Royal Manuscript Patronage in late Ducal Normandy:
A Context for the Female Patron portrait of the *Fécamp Psalter* (c. 1180)

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Abstract: The Fécamp Psalter is a Norman illuminated manuscript produced around the year 1180. It contains a portrait of its patron kneeling in prayer and turned towards the Beatus page. This person is to be identified with a high-ranking woman of the Angevin state. Her appearance and her position in the manuscript, together with certain related contemporary visual examples, permit us to hypothesize about her identity. The study of this artistic commission also helps us to understand better the processes of patronage that operated between individuals and monastic houses in twelfth-century Europe, and enriches our understanding of the concepts of female self-awareness and biblical pre-figuration in medieval art.

Now partially digitised, the Fécamp Psalter, made around the year 1180 in the Norman Abbey of the same name, is one of the oldest manuscripts preserved in the Dutch Royal Library at The Hague.[1] Its rich programme of illuminated miniatures includes a Calendar, a Christological cycle and a portrait of the patron of the manuscript shown kneeling opposite the Beatus page. This miniature marks the end of the full-page cyclical decoration of the book and the actual beginning of the text of the Psalms. The identity of the patron figure

is still a mystery, partly because specific studies of the illumination of the Fécamp Psalter have, in general, been lacking. Indeed, knowledge about illuminated manuscript production at the Abbey of Fécamp is generally poor, probably because of the dispersion of its library in the Early Modern period. Studies on the Fécamp Library have thus lagged behind those on other Norman monastic communities, particularly the Mont Saint-Michel. Yet the high quality of pictorial work in the Fécamp Psalter and the vividness of such scenes as its Calendar illumination have made the manuscript a much used source for illustration of everyday medieval life. To shed light on the milieu and possible identity of the patron of this luxury manuscript will, it is hoped, advance our understanding of the nature of artistic patronage in the Angevin kingdom in the late twelfth century. In addition, study of the available evidence of the manuscript's historical context facilitates further exploration of the artistic and cultural interaction between high-ranking laymen and women and members of monastic communities at this time. In the same vein, the association of Old Testament symbolism with the portrait of this patron can evoke the nature of the shared experience between a powerful biblical figure and an equally forceful Angevin personage.

A FORGOTTEN MASTERPIECE OF DUCAL NORMANDY

This Psalter is the best extant example of an illuminated manuscript produced in the Norman Abbey of Fécamp but has not always featured in art historical scholarship. The historian of medieval art Charles Dodwell, writing in the 1950s, was ignorant of its existence, believing that the scriptorium of Fécamp produced nothing of quality after the first decades of the twelfth century.[2] Indeed, the first and only published mention of this Psalter in modern research has been the two-page entry in the *Catalogue of Romanesque Illuminated*

Manuscripts published by Walter Cahn in 1996.[3] Investigation into the Abbey's scriptorium has been largely confined to a PhD thesis on its library which is being undertaken by Stéphane Lecouteux at the University of Caen;[4] and nowadays, the remains of the Abbey's library are spread over different institutions across France and other centres in Europe. A quick look, however, at the decoration of Fécamp's illuminated manuscripts shows a style based on drawings of complicated vegetal and geometric patterns in which compositions with red and black inks pre-dominate, in a similar way as they do in manuscripts made at this time at Jumièges.[5] The Fécamp Psalter is the outstanding creation of the Fécamp scriptorium. No other decorated psalter, with full-page illuminated scenes, has come down to us from the Norman community at Fécamp. We tend to imagine, however, that the monks of the abbey certainly produced different typologies of manuscripts for their own use, including psalters. As we shall see later, the uniqueness of the Fécamp Psalter is, in fact, the result of very particular circumstances: the patronage of a high-ranking lay woman.

The artistic significance of this manuscript lies in the visual programme of its full-page illuminations. The first twelve folios display representations of the months of the year. These images are either unique full-page personifications of individual months, or scenes divided into two spaces with different depictions of everyday life throughout the year (**Image 1**). This full-page decoration is combined with an actual Calendar, which lists, one by one, the daily feasts celebrated in the religious community. It also depicts the zodiac symbols in small squares to the right of the text. This Calendar, with its unusual degree of detailed illustration, precedes a Christological cycle that begins on fol. 14ᵛ with the episode of the Annunciation. Fifteen other full-page depictions follow: the Visitation (fol. 15ʳ), the Nativity (fol. 16ᵛ), the Three Magi (fol. 17ᵛ and in clear visual relationship with the Mother of God Enthroned on fol. 18ʳ)

(**Image 2**), the Baptism of Christ (fol. 19ʳ), the Conspiracy of the Priests against Christ (fol. 20ʳ), the Kiss of Judas (fol. 21ᵛ), the Flagellation of Christ (fol. 22ʳ), the Three Maries at the Tomb (fol. 23ʳ), the Harrowing of Hell (fol. 24ᵛ), the Incredulity of St Thomas (fol. 25ʳ), the Ascension (fol. 26ᵛ), and Pentecost (fol. 27ʳ). This cycle is followed by a representation of the female patron (fol. 28ᵛ, **Image 3**) kneeling in prayer she turns towards the illustrated *Beatus* page opposite, which introduces the text of the Psalms. (fol. 29ʳ, **Image 4**). The binding shows that a number of folios are missing. This point is confirmed by the absence of some of the classic scenes usually presented in similar Christological cycles, and by the fact that the illustrations were clearly planned to be presented in related pairs. Thus the Presentation in the Temple, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion or Christ in Majesty, would all have been likely part of the original cycle.

BYZANTINE INFLUENCES IN THE FÉCAMP PSALTER

Certain Byzantine influences are clearly present in the decorative programme of this Psalter. The rendering of the Virgin enthroned on fol. 18ʳ, for example, recalls Byzantine versions of the same iconography in Eastern manuscripts and icons.[6] Mary's hieratic aspect, the richness of her clothing, and the abundant use of gold leaf are clear demonstrations of this ancestry. This Byzantine influence is likely to have come to Normandy by way of the Ottonian Empire, where the leading scriptoria under the tenth, early eleventh-century Saxon dynasty, such as at Echternach, had shown similar developments earlier.[7]

The connection of these influences with Fécamp was probably established through the role that the Abbey of Cluny played in its history, especially throughout the eleventh century. In 1001, the former Cluniac monk, William of Volpiano, then abbot of St Benignus in Dijon, was called to

Normandy to start the reform of Fecamp's community.[8] Around the year 1000, Cluny had been the catalyser of a wave of tenth-century Byzantinizing German art, which spread its influence throughout the French principalities by way of Cluny's reform of its daughter-houses.[9] Indeed, it is probable that the models for the Fécamp Psalter came from Cluny in one of the several documented arrivals of monks and material from Burgundy during and after the abbacy of William of Volpiano, which ended in 1031.[10]

THE FÉCAMP PSALTER AND CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION

The production of the Fécamp Psalter is also linked to English manuscript illumination. The Copenhagen Psalter (Danish Royal Library, Ms. Thott 143 2º) is a contemporary manuscript produced in York around 1175.[11] This manuscript is decorated in very colourful tonalities and has several scenes that are missing from the Psalter in The Hague. However, the similarities between the two manuscripts, especially in terms of iconography and composition, are strikingly precise (**Images 5, 6**). The Norman churchman Henry de Sully briefly held the archbishopric of York during the 1140s, therefore establishing a link between the Abbey of Fécamp and the English see.[12] Henry was the nephew of King Stephen of England, and the eldest son of the king's brother William, count of Blois. His background assured him of a meteoric rise to ecclesiastic power. After a failing bid for the bishopric of Salisbury, he obtained the abbacy of Fécamp in 1140. He launched his bid for the vacant Archbishopric of York immediately afterwards. Pope Innocent II, however, soon put an end to these ambitions. Before the end of the year, and under Papal pressure, De Sully decided to leave York and become head of Fécamp, where he remained as abbot until his death in 1187.[13]

The production of the Copenhagen Psalter around 1175–1180 could indicate that the iconographical models used for its illumination had come in fact from Fécamp rather than vice versa, possibly a direct consequence of Henry de Sully's presence in York in the early 1140s. Alternatively, they may derive from a later manuscript exchange between Normandy and England, after, that is, Henry had been elected abbot of Fécamp. He could have brought with him from Normandy a complete manuscript or model book in the 1140s, or else the authorities in York may have requested this of him some time in the following decades. There are some documented examples of similar petitions by Norman churchmen in charge of English communities, which date from the late eleventh- and early twelfth-centuries. The case of Canterbury has been particularly well studied.[14]

The image of the Mother of God on fol. 18ʳ in the Fécamp Psalter is also important because of the way in which it forms a diptych-like composition with the depiction of the Three Magi on the verso of the opposite folio (**Image 7**). The visual relationship between the two scenes is clear. By setting the figure of Mary and the Christ Child within their own frame on one page, the artist emphasises the symbolic importance of the Mother of God.[15] This may be the result of the personal wish of the patron and such an emphasis imply a personal veneration of the Virgin Mary on the patron's part, because of the former's intercessory role. The same visual device is used a few folios later with the praying figure of the patron on the left gazing at the *Beatus* page on the right (**Image 8**).

In the case of the representation of the three Magi and the Virgin and Child, this compositional arrangement may also have been due to the function that these folios played in the everyday use of the manuscript. It may have been regularly opened at this page and the image of the Mother of God acted as a portative object of devotion — an icon — for the patron. The double scene of

the Three Magi and the Mother of God is, in symbolic terms, perhaps equivalent to the portrait of the patron and the *Beatus* page that appear later (folios 28ᵛ and 29ʳ), where the position of the Three Magi as laymen who worship the Mother and Child, may be compared with that of the patron who symbolically praises King David, traditional author of the Psalms.

The Fécamp Psalter is a work of manuscript illumination whose richness is seemingly unparalleled within Fécamp's contemporary and previous artistic production and whose influence was well felt across the Channel. The reason for this remarkable creation may be no other than the personal intervention of its anonymous patron that relied on the Abbey's scriptorium to create a manuscript for her private use. The importance of the veneration of the Mother of God and the likely association between the figures of the Three Magi and the patron could point towards a major figure in this role from the contemporary history of the Angevin state.

THE FEMALE PATRON PORTRAIT AND THE *BEATUS* PAGE

The presence of high-ranking donor portraits was a constant feature of several pictorial medieval traditions, including Middle Byzantine, late Anglo-Saxon, and Ottonian manuscript painting.[16] Anglo-Saxon kings and queens, as well as Ottonian emperors and dukes, constantly appeared in illuminated manuscripts, which were mostly commissioned by themselves as a way to promote their personal reputation in court and ecclesiastical circles. In the case of the Fécamp Psalter, a woman patron is shown at the beginning of the Psalter text. The appearance of her haircut and, more remarkably, the presence of a semi-transparent veil covering her face, are traces of traditional female portraiture. Covering a woman's head by a veil or a hood was a classic device

used to portray pious women across Europe in the Middle Ages. These features of course reflect everyday practices. However, the creation of a full-page portrait of a high-ranking woman was rare at this time. In early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, an exceptional portrait of a woman as patron appears in the *Encomium of Queen Emma* (British Library, MS. 33241). The *Encomium* of Emma of Normandy (r. 985–1052), who was the daughter of Duke Richard I and wife of King Cnut the Great, was a historical work commissioned by the queen to narrate the history of the kingdom of her husband.[17] She is represented enthroned as she receives a copy of the manuscript from the scribes responsible for the work. Emma wears a crown over a full white hood. She was the official patron of the manuscript, but she also appears as the subject of the donation.

The case of the Fécamp Psalter is different insofar as the portrait of the woman is represented alone, in a prayerful pose oriented towards the *Beatus* page. The patron of the Fécamp Psalter is portrayed in a close visual and symbolic relationship with the opposite page. Her clothing is also particularly rich. The veil, which is rendered by way of extremely light layers of white around the woman's face and over her hair, simulates silk. The figure wears a necklace from which a golden piece of jewellery hangs, and she has a belt made of leather and golden parts. The portrayal of these clothes was certainly realistic, given that the decorative motifs of the robe and the inner part of the cape are particularly detailed. Sadly, nothing can be said with certainty about the facial portrait itself. It is remarkably simple but we cannot know whether it bears a true similarity to a real person. The presence of the veil, although determinant in identifying the gender of the figure, remains largely symbolic.

Folio 29 (recto) represents the end of the pictorial cycle and the beginning of the text of the Psalms. The artists of the Fécamp Psalter used a traditional way to mark this moment: a decorated initial of large dimensions,

namely, the 'B' from *Beatus* (Blessed).[18] This letter occupies most of the page and its profile is made up of lines of a somewhat brownish tonality. In three places the artist decorated the initial with heads of red horned monstrous animals. The major illumination of this initial, however, lies in the interior of the letter. Over a gold leaf background are set two scenes from the life of King David: he appears as the writer of the Psalms in the upper level and a younger David faces the Philistine warrior Goliath in the lower space. A simple initial with a few motifs, and no figurative work at all was often enough decoration in less sophisticated psalters. However, the Fécamp Psalter displays a complex concept of decorated psalter illumination, both decorative and illustrative, on account of the high level of the commission. The composition therefore invites the viewer to associate the self-awareness of the woman portrayed on the opposite page with the story of King David, whose life is famous partly because of the continuous struggles that he faced on both political and personal levels. At the same time, however, he was also a pious individual. David's portrait was preceded by the Christological cycle and was followed by the Psalms, his alleged poetical compositions. They were read regularly, often daily, by the pious woman portrayed on the manuscript.[19] It is not difficult to conceive a private setting for the reading of the manuscript, perhaps in the intimacy of her quarters at night. David acted then as a mediator for prayer — an ancient, faithful monarch full of love for God. There is room, therefore to suggest that there could have been a certain willingness to associate the figure of the female patron with the life of King David, as well as with the iconic image of the Mother of God and the Adoration of the Three Magi.

THE ANGEVIN ROYAL FAMILY: ANTAGONISM, MURDER AND WAR

By 1169, King Henry II (1154–1189) had decided to appoint his eldest surviving son, the fifteen-year-old Henry, co-king of England, associating him with the crown.[20] To confirm this action, he needed the approval of the archbishop of Canterbury, at that time, his former chancellor, Thomas Becket. Henry had appointed Becket to Canterbury because, in the King's eyes, he had been loyal to him. However, Becket soon proved to be defiant. Constant criticism of Henry's policies, especially in terms of his jurisdiction concerning the affairs of the English Church, created a state of continuous tension between Becket and Henry. Becket's transformation as individual and churchman occurred after being elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1162.[21] He particularly defended ecclesiastical rights over a number of estates across the country, including some in his diocese, and combated the interference of lay courts in affairs related to offences committed by churchmen.[22]

The Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), imposed by the King in order to reassert royal power, prompted Becket's exile to the Continent.[23] The further escalation that took place after this resulted in a number of excommunications that affected Henry's entourage. Becket in time returned to England and threatened the monarch himself. The King replied with the order to crown his son, Henry the Young King, in York in June 1170, challenging the primacy of Canterbury's archbishopric against that of the northern see. On the 29th of December, four knights made their way to Canterbury Cathedral in order to arrest the troublesome cleric. The Archbishop, after strong initial resistance, was murdered in front of the altar. Becket was considered a martyr immediately after his murder and this affair put into question Henry's authority, raising a wave of indignation among the contemporary European

courts, as well as by the Papacy.[24] The assassination of Thomas Becket would have been especially appalling in the eyes of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine. Both Eleanor and her eldest son, the co-king Henry, naturally feared political and papal retaliation and their relationship with King Henry II came to a halt.

In the case of Eleanor, the fear was accentuated by the experience of her first marriage to King Louis VII of France.[25] In 1144, personal disputes over the nomination of the next archbishop of Bourges and Louis' rivalry with the count of Champagne, Theobald, resulted in the sack of the town of Vitry by French troops.[26] More than one thousand people were burnt alive after taking refuge in the main church of the town. This action aroused the strongest of condemnations by the Papacy and the French Church. Bernard of Clairvaux subsequently accused Eleanor of influencing the political decisions taken by King Louis and of failing to show penitence after the Vitry massacre.[27] He promised, however, to intercede for divine intervention to grant offspring to the childless royal couple in exchange for a quick solution to the turmoil in Champagne. Later that year, French troops withdrew from the county. The French royal court validated the position of the archbishop of Bourges and restored Count Theobald's powers. In April 1145, the first child of Eleanor and Louis, Marie, was born.

Be that as it may, Becket's murder, together with a more general discontent of noblemen under the rule of Henry, resulted in a major revolt in the Angevin dominions between 1173 and 1174.[28] This uprising was largely supported by the French and Scottish kingdoms, as well as by the Duke of Flanders. The factions of rebel English, Norman, Poitevin and Breton landlords sought to oust Henry II from power and consolidate the position of his son Henry as the only ruler of the kingdom. Certainly for strictly personal reasons, Queen Eleanor supported the claim of her son. She had suffered public mockery because of the constant extra-marital love affairs of her husband.[29]

Two other sons of the King, Richard (the future Lion-Hearted) and Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, also sided with their brother. In political terms, the hope of Henry II's enemies was essentially to undermine the ever-growing power of the Angevin state. With this movement, French, Scottish and Flemish rulers intended to expand their influence over borderlands by then under English control, both in North England and, especially, around Normandy.[30] The rebellion was suppressed more than a year later, after a number of exhausting campaigns in the Norman duchy and in South England. Henry the Young King and the rebels were eventually defeated once French, Scottish and Flemish armies were disbanded, one by one, by English troops loyal to Henry II. The tensions and suspicion between father and son only increased after the latter's final defeat.[31]

Henry the Young King died in 1183, after several years spent far from political turmoil and instead participating in amusements such as hunting and tournaments. As for Eleanor, Henry II had repudiated her at the beginning of the conflict. She was in Poitiers in 1173 but was captured immediately after the beginning of hostilities.[32] Eleanor was taken hostage to England a year later, where she was to spend the next nine years, imprisoned in Winchester and Sarum castles. In 1183, probably aged sixty-two, Eleanor was released. Accompanied permanently by a custodian, she left for Normandy.[33] She stayed in Argentan and Rouen for more than a year and then intermittently, travelling across the Channel very often until her death in 1204.[34] I should like to suggest that Eleanor of Aquitaine is the pious woman depicted in the Fécamp Psalter and that there is considerable evidence to support this statement.

ELEANOR AND THE FÉCAMP PSALTER

Once settled in Normandy, the choice of the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fécamp would have been obvious for the Angevin queen given her devotion to the community. Fécamp's community had benefited, in fact, from official concessions from a very early stage of the constitution of the ducal entity. While still *sire*, William Longsword (927–942) had made substantial donations to the abbey, in the form of estates ownership and grants.[35] The prestige of Fécamp's community experienced a further impulse when its main church was chosen as the pantheon of the first two dukes of Normandy, Richard I (942–996) and Richard II (996–1026).[36] The duchy of William the Conqueror, however, supposed the geo-political consolidation of the southwest of the Norman territory, with the new ducal town of Caen at its heart.

Yet Fécamp enjoyed further official concessions because of its importance in the history of the duchy. This endowment fuelled the transformation of Fécamp into a leading centre for manuscript copying in Normandy by the end of the eleventh century. The abbacy of Henry de Sully (1140–1187) resulted in a considerable work of enlargement of the Abbey's complex. This ambitious churchman was not only nephew of the former English king, Stephen, but also cousin of his stubborn successor, Henry II, Eleanor's husband. De Sully's long abbacy at Fécamp witnessed a generous endowment granted by the Angevin monarch himself in the early 1170s.[37] The reason for this decision, besides any familial bond, was the discovery on 19 July 1171 of two lead cases that allegedly contained relics of the blood of Christ.[38]

This *inventio* became the physical evidence that supported an oral tradition that had been circulating for some time. Contemporary accounts argued that the presence of this relic might have dated from the foundational period of the Abbey, in late Merovingian times. Be that as it may, this extraordinary discovery marked the beginning not only of extensive royal

funding to carry out an enlargement of the complex, but a subsequent influx of pilgrims as well. By the beginning of the 1180s, Fécamp boasted a solid reputation in the field of manuscript production and in a relatively brand-new prestigious category of a pilgrimage centre, home to a first-class relic.

The iconographic contents of the Fécamp Psalter also match the political scenario surrounding Eleanor's life. Firstly, the assimilation between the left parts of the double scenes, the Three Magi (fol. 17^v) and the portrait of the patron, indicates an equivalence between the position of the Three Magi and that of the patron, a queen. However, the Three Magi have also a clear visual relationship with the image of the Mother of God (fol. 18r), while the female portrait faces the *Beatus* folio (fol. 29^r). This combination of a donor portrait and the giant decorated *B* is extremely rare in the medieval artistic world, and only the Helmarshausen Psalter, which we shall consider later, displays the same visual organisation. The *Beatus* initial in the Fécamp Psalter displays two of the most iconic images of King David. On the one hand, he appears as the pious individual who wrote the Psalms which begin with the giant initial 'B' itself. On the other hand, he appears in his early years, fighting against the Philistine warrior Goliath (who is naturally depicted as a contemporary Norman armoured knight). In the Middle Ages, the world of the Old Testament was a mirror reflecting contemporary issues and even personifications.[39] This phenomenon affected literate men and women, from both the lay and the ecclesiastic worlds. Eleanor was no exception. The similarities between the story of King David and that of her own political and family context are significant.[40] Henry II, as Saul, had been a popular monarch at the beginning of his term. In the late 1150s, he reasserted English sovereignty over Wales and some neighbouring territories that surrounded Normandy, such as Anjou and Maine. However, the beginning of the troubles between Henry and Thomas Becket, leader of the Church in his kingdom, escalated dramatically.

From this time onwards, Eleanor could have considered herself a witness of a new Saul-David struggle, a parallelism already suggested by David Bosworth.[41] The relations between Henry and Becket naturally recall the story of the prophet Samuel and King Saul.[42] After initial political and military successes, Saul lost the favour of Samuel (and therefore, of God). In due course, David of the house of Jesse was chosen to lead the Israelites.[43] David counted on the support of Jonathan, Saul's natural son whom David loved as a brother. In similar fashion, Henry the Young King received the support of his brothers Richard and Geoffrey.[44] The accompaniment of the story of King David with Eleanor's portrait may have stimulated similar associations. King Henry II himself had publically acknowledged that the 1173–1174 conflict could have been a divine punishment for Becket's murder back in 1170.[45]

In the domain of the visual arts there are further associations that might support an identification of the Fécamp Psalter's patron with Eleanor of Aquitaine. In the village of Chinon, between Poitiers and Fontevraud, is the underground church of St Radegund. The building had been for centuries home to cults in honour of this Merovingian queen, later considered a mystic, who founded the oldest monastic community in Poitiers, the Abbey of the Holy Cross. The underground church was remodelled in the second half of the twelfth century under the auspices of Eleanor or her father Duke William X of Aquitaine. It displays the remains of a fresco that depicts Eleanor riding a horse, together with a similar image of King Henry **(Image 9)**.[46] The age of the queen at this time is difficult to determine, but her hair is of a brownish tonality and this could indeed imply an early adult age after her marriage with Henry in 1154, at the age of thirty-two. It is worth remarking that the queen in the Chinon fresco wears a green cape with a very particular white and blue geometric motif in its inner part, and that King Henry wears one too. This motif, overlapping regular lines of blue meanders over a white background, is,

in fact, the same that appears in the cape of the patron portrait of the Fécamp Psalter. As Dorothée Kleinmann and Michel Garcia point out, this motif is associated with the royal house, particularly as both characters in the Chinon fresco wear the same cape.[47] Moreover, the same motif appears in a portrait of Geoffrey of Anjou, father of Henry, in a Limoges enamel from his tomb in Le Mans Cathedral (c. 1150) **(Image 10)**.[48] In the Chinon fresco, the queen wears a crown absent from the manuscript. The solemnity of the pious representation in the Fécamp Psalter, as well as the tortured relationship with King Henry after the 1173–1174 revolt, may have resulted in a more personal and less pompous image of Eleanor as displayed in the manuscript.

The relationship with Poitiers established by the Chinon fresco is also confirmed by another element of the Norman manuscript, namely, some of the names contained in the Calendar of the Fécamp Psalter.[49] Besides the presence of the feast commemorating St Thomas of Canterbury (29th December, on fol. 13ʳ), the two most popular saints of Poitiers are also listed. On one hand, the feast of St Hilary, the town's main patron saint, appears on 13th January (fol. 2ʳ). On the other hand, St Radegund, the former queen and local saint whose chapel contains a fresco of Eleanor, appears listed in the manuscript's Calendar on her feast day of 13th August, as *Radegundis virg* (fol. 8ʳ). The Calendar then shows a clear connection between the production of the manuscript in Fécamp and saints honoured in the town of Poitiers where Eleanor spent her younger years.

Finally, as noted earlier, although this phenomenon was relatively rare, the Fécamp manuscript was not the only contemporary Psalter in which an individual female portrait accompanied the *Beatus* page. This is also the case in a Psalter produced in the Saxon monastic house of Helmarshausen around 1180.[50] This monastic community produced two illuminated manuscripts for Henry, Duke of Saxony and his wife, Duchess Matilda. These are the well-

known Gospels of Henry the Lion and the Psalter that is now in the Walters Museum of Art, Baltimore. This latter manuscript displays a full-page portrait of the Duchess Matilda standing in prayer **(Image 11)**. Matilda was the eldest daughter of King Henry II and Eleanor, born in Windsor Castle in 1156, and wife of the Saxon duke from 1168.[51] Disputes between Duke Henry and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa led to the temporary exile of the ducal couple in Rouen in 1182. They were eventually allowed to return to Saxony in 1184. The couple certainly received Queen Eleanor while in Normandy. The production of the Helmarshausen Psalter is to be dated 1185 or soon afterwards. Matilda died in 1189. It is possible that Matilda witnessed the commission of the Fécamp Psalter between 1183 and the summer of 1184, when her mother, Eleanor, returned temporarily to England. Back in Saxony, Mathilda commissioned a similar object. Eleanor was then sixty-five years old, an age that would match her appearance in the Fécamp Psalter. This is probably the most plausible chronology for the manuscript's commission.

How the Psalter ended up in the hands of Gerard of Dainville, its first documented owner and bishop of the northern French town of Arras in the mid-fourteenth century, is more difficult to determine.[52] Gerard was a canon at the Cathedral of Paris and it is known that he travelled extensively throughout France. After the death of Eleanor in Poitiers in 1204, the Psalter could have been handed in as an *ex-voto* to the Notre-Dame Cathedral of Poitiers, and other members of the clergy could have acquired it subsequently.

In conclusion, the possibility of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine being the patron of the Fécamp Psalter rests on a variety of arguments. These range from specific clothing patterns present in the Norman manuscript and other contemporary artworks associated with the House of Anjou to the recognition of certain similarities of the Queen's life with King David (in particular, their shared story of public transgression and subsequent repentance).[53]

Furthermore, the historical importance of the monastic community at Fécamp, its tradition of manuscript production and the *inventio* of the Holy Blood relic in 1171, which stimulated the growth of the monastery as a pilgrimage centre, may well have influenced the Queen in her search for the provision of a personal prayer book in her late years, such as the Fécamp Psalter. While patronage activities were often made in the hope of eternal redemption, in the case of Eleanor, this would have been enriched with her experience of a prolific cultural and spiritual life, expressed at an earlier period, particularly in the field of poetry, at her court in Poitiers.[54] Perhaps, this personal interest in the arts was to be portrayed in the coloured relief of her tomb at Fontevraud Abbey — Eleanor appears reading from a small manuscript that she holds in her hands (**Image 12**). In 1183, however, the Queen was an aging woman with an uncertain personal future, a worried and pious character, a *beata mulier*.

Notes

[1] Frank O. Büttner, 'Der illuminierte Psalter im Westen', in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. by F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 1-106 (pp. 10, 22, 27). Anne S. Korteweg, *Splendour, Gravity and Emotion: French Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch collections* (The Hague: Waanders, 2004), pp. 160–63. John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, vol. I (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), p. 310. Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, vol. I (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), pp. 160–1. Anne S. Korteweg, 'Les Fonds Médiévaux de la Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Bibliothèque Royale) de La Haye', *Pluteus*, 3 (1985), 175–85; and particularly, see: p. 180. The whole decoration of the manuscript is available at: <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/76+F+13> [accessed 02/12/15].

[2] Ch. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 196.

[3] Cahn, *Romanesque*, p. 160. Cahn argued in his comprehensive catalogue on French Romanesque manuscripts that the Fécamp Psalter was instead created at Ham, a small town in Picardy. Ham was home to a community founded in the early twelfth century that mysteriously obtained at least part of the relics of Fécamp Abbey's founder, Waneng (or *Waningus*), from Normandy around the year 1200. However, I should remark that not a single example of decorated manuscript has come down to us from Ham. The community was founded in a backwater rural area between the heartlands of Ile-de-France and the Low Countries and it simply lacked the artistic tradition and economic resources to conceive a work such as the Fécamp Psalter.

[4] For a summary of the research, see: Stéphane Lecouteux, 'Sur la Dispersion de la Bibliothèque Bénédictine de Fécamp. Partie 1: Identifications des Principals Vagues de Démembrements des Fonds', *Tabularia*, 7, (2007), 1–50 (pp. 2–5, 22–5). Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen: Caron, 1966), pp. 6–33, 227–37.

[5] Véronique Gazeau, 'Guillaume de Volpiano en Normandie: État des questions', *Tabularia*, 2 (2002), 35–46; and especially, for the relations between the two communities, see: p. 42. Stéphane Lecouteux has pointed out, however, that the links between Fécamp and the Mount St Michel were actually stronger in the field of manuscript illumination. See: Lecouteux, 'Sur la Dispersion', pp. 23. In my view, the striking similarity between the production of Jumieges (i.e., initials as drawings exclusively created with a red ink), and the remains of Fécamp's art, makes us opt for this connection. For a description of Jumieges' production, see: François Avril, *Manuscrits Normands, XI–XII siècles* (Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1975), pp. 10–4; for Fécamp, see: pp. 24–5.

[6] Jesús Rodríguez Viejo, 'Byzantine influences on Western Aristocratic Illuminated Manuscripts: The Fecamp Psalter (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 13) and other related works', *Estudios Bizantinos*, 1 (2013), 105–39 (pp. 117–19). Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 254–5.

[7] Philippe Schweinfurth, 'Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III. und Byzanz', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 10 (1942), 42–66. Kurt Weitzmann, 'Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), 1–24.

[8] Gazeau, 'Guillaume de', pp. 35–37. René Herval, 'Un Moine de l'an Mille: Guillaume de Volpiano, Premier Abbé de Fécamp (962–1031)', in *L'abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, Ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire, 658–58*, vol. I (Fecamp: L. Durand et fils, 1958), p. 44. Neithard Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon, 962–1031* (Bonn: Mann, 1973).

[9] Dodwell, *The Pictorial*, pp. 216–7.

[10] Jean-Henri Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny Depuis la Foundation de l'Abbaye Jusqu'à la Mort de Pierre le Vénérable* (Paris: Michel Dujussieu-Librairie Durand, 1868), pp. 258–59. Léon Fallue, *Histoire de la Ville et de l'Abbaye de Fécamp* (Rouen: Nicétas Périeaux, 1841), pp. 111–2.

[11] Mouritz Mackeprang, Victor Madsen, Carl S. Petersen, Axel A. Bjombo and Ellen Jorgensen, *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts in Danish Collections, Xth–XIIIth Centuries* (Copenhagen: A. Marcus, 1921), pp. 32–42. Patricia E. Stirnemann, *The Copenhagen Psalter*, PhD Thesis, History of Art, Columbia University, 1976.

[12] Ralph H. C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135–1154* (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 44, 97–8. Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 96–7. Richard Huscroft, *Ruling England, 1042–1217* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p. 134.

[13] Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica (Xe–XIIe siècles). Vol. I. Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins* (Caen: Publications du CRAHAM, 2007), pp. 116–21.

[14] Richard Gameson proved that the need for manuscripts in post-1066 South England was indeed urgent. In preserved correspondence dating from the 1080's between Lanfranc of Canterbury and Anselm, then abbot at Notre-Dame-du-Bec, the first demanded provisions of manuscripts for liturgical proposes to the latter in Normandy, in order to re-start the regular ceremonies of the English see and related monastic houses in the Kent town. See Richard Gameson, *The Earliest Manuscripts of Canterbury Cathedral. Manuscripts and Fragments to c. 1200* (London: The Bibliographical Society and the British Library, 2008), p. 26.

[15] Rodríguez Viejo, 'Byzantine Influences', pp. 122–3.

[16] A recent work on this social phenomenon and its artistic reflections in the central and eastern Mediterranean is: Jean-Michel Spieser and Elisabeth Yota, eds, *Donateurs et Donations dans le Monde Byzantin* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2012). For South Italy in particular, see Linda Safran, 'Deconstructing Donors in Medieval Southern Italy', in *Female Founders in Byzantium and beyond*, ed. by Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett, Michael Grünbart, Galina Fingarova, and Matthew Savage (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), pp. 135–52. For the Anglo-Saxon period in Britain, see: Elisabeth H. Ledbetter, *Sweotol Tacen/A clear Token: the Anglo-Saxon Token and the Medieval Donor's Model*, MA Thesis, Art History, University of Texas-Austin, 2014, pp. 50–63. For the Ottonian Empire, see: Elizabeth Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: the Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 75–6.

[17] Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'The Eyes of the Beholders were Dazzled: Treasure and Artifice in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *Early Medieval Europe*, 8.2 (1999), 247–70. Felice Lifshitz, 'The Encomium Emmae Reginae: a "Political Pamphlet" of the Eleventh Century?', *Haskins Society Journal*, 1 (1989), 39–50. Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997).

[18] Laura Kendrick, 'Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture', in *A Companion to Medieval art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. by Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 274–94, and particularly, pp. 288–9. Howard Helsinger, 'Images on the Beatus Page of Some Medieval Psalters', *The Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 161–76. Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago: American Library, 1991), pp. 251–3.

[19] Stella Panayatova, 'The Illustrated Psalter: Luxury and Practical Use', in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 247–71. Nancy Van Deusen, *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), pp. 59–89. Bruce K. Waltke and James M. Houston, *The Psalms as Christian Worship: A Historical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2010), pp. 484–518. Barbara Rosenwein, 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression', *Viator*, 2 (1971), 127–57. Kathleen M. Openshaw, 'Weapons in the Daily Battle: Images of the Conquest of Evil in the Early Medieval Psalter', *The Art Bulletin* 75.1 (1993), 17–38.

[20] Anne Heslin, 'The Coronation of the Young King in 1170', *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), 165–78. Roger J. Smith, 'Henry II's Heir: the Acta and Seal of Henry the Young King, 1170–1183', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 297–326. Matthew Strickland, 'On the Instruction of a Prince: The Upbringing of Henry, the Young King', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), pp. 184–214.

[21] William H. Hutton, *Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Pitman and Sons, 1910), pp. 4–5.

[22] Alexander K. Shaner, 'The Feud of Friendship: the Battle over Religious Authority in Angevin England', *Drake University Social Science Journal*, 12 (2014), 1–14. Henry T. Riley, trans. and ed., *Roger Hoveden's On the Disputes Between Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry II of England* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853).

[23] Paul Brand, 'Henry II and the Creation of the English Common Law', in *Henry II*, pp. 215–43; and particularly pp. 228–29. David M. Knowles, Anne Duggan and Christopher N. L. Brooke, 'Henry II's supplement to the Constitutions of Clarendon', *English Historical Review*, 87 (1972), 757–71.

[24] Zachary N. Brooke, 'The Effect of Thomas Becket's Murder on Papal Authority in England', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3.2 (1928), 213–28. Thomas B. Costain, *The Conquering Family* (New York: Popular Library, 1962), pp. 78–9.

[25] Douglas D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 14–21. Régine Pernoud, *Aliénor d'Aquitaine* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1965), pp. 30–7. Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (London: Cassell and Company, 1952), pp. 1–9.

[26] Owen, *Eleanor*, pp. 18–20. Kelly, *Eleanor of*, pp. 21–8.

[27] Owen, *Eleanor*, p. 21. Kelly, *Eleanor of*, pp. 19–24.

[28] Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154–1224* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), pp. 186–206. Richard Mortimer, *Angevin England, 1154–1258* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 86–90.

[29] Michael R. Evans, *Inventing Eleanor: the Medieval and post-medieval image of Eleanor of Aquitaine* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), pp. 96–100. Ursula V. Liebenstein, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Henri le Jeune et la révolte de 1173: un Prélude à la Confrontation entre Plantagenêt et Capétiens?', in *Plantagenêt et Capétiens: confrontations et héritages*, ed. by Martin Aurell and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 95–112.

[30] Mortimer, *Angevin*, p. 88.

[31] Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Henry II and the Angevin tradition of family hostility', *Albion*, 16.2 (1984), 111–30.

[32] Owen, *Eleanor*, pp. 68–70.

[33] Pernoud, *Aliénor*, pp. 177–80.

[34] Pernoud, Aliénor, pp. 191–2.

[35] Alain de Sancy, *Les ducs de Normandie et les Rois de France, 911–1204* (Paris: Lanore-Sorlot, 1996), pp. 23–7.

[36] Marie Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie, 911–1066* (Caen: Caron, 1961), pp 79–91. Antoine Le Roux-De Lincy, *Essai Historique et et Litéraire sur l'Abbaye de Fécamp* (Rouen: E. Frère, 1840), pp. 213–8.

[37] Judith A. Green, 'Fécamp et les rois Anglo-Normands', *Tabularia*, 2 (2002), 9–18 (p. 17). Lindy Grant, 'Fécamp et l'architecture en Normandie', *Tabularia*, 2 (2002), 83–94 (pp. 86–8). Lindy Grant, 'Le Patronage Architectural d'Henri II et de son Entourage', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 37 (1994), 73–84.

[38] Cécile-Anne Sibout, 'Le Précieux Sang: une Relique Vénerée et Convoitée', *Études normandes*, 2 (2007), 28–35. Jean-Guy Gouttebroze, 'À l'origine du culte du Précieux Sang de Fécamp: le Saint Voult de Lucques', *Tabularia*, 2 (2002), 1–8.

[39] Andrew E. Hill, John H. Walton, *A survey of the Old Testament* (Nashville: Harper Collins Christian Publishing, 2010), pp. 71–3. Beryl Smalley, *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1952), pp. 1–36.

[40] David A. Bosworth, 'Evaluating King David: Old problems and recent scholarship', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 68 (2006), 191–210.

[41] Bosworth, 'Evaluating King David', pp. 198–9. Marti J. Steussy, *David: Biblical portraits of power* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).

[42] 1 Samuel, 13:14; and: 1 Samuel, 15:28.

[43] 1 Samuel, 16:1–13.

[44] Strickland, 'On the instruction of', pp. 191–3.

[45] Aurell, *The Plantagenet*, p. 67.

[46] The claim made by a French historian in an article that argued that the scene represented the captivity of Eleanor after the 1173–1174 revolt was soon dismissed. See: Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine Conduite en Captivité. Les Peintures Murales Commémoratives de Sainte-Radegonde de Chinon', *Cahiers de civilisation Médiévale*, 41 (1998), 317–30. For the review, see: Dorothée Kleinmann, Michel Garcia and Ivan Cloulas, 'Les Peintures Murales de Saint-Radegonde de Chinon. À Propos d'un Article Recent', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 42 (1999), 397–9.

[47] Kleinmann, Garcia, Cloulas, 'Les Peintures', p. 397.

[48] Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, 'Effigy of Geoffrey Plantagenet', in *Enamels of Limoges, 1100–1350*, ed. by John. P. O'Neill (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 98–101.

[49] On the importance of manuscript calendars as geographic identifications, see: Jacques Dubois, *Les Martyrologes du Moyen Âge Latin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), p. 15.

[50] See Adolph Goldschmidt, 'A German Psalter of the Twelfth Century Written in Helmarshausen', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1 (1938), 18–23; Ekkehard Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen bis in die Zeit Heingrichs des Löwen* (Darmstadt: Hessischen Historischen Kommission und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, 1972), pp. 279–80, 696–713.

[51] Kate Norgate, 'Matilda', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Timothy Reuter, vol. XXXVII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 331–32.

[52] Honoré Fisquet, *La France Pontificale, Gallia Christiana* (Paris, E. Repos, 1869), pp. 319–22.

[53] This hope for redemption would have motivated, according to Nicholas Vincent, the impulse given to donations and endowments carried out by the Queen in her late years. See: Nicholas Vincent, 'Patronage, Politics and Piety in the Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', in Aurell, *Plantagenêts et*, pp. 17–60 (p. 26). The charters show that no endowment was officially recorded as being made on behalf of the queen to Fécamp's abbey. We have to remember, however, that the abbey of the Holy-Trinity had been the subject of substantial donations from King Henry due to the Holy-Blood *inventio* and that allowed Henry de Sully to carry out the subsequent enlargement of the complex that began in the early 1170s

[54] William W. Kibler, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Patron and Politician* (Austin: University of Texas-Austin Press, 1974), pp. 3–8. Martin Aurell, 'La Cour Plantagenêt (1154–1204): Entourage, Savoir et Civilité', in: *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154–1204)*, ed. by Martin Aurell (Poitiers: Centre d'Études de Civilisation Médiévale, Université de Poitiers, 2000), pp. 9–46.