passés depuis peu dans la Bibliothèque de M. l’Abbé de Rothelin”<sup>82</sup>. Moreover, the only catalogue of Foucault’s library that to my knowledge survives, lists various volumes published in 1715<sup>83</sup>.

77 Deville – Comptes, 13 (for Pierre Jacques Le Prévost), 13 and 16-20 (for newly produced service books, and for Pierre and Messire Jacques Le Prévost). Note that at least some of the new mss and bindings were not made at Vernon, but in Rouen and the Benedictine Abbey of Bernay.

78 Deville – Comptes, 17.

79 Notarial signs are not uncommon in later medieval mss and authenticate at times a change in use and/or ownership. See, e.g., Albinia C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* (vol. 1, fasc. 1). Oxford: Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, 1973, 91-105. The position of the *signum* is problematic, but may have to do with the fact that I Chr. features the last illuminated initial of the Bible.

80 For Foucault and his collection: Léopold Delisle – *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* [...]. Vol. I. Paris: Impr. Impériale, 1868, 374-79; Jean Dufour – *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*. Genève/Paris: Droz, 1972, 24-31; Antoine Schnapper – *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe: collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. 1. Histoire et histoire naturelle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1988, 297-301; Jacob Soll – *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s Secret State Intelligence System*. Michigan: Michigan UP, 2009, 123-30; Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet – *La Collection de Nicolas-Joseph Foucault (1643-1721) et de Nicolas Mahudel (1673-1747)*. In *Histoires d’archéologie. De l’objet à l’étude*. Cat. exh. Paris, Institut national d’Histoire de l’art, 2009. Eds. Ead., Irène Aghion, Dominique Morelon. Paris: INHA, 2009, s.n. [online].

81 Cf. Delisle – *Le cabinet*, 378, and Dufour – *La bibliothèque*, 29. Dufour, following in part Paul Lehmann – *Handschriften und Handschriftenbruchstücke des 8.-15. Jahrhunderts in Esztergom*. In Id. – *Erforschung des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. Bd. IV. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1961, 83-89, 86, asserts the collection was sold in The Hague shortly after Foucault’s death. However, the note in BL, Harl. 3078 presented by Dufour as possible evidence, is by the Harley librarian Humfrey Wanley and concerns acquisition of the volume from the seller Thomas Ballard in London (see bl.uk). Moreover, none of the 1721 The Hague sales listed in *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599-1800* [...]. Init. Bert van Selm; eds J. A. Gruys, H. W. de Kooiker. Leiden: IDC, 1997, fits Foucault’s collection.

82 Jacques Le Long – *Bibliothèque historique de la France* [...]. Paris: G. Martin, 1719, p. f; Delisle – *Le cabinet*, 378.

83 Caen, BM, Ms. 518, T. I-II: *Bibliotheca Fucaltiana sive Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Illustrissimi Viri D. Nic. Joseph Foucault Comitis Consistoriani*. s.l., s.d. (reprod. BVMM). The volume conc. mss by “poètes français, anciens et modernes” compiled by

Unfortunately the *Bibliotheca Fucaltiana* catalogue registers almost exclusively printed editions<sup>84</sup>, and the range of manuscripts Foucault obtained throughout his career remains difficult to assess. Foucault himself wrote in 1703 that he already owned one hundred and twenty three Books of Hours, and about one hundred of his manuscripts still extant are on file at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris<sup>85</sup>. In general the latter have his coat-of-arms on the bindings and a heraldic book-plate inside. Such features characterize effectively several manuscripts in the Biblioteca da Ajuda. Concerned are a volume of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard with both arms and book-plate<sup>86</sup>, a copy of Peter Riga's *Aurora* in the recension of Giles of Paris with book-plate<sup>87</sup>, and, indeed, the Vernon-sur-Seine Bible with super-libros only<sup>88</sup>. Whilst the former two manuscripts can be positioned within the acquisition policy of Foucault<sup>89</sup>, the exact date and terms of purchase of the Bible remain unclear. I am tempted to believe, however, by analogy with other manuscripts from French abbeys or churches in his collection, that Foucault obtained the Ajuda Bible directly from Vernon's collegiate church or a related ecclesiastic, when he was *intendant* of Caen (1689-1706)<sup>90</sup>. Once in his possession he had the volumes restored and incorporated in his Parisian library, where, at some point in the early eighteenth century, Le Long studied the "Codex Capituli Ecclesiae B. Mariae Vernonensis". The Oratorian subsequently published in his *Bibliotheca Sacra* what can rightly be called the first modern description of the Ajuda Bible:

"Biblia Latina. Codex Capituli Ecclesiae B. Mariae Vernonensis circa speculum XI. Exaratus in membranis cum figuris, & literis uncialibus ad initium uniuscuiusque libri, 2 vol.; fol. in fine primi habentur sequentes articuli duo, scriptura recentissima. Anno 1102. Reddita est Acharon civitas transmarina, civitas nobilis, Philippo Regi Francorum, à

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Foucault's collection curator Antoine Galland (1646-1715) is still at large: Delisle, *Le cabinet*, 375 n. 5; Avisseau-Broustet – La Collection, 15.

84 Caen, BM, Ms. 518-I, 153, for the only ms. I have come across so far.

85 About a third of the IRHT files, consulted in 2010, register Books of Hours. The files do not incl. all extant mss. For recent identifications see, e.g.: *Il trionfo sul tempo. Manoscritti illustrati dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*. Cat. exh. ed. Antonio Cadei. Modena: Panini, 2003, no. 37; *Fifty Manuscripts & Miniatures*. Hamburg: Antiquariat J. Günther, 2006, lot. 32. I have in preparation a list of Foucault mss incl. refs. to those earmarked as still at large by i.a. Delisle – *Le cabinet*, 375, 377-78.

86 BAJuda 52-XIII-6. See App. II. 2.

87 BAJuda 52-XII-17. See App. II. 1.

88 BAJuda 52-XIV-13 and 14: Foucault binding, XVII<sup>ex</sup>-XVIII<sup>in</sup> c., light brown calf over paper boards; apart from the super-libros decoration is minimal; spines of both volumes are damaged; lining of heavily glued quires is visible; endleaves are in part waste ms. material (French docs. of XVI-XVII<sup>th</sup> c.; cf. Dufour – *La bibliothèque*, 29 n. 70; App. II. 2), pasted over with paper; several etiquettes on pastedowns (nn. 92, 103 *infra*); noted in pencil (former) Ajuda call nos, and bibliographic and provenance references, incl. the incorrect "Super-libros de Françoise d'Aubigné [ ]". In the library files BAJuda 77-VII-12 is ascribed to the same, again incorrectly. This pr. ed. is one of what is undoubtedly a series of eds from Foucault in the BAJuda.

89 See App. II.

90 Cf. Delisle – *Le cabinet*, 375, 377; Geneviève Nortier – *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* [...]. Paris, Lethielleux, 1971, 54; Soll – *The Information Master*, 125-27; and, e.g., Foucault's mss Brussels, Royal Libr., Ms. 10161; Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3511; OBL, Rawl. A. 392; The Hague, Museum Meermann Westreenianum, 10 B 23.

*duobus viris nobilibus & eiusdem civitatis custodibus, scilicet Mestrudo & Carcolo, mense Julio, regnante Saldino & illustrissimo si fidem Dei suscepisset. Anno 1203. sexto calendas Augusti die Dominica ad Pontem Bovinarum dimicavit Philippus Rex Francorum &c. Parisiis Bibl. Nic. Jos. Foucault Comitum Consistoriani.*<sup>91</sup>

The Bible's next owner was the Abbé Charles d'Orléans de Rothelin (1691-1744) who, as pointed out, possessed various manuscripts from Foucault from 1719 on. His book-plate features prominently on the front paste-down, and the two codices are listed in the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. l'Abbé d'Orléans de Rothelin*, prepared in view of the auction of his library in 1749<sup>92</sup>. The Biblioteca da Ajuda preserves a copy of this catalogue<sup>93</sup>, but, more importantly, also a great many books from the Rothelin collection – I know at least eighty, both printed editions and manuscripts. Contrary to the few items from Foucault, it is likely that Rothelin's books came to Portugal as one large lot<sup>94</sup>.

Although the exact date and terms of purchase and shipment of the Rothelin volumes are, once more, hard to pin down, the book-deal was quite undoubtedly concluded before late 1758. The Bible appears as a matter of fact in a catalogue that describes a flurry of the most prized manuscripts and rare editions assembled over a period of fifteen years for the Convento da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades by the Lisbon Oratorian P<sup>e</sup> Domingos Pereira. He died November 18, 1758<sup>95</sup>. Four manuscripts transmit this precious *Catalogo dos livros, mais selectos, ou pela antiguidade, ou pela raridade, que se conservaõ na Real Biblioteca da Congregação do Oratorio de Lisboa, por industria de Domingos Pereira*<sup>96</sup>. The principal witness (E) is a

91 *Bibliotheca sacra* [...], *labore & industria Jacobi Le Long Parisini, Congregationis Oratorii Presbyteri, & Bibliothecae Domus Parisiensis Praesidi*. Vol. I. Paris: F. Montalant, 1723, 238-39 (it is unclear how Le Long knew the Bible came from Vernon: he does not cite the Maximus inscription). Cf. Edmund Martene, Ursinus Durand – *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*. T. III. *Chronica varia* [...]. Paris: F. Delaulne, H. Foucault, et al., 1717, p. aij. Foucault was closely acquainted with the Oratorians of Saint-Magloire. He gave access to Le Long and donated mss to P. Pierre Le Brun (d. 1729) - Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Mss 275-276; Id., Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 350; cf. OBL, Rawl. liturg. e. 15 (SC 15823). Le Brun also referred to Foucault mss in his *Explication literale, historique et dogmatique des prieres et des ceremonies de la messe* [...]. Paris, F. Delaulne, 1716, 1.110-11, 290, 330, 692.

92 *Catalogue des livres de feu M. l'Abbé d'Orléans de Rothelin*, par G. Martin. Paris: Martin, 1746, no. 25 ("100" in the margin of copies at Gent, University Libr. and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. indicates the value attained at the sale; consider also no. 4418 – still at large – for a collection of docs. conc. Guillaume de Vernon). Rothelin's book-plate apparently replaces Foucault's. See also: Michel Marion – Une bibliothèque ecclésiastique: les livres de l'abbé de Rothelin. *Revue française d'Histoire du livre*. 55 1987 201-11.

93 BAjuda 155-VIIIA-31 (annotated in-house copy).

94 Findings relating to the BAjuda Rothelin books are based on library files, 155-VIIIA-31, and inspection of part of the volumes. Contrary to the Bible, BAjuda 52-XII-17 and 52-XIII-6 (see App. II) have no Rothelin pedigree.

95 For Pereira see n. 99 *infra*; ANTT, COL, M09 (incl. three testaments, written and signed by Pereira, the last in 1757; opened November 18, 1758 by Bartolomeo Escop<zy>): Id., M12 (*Noticia Tirada do Livro dos Obidos dos dias emque morreraõ os P<sup>es</sup> e Irmãs desta Congregação*; incl. additions by Pereira).

96 BPE, Cód. CXI/2-11 (6) [E]; Id., CXXIX/1-16 [E2] (Joaquim H. da Cunha Rivara – *Catálogo dos manuscritos da Bibliotheca Pública Eborensis*. III: *Historia*. Ed. Joaquim de Sousa Telles de Mattos. Lisboa: Impr. Nacional, 1871, 479); Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, SV 81 (f. 39-53<sup>a</sup>) [A]; Id., SA 732 (ff. 1-49) [A2].



minute apparently styled in 1764 by the presbyter of the congregation P<sup>o</sup> António Pereira de Figueiredo (1725-1797)<sup>97</sup>, a well-known theologian and Biblical scholar, and *teste* descriptions of some books from the Necessidades published by him in 1766 indeed well acquainted with the convent library<sup>98</sup>. His *Catalogo* is, in essence, a tribute to the collection and to its principal curator Domingos Pereira<sup>99</sup>. In a brief introduction de Figueiredo explains his approach:

97 Note in E: “Escreve-o Antonio Pereira, Presbytero da mesma Congregação.”, written and *eras.* by the text hand, and preceded by title with “por industria. Domingos Pereira” *eras.* by another hand E<sup>corr.</sup>; in between these passages E<sup>corr.</sup> added “Escreveu-o Antonio Pereira Presbytero da mesma Casa no anno de 1764”; follows Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.71.3, *eras.* by E<sup>corr.</sup>. A incl. this cit., but not the reference(s) to Antonio Pereira; A2 is a modern copy of A by the Academy librarian Jean L. Cardozo de Bethencourt (d.1938); E2 is to be examined. Autograph annotations of 1772 in ANTT, Real Mesa Censória Cx. 175, *Relação dos livros impios, e libertinos [...]*, confirm E and possibly E<sup>corr.</sup> are by de Figueiredo. For the attribution cf. also clavisbibliothecarum.bn.pt, inv. 842. I cite in the text from the Catalogo in the A redaction.

98 See António Pereira de Figueiredo – *Tentativa theologica* [...]. Lisboa: M. Rodrigues, 1766, 132-33, 135.

99 Pereira, whose career has attracted surprisingly little attention, was confessor of João V and repeatedly elected *prepositus* of the Oratorian convent of Espírito Santo in Lisbon from as early as 1726; in 1750 he became superior of N. S. das Necessidades, “[ ] sendo em cada anno nelle reileito [ ] por ter sido o principal motor da sua fundação [ ]” (BNP, Coleções em Organização Cx. 7.5, s.n., *Livro dos termos das eleições* [...], a. 1756). He was a pivotal figure in the creation and organization of the archive and book collections in both institutions in collaboration with library administrators such as PP. Joaquim Castello (from 1744 until at least 1768) and João Chevalier (from at least 1750). Espírito Santo included the *Livraria Mariana*, almost completely annihilated like most of the convent’s patrimony during the earthquake of 1755. From P’s testament (n. 95 *supra*), a largely autograph acquisition register for the Marian library that fortuitously survived (ANTT, Mss da Livraria, n. 1926; Luciano Coelho Cristino – A biblioteca mariana dos Oratorianos de Lisboa (séc. XVIII). In *De cultu mariano saeculis XVII-XVIII apud varias nationes. Acta congressus mariologici-mariani internationalis* (Malta 1983). VII. *Pars altera*. Rome: PAMI, 1988, 111-28), and the *Livro dos termos das eleições*, it is evident that the losses included the archives of the congregation as well as the personal collection of P. In contrast, the Necessidades, founded in 1742 by João V, survived the natural disaster almost unscathed (n. 101 *infra*). The book collection of the convent, nowadays principally incorporated in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, provides an invaluable field of research for students of XVIII<sup>th</sup> c. Portuguese and European book culture. Indeed, backed by Royal patronage P. and collaborators acquired books from all over Europe, relying on Lisbon booksellers with contacts in the important centers of the day – i.a. Turin, Lyon, Marseille, Barcelona, Madrid -, and making the most of other (Portuguese) agents such as members of the congregation, other (travelling) ecclesiastics, and high-ranking servants of the Crown present in the courts and capitals of the continent. The library at Maфра was another bibliophile project of João V in which P., in collaboration with Chevalier, proved of key importance (cf. ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Cx. 175, *Memoire des Livres Envoyes par ordre du Reverend Pere Domingos Pereira pour la Royale Bibliotheque de Maфра*, conc. 510 editions acquired by P. through intermediary of the bookseller José Reyceud, a. 1747 – for the latter see Manuela D. Domingos, *Livreiros de setecentos*. Lisboa: BNP, 2000, *ad ind.*). Indeed, it ought to be underscored that any study of the Necessidades collection can only be conclusive if it also considers the history of the Maфра library. Items from the same European collections are, for instance, to be found in either library (App. I. 2; *Sob o signo de Luis XIV. Coleções e colecionadores franceses na Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional de Maфра (1643-1715)*. Exh. Palácio Nacional de Maфра, x 2015 - ii 2016. Org. Tiago Miranda, forthcoming). The XVIII<sup>th</sup> and early XIX<sup>th</sup> c. history of the book provisions at Espírito Santo should, in addition, be taken into account. This is evident from the ca. 450 items listed in the *Relação dos livros que faltaõ nesta Livraria do Real Paço das Necessidades, os quaes tendo sahido da qui para a Casa do Espirito Santo* [...] (BAjuda 52-XIV-35, no. 50, ca. 1834-40; cf. also 52-VII-12, nos. 46-52). Note, in particular, the reference to a ms. (penultimate p.) identifiable as BAjuda 52-XIV-9, a XII<sup>th</sup> c. *Vitae sanctorum* from (south-) western France, probably incorporated by P. before 1758 in the Necessidades library and subsequently used by a member of the Espírito Santo convent (see App. I. 2). A future appraisal of the career of P. ought to consider, finally, a variety of documents, incl.: ANTT, COL, M06 (last will of José Pimenta); Id., COL M12 (docs. conc. Royal funding for the library); Id., Real Mesa Censória, Cx. 175 (mod. title *Relação de livros*, incl. references to mss of works by PP. José Anastácio da Cunha and Manuel Bernardes); Id., Quadros 189; BNP, Mss. 69, no.7, docs. 16-18 (corresp. 1756-57); Mss. 83, no.13, doc. 26 (corresp.); Id., Pinturas Inv. 14486. Bibliography is rather restricted. See most recently Maria L. Cabral, *A Real Biblioteca e os seus criadores em Lisboa, 1755-1803*. Lisboa: BNP, 2014, 63. For Chevalier: Jorge Peixoto – O padre João Chevalier, oratoriano de Lisboa, bibliotecário da Biblioteca Real de Bruxelas. *Biblos*. 41 1965

“A minha tenção era dar em obra separada hum completo catalogo de todos os livros expciaes, que há na Livraria: que conhecesse o mundo, qual era a intelligência e gosto, com que Domingos Pereira por espaço de quinze annos os ajuntou. Mas como por experiênciã fui conhecendo, que este assumpto era superior as minhas forças, e occupo; contentarme hei com referir de entre tantos livros memoraveis somente aqueles, que pella sua particular raridade se fazem dignos de mais distinta memoria.”

De Figueiredo proceeds with a brief description of the library pointing out size and windows, a painting of the Virgin and the congregation’s patron saint Filippo Neri, and the marble sculpture of the *regio fundador* João V<sup>100</sup>. He notes the collection houses twenty thousand volumes and claims that “o preço dos [livros] que existem esta em cem mil cruzados, a maior parte dos quaes correo pellas mãos de Domingos Perreira.” The actual catalogue opens with the Bible section, and, after commemorating the only two Necessidades volumes to tragically perish in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake<sup>101</sup>, it is the Vernon Bible that takes pride of place:

“Biblias Mss. - Biblia latina em dois grandes tomos de folha em pergaminho doiradas por fora, com figuras, e lettras unciaaes [sic] no principio de cada livro. Foi escrita no seculo XI segundo nos ensina o nosso Lelong, que della faz expressa menção na *Bibliotheca Sacra* tom. 1, pag. 238, dizendo que fora primeiramente do cabido da Igreja Cathedral de Verona, e depois de Nicoláo José Foucault conde consistoriano em Paris, donde devia vir para a nossa Livraria. No fim do primeiro tomo se achaõ escritas de segunda mão duas Nottas Historicas, que descreve o mesmo Le Long no lugar citado: mas descreveas com pouca fidelidade, ou porque as não leo no original, ou porque as copiou descuidadamente. Porque na primeira aonde Le Long escreve *Anno 1102* tem a original *Anno MCXC.... Francorum* etc. Na segunda, aonde Le Long traslada *Anno Domini 1203* tem o original *Anno Domini MCCXIII... Rex Francorum* etc.”

Notwithstanding the fact that de Figueiredo’s ascription to Verona is curiously inaccurate – especially in view of the just corrections he made to the entry published by his fellow Oratorian Le Long<sup>102</sup> –, he does launch what may be called the Bible’s modern, Portuguese reception and conservation history. In effect, after having brought together several hundred book entries, including the description of

345-66. Note, finally, that acc. to de Figueiredo, *Catalogo*, the Necessidades “tem dois bibliotecarios, que se elegem de trez, em trez annos.”

100 For the painting, identified by de Figueiredo as by Pietro de Pietri, see *Joanni V Magnifico. A pintura em Portugal ao tempo de D. João V, 1706-1750*. Exh. cat. Lisbon, xii 1994. Ed. Ana Távora de Magalhães Barros. Lisboa, IPPAR, 1994, no. 45. João V’s bust (now Mafra, Palácio Nacional) is by Alessandro Giusti. See also Juan Abascal, Rosario Cebrián – *Los viajes de José Cornide por España y Portugal de 1754 a 1801*. Madrid: RAH, 2009, 475; Manuel Côrte-Real – *O Palácio das Necessidades*. Lisboa: Chaves Ferreira, 42-45, 50 (reprods. incl. a design of the disposition of book shelves).

101 That is, a 2 vol. Fust and Schoeffer Bible (Mainz, 1462): “[ ] a Real biblioteca conservou [...] outro [ ] ambos se reduzirão a cinzas no [ ] 1755 estando para se encadernarem em caza de hum mesmo livreiro.”

102 For the Necessidades copy of Le Long see BAjuda 160-IX-1 and 160-IX-2.

the Bible, fifteen further manuscripts, and more than sixty incunabula, his closing statement clearly expresses the wish that his fellow Oratorians preserve and divulge Domingos Pereira’s invaluable bibliophile legacy:

“Por este estilo [...] podíamos nos hir aumentando este Catalogo dos livros raros desta Real Bibliotheca, ate encher hum volum de justa grandeza. Mas como por huma parte he preciso sermos breves, por comprir o que no principio prometemos, e por outra bastaõ os livros referidos para se conhecer por elles, o tino, e gosto, que Domingos Pereira tinha ainda nestas materias: damos aqui fim a este catalogo deixando para os Perfeitos desta Livraria a composição de outro mais extenço, e individual.”

And so they did. In a series of Necessidades catalogues now in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, and in a detailed manuscript description in the Biblioteca Pública of Évora, the eighteenth century librarians of the congregation fine-tuned the (bibliographic) knowledge of their collection in general, and of the Bible in particular. Of note are, above all, the inclusion of this singular medieval treasure among a great deal of biblical manuscripts and editions listed in the sixteen volume *Guião* of the library (figs 24-25)<sup>103</sup>. Next the volumes appear among the *Biblia Latina Vulgata, correctae et emendata* in the alphabetical catalogue of ca. 1780, the first register to bring the Maximus inscription to the fore and associate the Bible correctly with Notre-Dame de Vernon (fig. 26)<sup>104</sup>. The *Memoria das Biblias Mss. que se achão na Bibliotheca da Real Casa de N. S. das Necessidades* offers, finally, an even more elaborate account<sup>105</sup>. The inscriptions, the Vernon, Foucault, and Rothelin provenance, the script, the illumination, and the text are treated in this concise, presumably still eighteenth century description.

The nineteenth century brings above all institutional change. Following the extinction of the religious orders in 1834 the Necessidades’ collection acquires the status of royal institution in 1840, thus avoiding otherwise quite certain,

103 BAjuda 51-XI-1 to 16, descr. Maria da Conceição Geada – *Manuscritos da Ajuda. Vol. XVII (Estante 51)*. Lisbon, BAjuda 2003 (ms. in-house copy). The Bible is listed in BAjuda 52-XIV-35, n. 60, a single leaf detached from 51-XI-1 (mod. title *Catalogo das Necessidades. Guião*, or topographic index). The location number 4/3-4 recorded there, is also found on the Bible’s front pastedowns, after the printed Necessidades ex-l. etiquettes that are stuck, as in most other volumes from the convent library, in the top lh corner. A comprehensive analysis of the *Guião* is very much needed, especially in order to understand the early structure of the collection and its subsequent growth, to establish and define the work of subsequent librarians, and to enable a correct reading of a series of other, XVIII<sup>th</sup> c. Necessidades catalogues. Over the past century little progress appears to have been made in the study of the catalogues: José Silvestre Ribeiro – *Apontamentos históricos sobre bibliotecas portuguesas*. Coimbra: Impr. da Universidade, 1914, 15-16; Cabral – *Real biblioteca*, 62-63.

104 BAjuda 51-XIII-16: *Bibliothecae Congregationis Oratorii Olisiponensis apud Regiam Domum B. Mariae Virginis Necessitatibus Catalogus secundum Auctorum Cognomina ordine alphabetico dispositus*. Vol. I. *Continens litt. A-H*. [Ms.] f. 106. The set is also listed with the date 1216 in BAjuda 52-XIV-35, no. 54, possibly identifiable as prep. notes for a ?XIX<sup>th</sup> c. record similar to the *Guião*.

105 BPE, Cód. CXI/2-11 (7), no. I. Reprod. clavisbibliothecarum.bn.pt, inv. 846.

complete dispersal<sup>106</sup>. Fifteen years on, in 1855, the next and conclusive step in the safekeeping of one of the most interesting and valuable eighteenth century libraries of Portugal and Europe is accomplished with the incorporation of the *Livraria do Convento da N. S. das Necessidades* in the *Biblioteca da Ajuda*<sup>107</sup>. The long period that follows is, as far as the Vernon Bible is concerned, only marked by a series of changing Ajuda call numbers on the pastedowns and flyleaves of the volumes. Indeed, almost complete silence has enveloped this most remarkable illuminated French Romanesque Bible until the present day<sup>108</sup>.

## Appendix I: French Romanesque Bibles in Portugal (preliminary descriptions)

### 1. BPE, CXXV/2-1 and 2-2.

Parchm.; ff. 283 + ff. 303; ca. 491x325 and ca. 475x315; 2 cols.; 50 ll. Produced in XII<sup>1/2</sup> c. in the region of Reims (illumination attr. by Patricia Stirnemann – oral communication); app. belonged to the Premonstratensian community at Saint-Yved de Braine (cf. two docs. in 2-1, f. 283<sup>v</sup>). Copied by at least two scribes; subsequently meticulously revised by a third; a partly erased *Ordo ecclesiae* (2-1: f. 283<sup>r/v</sup>) describing the sequence of scriptural readings during the liturgical year was added by yet another hand in ca. XII<sup>ex</sup> c.; 2-1, f. 1, and 2-2, ff. 97-99, date to the XIII<sup>th</sup> c. The Bible has been annotated throughout, in particular by a keen reader of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. He may also be responsible for the addition of the *Ordo ecclesiae*. A book catalogue (2-2, f. 1), of which the oldest section still dates to the XII<sup>th</sup> c., lists volumes kept in the sacristy (35 titles; at least 45 volumes). Item one – “*Bibliotheca in duo voluminibus*” – is identifiable as the Évora Bible. The set presumably entered the BPE together with Cod. CXXIV/1-4, a XIII<sup>th</sup> c. Bible with ex-l. (f. 1, 411<sup>v</sup>) of the church of Cuissy near Braine, and possibly in 1811 as part the collection of P. Manuel do Cenaculo. Bibliography: Cunha Rivara – *Catálogo. IV: Sciencias, artes e polygraphia*, 6 (he clearly had no clue as to what he had in front of him, dating the mss to the XV<sup>th</sup> c.!); *Inventário*, 2. no. 181; *Tesouros*, 15-16; *In Principio*, nos 13-14. Cf. Ribeiro – *Apontamentos*, 22; Luís Correia de Sousa – *Sacra pagina. Textos e imagens das Biblias portáteis do século XIII pertencentes às coleções portuguesas*. Collab. Patricia Stirnemann, Adelaide Miranda. Lisboa: Paulus, 2015, no. 6. Cf. Anne Bondéelle-Souchier – *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'Ancien Régime*. 2 vols.

106 Paolo Barata – *Os livros e o liberalismo: da livraria conventual à biblioteca pública uma alteração de paradigma*. Lisboa: 2003, BNP, 127-32, 238).

107 See the *Relatório* addressed to the King in March 1908 by Ramalho Ortigão, BAjuda director 1895-1911. For transcriptions see the February 2015 archive of the BAjuda blogspot.

108 Cf. n. 4 *supra*.

Paris: CNRS, 2000 / 2006, 1. 86-93, and 2. 140 (II [1-2]) for the Saint-Yved Bible; 1. 114-24, and 2. 163 (V-V<sup>bis</sup> [1]) for the Cuissy Bible.

2. BAjuda 52-XIV-10 and 11.

Parchm.; ff. 241 + ff. 225; ca. 487x342 and ca. 489x338; 2 cols.; 52 ll. (v.1); 49-50 ll. (v. 2). Copied in several good proto-Gothic book hands, and presumably illuminated in central France in XII<sup>2/2</sup> c. Stylistic and iconographic parallels can be pointed out with Sens, BM, Ms. 1, and with a group of manuscripts incl. Moulins, BM, Ms. 1, and Bourges, BM, Ms. 3 (see Cahn – *Romanesque Mss*, II. nos 43, 75). Unfortunately quite a few initials have been cut out. A marginal XIV-XV<sup>th</sup> c. inscription (v. 1, f. 179<sup>v</sup>) suggests the Bible may have been used at the Benedictine Abbey of Notre-Dame de Blanche Couronne, located near the Loire estuary. Pierre Cornulier (1575-1639), elected abbot of the community in 1612, owned the set subsequently: the monogram P.C. impressed in gold on the binding is most likely to be his. Before late 1758 the Bible was acquired by Domingos Pereira for the Necessidades: it features in De Figueiredo’s *Catalogo* (n. 96 *supra*) directly after the Vernon Bible. The set has the ex-l. etiquette of the Necessidades library, is included in the Necessidades *Guião* (fig. 24, at no. 4/1, 2), in the 1780 catalogue, and in the *Memoria* preserved in Évora (see nn. 103-105 *supra*). Many editions and manuscripts from Cornulier, including the ones he acquired after becoming bishop of Tréguier (1617) and Rennes (1619) (with different super-libros), were actually incorporated in the library of the Necessidades and are nowadays preserved in the Biblioteca da Ajuda. Of note are the mss BAjuda 52-XII-18, 52-XII-19, 52-XII-33, 52-XII-35, 52-XII-40, 52-XIII-16, 52-XIV-9, and, of course, 52-XIV-10 and 11, and almost two hundred rare editions already described in the BAjuda on-line catalogue. These volumes constitute, together with further items at Mafra, the most important collection of Cornulier books known. Bibliography: *Inventário da Estante 52-VI-XIV*. Not in Ferreira – *Iluminuras; Inventário*. T. dos Reis Miranda of Evora University has identified in Rennes a handwritten catalogue of the Cornulier library.

3. BAjuda 52-XIV-13 and 14.

See *supra*.

## Appendix II: Foucault Manuscripts in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon

1. BAjuda 52-XII-17, Peter Riga, *Aurora*, rec. Giles of Paris.

France, XIII<sup>th</sup> c.; medieval provenance unknown; book-plate of Foucault and ex-l. etiquette of the Necessidades library, Lisbon, stuck inside cover; on f. 177 “Ex Bibliotheca Ioannis Tristan”, presumably Iohannes Tristan, seigneur de

Saint Amand et du Puy d'Amour (1595-1656), a well-known numismatist and correspondent of Nicolas-Claude Peiresc. Cf. "Ex Bibliotheca Tristaniana" in New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. M. 222, and Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5110, which subsequently belonged to Foucault as well. One incunable from Tristan is known: Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, Inc. 1175. The Ajuda volume is reprod. in *Inventário*, no. 83.<sup>109</sup>

## 2. BAjuda 52-XIII-6, Peter Lombard, I-IV *Sentences*.

Southern France or northern Spain; XII<sup>ex</sup>-XIII<sup>in</sup> c. On f. 1, marg. sup., a hitherto unrecorded XIII<sup>th</sup> c. ex-l. "Iste liber sententiarum est monasterii moysiaticum", and in marg. inf. the library mark "B" from Saint-Pierre-de-Moissac. The ms. is bound in a speckled parchment binding, typical of some Foucault books (cf. Caen, BM, Ms. 518 I/II). His super-libros are impressed in gold on the covers and his book-plate features on the front flyleaf verso (f. II<sup>v</sup>). Several flyleaves are from waste material (French parchm. docs., mid XVI<sup>th</sup> c., which incl. refs. to Agen, Rodez, etc.). Similar re-use parchment is common in other Foucault manuscripts from Moissac, as are the post-medieval Arab quire numbers. Foucault was actively involved in the alienation and safekeeping of the library of the abbey, for which see Delisle – *Le cabinet*, 456-59; Dufour – *La bibliothèque*, 25-28. The Ajuda volume escaped, however, the attention of Moissac scholars.<sup>110</sup> Textually it app. has little value.<sup>111</sup> The ex-l. etiquette of the Necessidades library, Lisbon, is on f. II<sup>v</sup> rather than on the front pastedown. Reprod. *Inventário*, no. 94.

## 3. BAjuda 52-XIV-13 and 14.

See *supra*.

109 For the immensely popular *Aurora* see Guy Lobrichon – *La Bible au Moyen Age*. Paris: Editions Picard, 2003, 197 n. 10, 199. For the (2<sup>nd</sup>) recension of Aegidius: Greti Dinkova-Bruun – *Corrector Ultimus: Aegidius of Paris and Peter Riga's Aurora*. In *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*. Eds Slavica Ranković, with Ingvil Brügger Budal, Aidan Conti, et al. Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 2012, 172-89, 174, 185-7. The Ajuda copy is not listed in Fridericus Stegmüller – *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi. Bd. IV: Commentaria: auctores N-Q*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954, 82, no. 6826; *Aurora, Petri Rigae Biblia versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible*. Ed. Paul E. Beichner. Notre Dame: UP, 1965.

110 For the library of Moissac see, furthermore, Jean Dufour – La composition de la bibliothèque de Moissac à la lumière d'un inventaire du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle nouvellement découvert. *Scriptorium*. 35 1981 175-226; Id. – Manuscrits de Moissac antérieurs au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et nouvellement identifiés. Description codicologique et paléographique. *Id.* 36 1982 147-73; Chantal Fraïsse – Quelques observations sur le scriptorium de Moissac au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*. 62 2002 29-50; Régis de la Haye – Redécouverte d'un manuscrit moissagais égaré depuis 1678. *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Tarn-et-Garonne*. 1 2014 119-35; Id. – La première sélection des manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Moissac (Janvier 1678). *Scriptorium*. LXX.1 2016 154-77, in part. 165, 170 (no.13), 174 (no.59).

111 Cf. f. 10<sup>o</sup>, l. 13, and Patricia Stirnemann – Histoire tripartite: un inventaire des livres de Pierre Lombard, un exemplaire de ses *Sentences* et le destinataire du Psautier de Copenhague. In *Du copiste au collectionneur: mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur de André Vernet*. Eds Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, Jean-François Genest. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998, 301-18, 313.





Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Fig. 1 – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, 52-XIV-13, f. 1: decorated initial at the start of Jerome’s Pentateuch preface.

Fig. 2 – Id., f. 1<sup>v</sup>: creation scenes at the start of *Genesis*, “In Principio creavit Deus caelum et terram”.

Fig. 3 – Id.: *Genesis*, incipit detail of God the Creator enthroned.

**Fig. 4** – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, S2-XIV-13, f. 1<sup>v</sup>: *Genesis*, incipit detail of God creating Adam.

**Figs. 5-6** – Id., f. 19: the twelve Tribes of Israel depicted at the start of *Exodus*, “Haec Sunt Nomina Duodecim filiorum israel qui ingressi sunt in aegyptum”.



**Fig. 4**



**Fig. 5**



**Fig. 6**





Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

Fig. 7 – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, 52-XIV-13, f. 33: God addresses Moses. Historiated initial V at the start of *Leviticus*, “Vocavit autem Dominus Moysen et locutus est ei de tabernaculo”.

Fig. 8 – Id., f. 56<sup>v</sup>: Moses speaks to the people. Historiated initial H at the start of *Deuteronomy*, “HAEC SUNT verba quae locutus est moyses ad omnem Israel trans Iordanem in solitudine campestri”.

Fig. 9 – Id., f. 202: zoomorphic initial D at the start of Jerome’s prologue to *Daniel*.



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

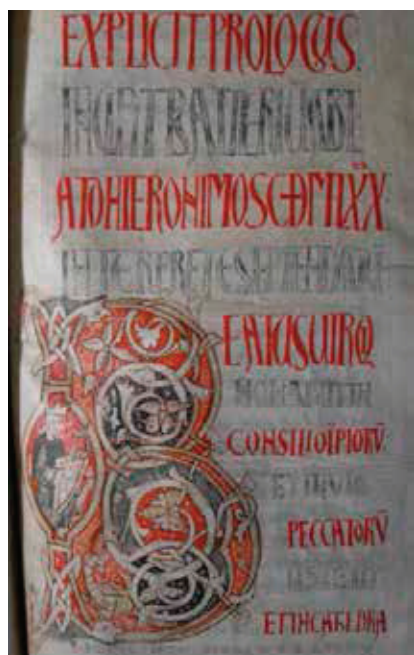


Fig. 12

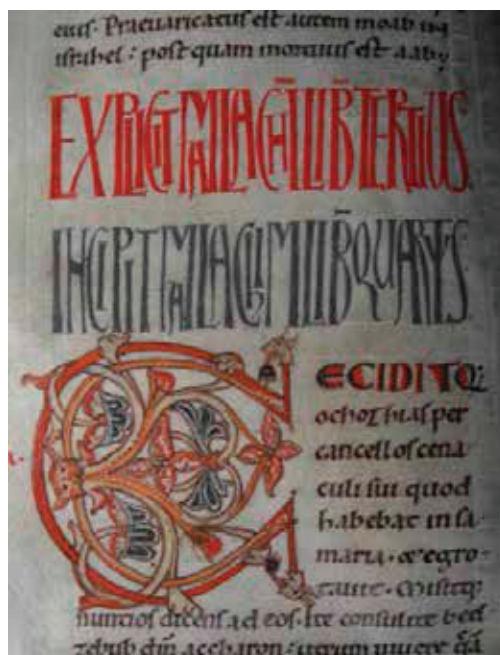


Fig. 13

Fig. 10. Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, S2-XIV-13, f. 202<sup>v</sup>: zoomorphic initial A at the start of *Daniel*.

Fig. 11. Id., f. 185: zoomorphic initial H at the start of Jerome's prologue to *Ezekiel*.

Fig. 12. Id., f. 132: King David depicted in an ornamental initial B at the start of the *Psalterium*, "Beatus vir".

Fig. 13. Id., f. 120<sup>v</sup>: ornamental initial E at the start of *IV Kings*.



Fig. 14

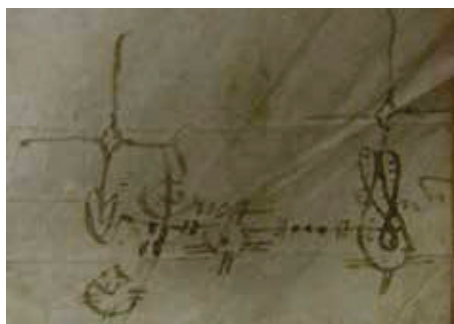


Fig. 15

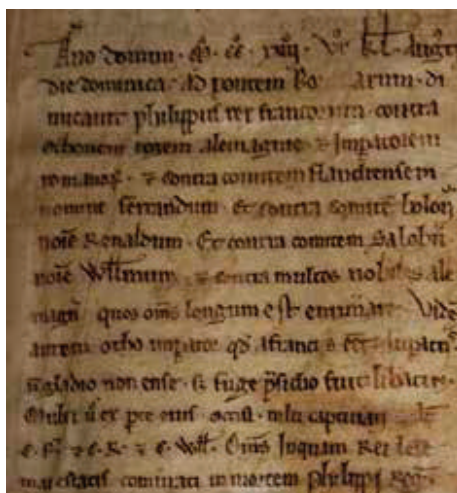


Fig. 16



Fig. 17

**Fig. 14** – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, 52-XIV-13, f. 223: King Job enthroned depicted in initial V at the start of *Job*, “VIR ERAT IN TERRA hus”.

**Fig. 15** – Id., 52-XIV-14, f. 32: *Signum tabellionatus* at the start of *I Chronicles*.

**Fig. 16** – Id., 52-XIV-13, f. 231<sup>v</sup>: Inscription relating to the battle of Bouvines of 27 July 1214.

**Fig. 17** – Vernon, Musée Poulain, Inv. 24.7.1: sculpted capital from Notre-Dame de Vernon (ca. XI<sup>4/4</sup> c.).



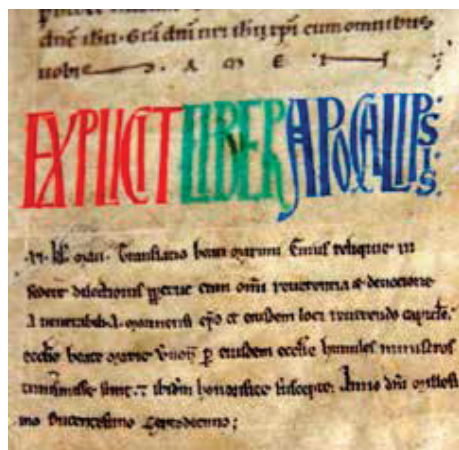


Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

**Fig. 18** – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, 52-XIV-14, f. 156<sup>v</sup>: explicit *Apocalypse* and inscription recording the translation of the relic of Beatus Maximus from Théroutanne to the chapter of Notre-Dame de Vernon.

**Fig. 19** – Rouen, Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 1404, *Vitae Sanctorum*, f. 101r: historiated initial at the start of the fifth reading for All Saints' Day (Normandy, ca. 1120-30).

**Fig. 20** – Valenciennes, Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 9, f. 5<sup>v</sup>: *Genesis* initial in the Alardus Bible, Saint-Amand, ca. 1100.

**Fig. 21** – Douai, Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 2, f. 6<sup>v</sup>: Bible from the Abbey of Saint-Sauveur d'Anchin (northern France or Flanders, ca. XII<sup>2/4</sup> c.).





Fig. 22



Fig. 23

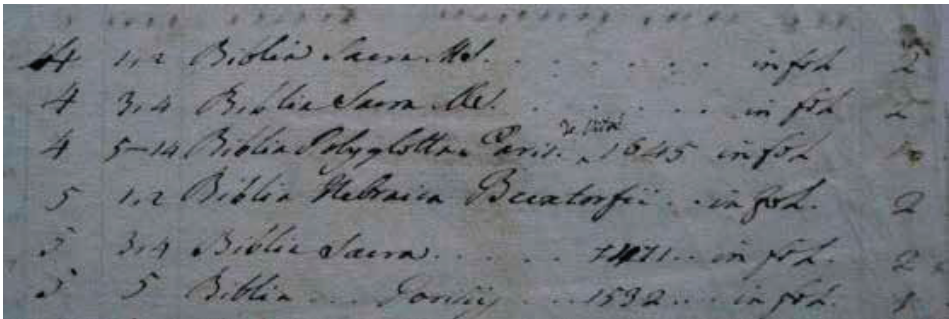


Fig. 24



Fig. 25

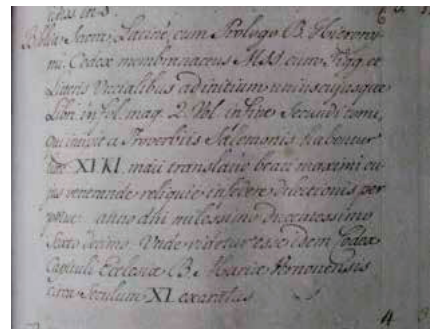


Fig. 26

**Fig. 22** – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, S2-XIV-14: XVII<sup>es</sup>-XVIII<sup>m</sup> c. French binding with super-libros of Nicolas-Joseph Foucault impressed in gold.

**Fig. 23** – Lyon, BM, 422595: sample picture of the super-libros of Nicolas-Joseph Foucault.

**Fig. 24** – Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda, S2-XIV-35, n. 60: detached leaf from Ajuda 51-XI-1 (detail). At 4/3,4 the entry for the two volume Ajuda Bible S2-XIV-13 and 14.

**Fig. 25** – Id., 51-XI-1: the topographic index or *Catalogo das Necessidades. Guião*.

**Fig. 26** – Id., 51-XIII-16: alphabetical author index for the Necessidades library of ca. 1780 providing a description of the two volume Ajuda Bible S2-XIV-13 and 14.