

Female Book Owners in the Valois Courts, 1350-1550: Devotional Manuscripts as
Vehicles for Self-Definition

by

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Abstract

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An examination of the books owned by noblewomen from the Valois courts reveals how significantly they contributed to the cultural and spiritual character of the period. They were responsible for commissioning a vast number of manuscripts, some of which were aesthetically equal to the books made for the dukes and kings. In fact, certain manuscripts now considered the most lavish and important from this period belonged to women. These women often married into noble families from regions far from their native lands. When they arrived at their new homes, they brought their own customs, knowledge of artistic styles, and aesthetic sensibilities, which affected book production in western Europe. Appendices 1-7 show the complexity of relationships between nobles from Burgundy, France, Spain and England for eleven generations, and include all of the individuals discussed in this dissertation. These charts reveal the matrilineal connections between generations and include many women who do not appear on ancestral charts in other studies of the late medieval nobility in northern Europe. As demonstrated in the charts, marriages could result in the solidification of certain regions within a generation, causing genealogical ramifications in subsequent generations. This ancestral web shows the mobility of women in western Europe in the late Middle Ages, resulting in their desire to preserve some of their childhood traditions through commissions of devotional manuscripts.

This interactive nature of manuscripts and the multiple ways in which they were used by women of the Valois courts is central to this study. I adhere to the idea that devotional manuscripts used by these women must be studied within the context for which they were made and in which they were used. At first glance, devotional manuscripts appear to be just that, books of prayers. On further examination, it is clear that they were multifunctional and could express issues that applied to many aspects of a noblewoman's life. This dissertation considers book collections of late medieval noblewomen and the ways in which they used their private devotional manuscripts as vehicles for self-definition, in order to preserve the devotional and cultural traditions of their families.

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Introduction

I. The *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*: A Vehicle of Self-Definition

Between 1442 and 1443, a sumptuous devotional manuscript, later named the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Master of Catherine of Cleves, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 917 and 945), was written and decorated for Catherine, Duchess of Guelders.¹ The book was personalized by a portrait of the duchess kneeling in prayer before a large image of the Virgin and Child on the first folio (figs. 1 and 80). She holds a book in her hands and gazes up in adoration at the holy figures. The four coats of arms in the corners of the page represent her four male ancestors, and the fifth, larger and centered in the *bas-de-page*, is her own.

According to surviving inventories, the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* is the only extant manuscript owned by this duchess.² It reveals many aspects of her life as a noblewoman and a Christian. The miniature on folio 1 demonstrates how images in books of hours can be both sacred and profane, for it relates to Catherine's religious traditions, her social standing, and her place within her family history. Her portrait acts as a sign of ownership, and her placement before the Virgin and Child indicates her religious devotion. The coats of arms represent the late medieval interest in legacy, tradition and self-definition. Those in the corners belong to her great-great-grandfathers, thereby establishing her pedigree.³ The addition of her own coat of arms, which combines the arms of Guelders, from her husband, Arnold, and the arms of Cleves and Mark, from her father (see appendix 5), defines her genealogy and her place within the family.

Catherine's manuscript reveals information about her hopes for her family, her lineage, her own religious preferences, and late medieval devotional practice, all of which were important to her as a Christian, an aristocrat and a woman. These issues and the way in which they are presented in the illuminations of devotional manuscripts belonging to noblewomen are the basis

of this study. An examination of individual components of devotional manuscripts owned by aristocratic women in the late Middle Ages reveals that they were not just books of prayers but also vehicles for the expression of secular and late medieval religious ideologies that were important to these women.⁴ Changes obviously occurred in religious practice, politics and educational ideology during this period. Throughout the late Middle Ages, the imagery and content of noblewomen's manuscripts reveal how they responded to these changes.

Books by nature foster an intimate relationship with their owners, due to the fact that they must be held and their pages turned. This interaction is among the factors that make illuminated manuscripts unique works of art. More than just objects to be regarded for their beauty or monetary value, devotional manuscripts were originally designed for a religious purpose. The manuscripts considered in this dissertation also demonstrate regional religious practices, political unions, and hopes for the continuation of a family line. These issues often affected the appearance of manuscripts, inviting patrons to consider their contents carefully. The interaction between the users and their manuscripts also encouraged documentation through inscriptions, marginal additions or other visual elements added after the work was completed. Each of these methods of expression is discussed thematically in this study. Even today, individuals use books as storehouses for extraneous information. Family Bibles, for instance, are often used to record family births, deaths and marriages. It seems appropriate, then, that aristocratic patrons of manuscripts in the late Middle Ages would want to include personal symbols or other marks of ownership that they or the recipients of their manuscripts could view. Such references to family identity changed the function of books of hours from purely devotional texts to carriers of cultural memory.

The dates of the manuscripts in this study range from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a proliferation of illuminated manuscripts, due to issues discussed in chapter 2.⁵ By the sixteenth century, production began to wane, because of the demand for printed books. As a result, those commissioning devotional manuscripts in the sixteenth century were often aristocrats who wanted deluxe manuscripts valued as objects of wealth. Beginning in the fourteenth century, the most popular type of devotional manuscript was the book of hours. Although many such books were produced in Germany, Italy and England, the greatest number of extant books of hours was executed in France, the Netherlands and Burgundy. Many of these were commissioned or owned by women of the courts.⁶

II. Private Devotional Manuscripts

One of the major factors that altered the production and appearance of manuscripts in the Gothic period was a shift in patronage trends.⁷ Prior to the late twelfth century, the vast majority of manuscripts were produced in monasteries and used by the clergy, monks and nuns. Those that were commissioned by the laity were often donated to churches or abbeys. By the thirteenth century, nobles were commissioning books for their own use. The addition of this new group of book owners resulted in changes in the appearance and organization of books that were originally only used in liturgical settings.⁸ At first, the most desired book was the Psalter, which contained the Psalms that were recited by the clergy every day.⁹ The laity, who wished to imitate the actions of the clergy, wanted books that would instruct them in this ritual.¹⁰ As a result, the Psalter was used as the core of early private devotional manuscripts, and it became the most popular book owned by the laity in the thirteenth century.¹¹

Eventually, the format for Psalters commissioned by nobles began to include other prayers, most notably the *Little Office of the Virgin*.¹² This cycle of prayers was divided into eight parts, which coincided with the eight canonical hours of the day: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. The *Little Office of the Virgin*, also called the *Hours of the Virgin*, was gleaned from an expanded prayer cycle that had been added to the *Divine Office* recited by the clergy.¹³ The inclusion of this cycle enabled the laity to pray in a manner that was originally reserved for priests.

The combination of the Psalter with the *Hours of the Virgin* resulted in a new hybrid book type called a Psalter-Hours, which also included prayers to saints, called suffrages, intended to invoke intercession.¹⁴ By the late thirteenth century, other canonical prayers such as the *Hours of the Holy Spirit*, the *Hours of the Cross* and the *Office of the Dead* supplanted the Psalter portion of the book.¹⁵ The inclusion of these prayers resulted in a new devotional book called a book of hours, named for the prayers said at the canonical hours of the day. The core of a book of hours was the *Hours of the Virgin*. Each also had a calendar to alert the reader to the major feast days and saints to be venerated. The calendars in books of hours differed from one area to another, because the relative popularity of certain saints varied from place to place. The textual arrangement of prayer cycles often differed as well. These two anomalies are helpful in the study of books of hours, because they often indicate where a manuscript was produced and used.

No two books of hours are exactly alike, because their patrons or owners could choose specific suffrages, marginalia, and portraits. Turning back to the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, one finds multiple references to Catherine's secular and religious concerns. For instance, on page 296 of M. 917, a suffrage to St. Catherine is accompanied by an image of the saint with her

typical attributes of a spiked wheel and sword (fig. 90).¹⁶ In addition to this conventional iconography, a bear cub seems to float in the *bas-de-page* between two stylized leaves. This small illustration, discussed in chapter 3, is a visual play on Catherine's name.¹⁷ Catherine may have requested this marginal reference to her name, or the illuminator may have included it to please her. Regardless of the reason for its inclusion, the bear cub represents Catherine's name and demonstrates this illuminator's familiarity with visual puns. Moreover, the bear cub comes from the secular world, whereas the prayer to and image of St. Catherine represent the sacred world, both of which were important to Catherine as demonstrated by their inclusion in her manuscript.

This example is one of many that demonstrate how books of hours could be customized for individual patrons. Other private devotional books, like Psalters and breviaries, were also used by the laity, and these were sometimes manipulated in the same manner.¹⁸ Most noblemen and women owned at least one devotional manuscript, which often served as a convenient vehicle for the documentation of their religious and secular concerns. Praying with the aid of a devotional manuscript was an accepted form of religious practice in the late Middle Ages. By also using their books as vehicles for self-expression, women did not betray their faith or their expected roles as noblewomen and mothers.

Noblemen also expressed their ideas of self in manuscript commissions. Although both sexes had similar devotional traditions, they communicated issues of family, legacy and class in different ways. This was due in part to their gender, which was defined by different sets of rules. When the two groups of mores converged or were circumvented, women had to find different ways to express their ideas of self. When Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) became Duchess of Burgundy after the death of her father, Charles the Bold (1433-1477), for example, she had to

redefine herself as a ruler in a male world while still maintaining the persona of a Christian noblewoman. She did this through visual propaganda that presented her as an avid equestrian like male rulers from the past. This persona was included in an accepted narrative within her devotional manuscript.¹⁹ It therefore functioned within its traditional structure while referring to and justifying her role as duchess. This imagery empowered her as a noblewoman, a duchess and a Christian.

III. The Valois Courts

The devotional manuscripts that are the focus of this dissertation were owned by the women of the Valois courts. The reign of the house of Valois, which continued until the end of the fifteenth century, began in 1328, when Philip VI (1293-1350), son of Charles of Valois (1270-1325) and Marguerite of Anjou (1274-1299), was crowned King of France.²⁰ In addition to producing seven kings of France, the Valois would rule over the Burgundian territories. Philip VI married Jeanne of Burgundy (1293-1348) in 1313, thereby connecting the French crown to the nascent Burgundian region (see appendix 1). In 1319, Jeanne gave birth to John the Good, who became duke of Burgundy in 1361 and eventually succeeded his father as King of France. John's wife, Bonne of Luxembourg (1315-1349), had nine children between 1338 and 1348. Her four sons shaped the political structure of France and Burgundy: Charles V (1338-1380); Louis, Duke of Anjou (1339-1384); John, Duke of Berry (1340-1416); and Philip, Duke of Burgundy (1342-1404). She also had five daughters, two of whom died as children and three who married men associated with the courts (see appendix 1). Bonne and John's sons are now known for their voracious patronage, and, in the cases of Charles and John, their large libraries, but the collections of their sisters, wives, and female descendants remain relatively unexplored.²¹

The inventories of the libraries of these powerful men mention books that were commissioned, owned or received by the women associated with them and the courts, although the names of these women are often mentioned only in passing. The few published inventories of manuscripts owned by duchesses, princesses and queens are less well-known than those of the king and dukes mentioned above.²² Apart from studies dedicated to individual patrons such as Margaret of Austria and Margaret of York (see appendices 4 and 5),²³ there are no comprehensive surveys of devotional manuscripts belonging to or commissioned by female patrons in the late Middle Ages. Documentation of the book collections of women associated with the courts is buried within the inventories of their fathers, husbands or sons. Yet these women often played an integral role in the formation and evolution of the royal libraries.

Women often married into noble families from regions far from their native lands. When they arrived at their new homes, they brought their own customs, knowledge of artistic styles, and aesthetic sensibilities, which affected book production in western Europe. Appendices 1-7 show the complexity of relationships between nobles from Burgundy, France, Spain and England for eleven generations, from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth century, and include all of the individuals discussed in this dissertation. These charts reveal the matrilineal connections between generations and include many women who do not appear on ancestral charts in other studies of the late medieval nobility in northern Europe. As demonstrated in the charts, marriages could result in the solidification of certain regions within a generation, causing genealogical ramifications in subsequent generations. This ancestral web shows the mobility of women in western Europe in the late Middle Ages, resulting in their desire to preserve some of their childhood traditions through commissions of devotional manuscripts.

The noblewomen in the Valois courts also gave or bequeathed books to relatives, who in turn developed a passion for commissioning books. As a result, noblewomen continued to be patrons of books throughout the centuries, beginning with the Capetian rulers through the Valois and into the reign of the Habsburgs.²⁴ An examination of the books owned by these women reveals how significantly they contributed to the cultural and spiritual character of the courts. They were responsible for commissioning a vast number of manuscripts, some of which were aesthetically equal to the books made for the dukes and kings. In fact, certain manuscripts now considered the most lavish and important from this period belonged to women at some point in their histories, such as the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, the *Brussels Hours* (Jacquemart de Hesdin and others, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 11060-61), the *Belleville Breviary* (Jean Pucelle, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 10483-10484) the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* (Rohan Master and workshop, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9474) and the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (The Limbourgs and Jean Colombe, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65).

IV. Historiography of the Study of Female Book Owners in the Late Middle Ages

There is considerable scholarship on the topic of female patronage in the late Middle Ages, most of which is written by women. Susan Groag Bell's groundbreaking article, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," was the impetus for much of this discourse and the inspiration for this dissertation.²⁵ She proposed that women were responsible for many of the cultural changes that took place in the late Middle Ages because of their patronage of manuscripts, which was due in part to their desire for vernacular texts. This demand was integral to the change in book production from an emphasis on liturgical books to the proliferation of devotional manuscripts.

Kathleen Ashley also examined patronage as a catalyst for change. She discussed the way the aristocracy recorded important family events in their books of hours, thereby preserving family identity.²⁶ Manuscripts were first used by the aristocracy in this manner, but Ashley argued that the bourgeoisie adopted this tradition in order to emulate the nobility.²⁷

Other scholars have taken a more specific approach, concentrating on patronage as an expression of self in individual manuscripts. Mary Dockray-Miller, for instance, argued that John of Lancaster's reasons for commissioning the *Salisbury Breviary* (Bedford Master and others. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 17294) were due to his connoisseurship, devotion and political concerns.²⁸ She justified her thesis through an examination of a unique prayer cycle dedicated to St. Edith in this breviary. Joan Holladay used a similar approach in her examination of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (Jean Pucelle, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Ms. 54.1.2).²⁹ She asserted that the illustrations of the prayer cycle devoted to St. Louis in this manuscript instructed Jeanne how to perform acts of charity appropriately.³⁰ Another devotional manuscript used for instruction, commissioned by Mary of Brittany, is the topic of Judith K. Golden's discussion of the *Life of St. Eustace* (London, The British Library, Eg. Ms. 745).³¹ Golden suggested that Mary used this text to instruct her son, John, to be a good father, husband and civil servant.³² She, like Holladay, argued that the traditions of the nobility were transferred from one generation to the next by deliberately placing narratives that served as models for appropriate behavior within devotional manuscripts.

Other scholars have addressed the topic of patronage of devotional manuscripts by studying the portraits they contain. An examination of the placement and attitude of these portraits is crucial to the understanding of their function, which I discuss in chapter 3.³³ Claire Sponsler explored portraiture and what she called "the preserved and perishable self" in an

examination of a book of hours commissioned by the Tourotte family (*The Tourotte Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 222).³⁴ She discussed the differences between two sets of portraits of the owners, comparing their postures, glances and attitudes and arguing that they exhibit two distinctive aspects of the owners' spiritual and social identity. Andrea Pearson and Laura Gelfand discussed Margaret of Austria's use of portraiture as a means of empowerment.³⁵ The members of the house of Valois were avid patrons of devotional portraits in the early fifteenth century, and Margaret continued this tradition by commissioning at least four devotional diptychs.³⁶ Gelfand suggested that Margaret's portraits underscored her political agenda while she was facing opposition.³⁷ Her commissions emphasized her Valois roots, thereby justifying her power.³⁸ Power gained through patronage was also discussed by Charity Cannon Willard, in her examination of Isabel of Portugal's commissions.³⁹ She argued that although Isabel never returned to Portugal after her marriage to Philip the Good, she sent texts there that had been translated from French into Portuguese; she thereby made books such as the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas Kempis available to her fellow countrymen and women.⁴⁰

V. Contribution of this Study to the Existing Scholarship

These scholars examined patronage through specific components of devotional manuscripts. This dissertation takes a more comprehensive approach to the topic, in order to study the multifaceted lives of noblewomen in the late Middle Ages. The books under discussion here were all originally created for devotional use. Most of them were altered in some way, either by the original patron or later owners, which added to their devotional function and/or addressed political or social issues. Superficially, the original purpose of these manuscripts was devotional and the additions were secondary. The manipulation of objects was a topic broached by Mieke Bal, who argued that the primacy of the components of an object changed when it was

altered, based on the context in which it was used.⁴¹ Wolfgang Iser, on the other hand, asserted that a manuscript maintained a position between its contents and the reader.⁴² This medial domain existed amid the book's aesthetic qualities and the concrete understanding of its texts.⁴³ The reader traveled between these two realms and thereby interacted with the manuscript.⁴⁴ This experience was altered further by additions to the book, so that the relationship between it and reader was active and changed with each encounter. Kathleen Ashley applied this theory to her discussions of books of hours as transmitters of cultural identity.⁴⁵ She discussed the interactive process between the reader and the book, which was subsequently transferred to the next generation of book owners.

I suggest that late medieval book owners approached their private devotional manuscripts in the manner proposed by Iser. As discussed above, manuscripts often contained imagery that spanned the divide between the sacred and the profane. Although they may have begun as vessels that contained religious texts and imagery, the inclusion of marginalia, such as the cub from the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, mentioned above, suggests that the readers of these texts were not disturbed by imagery that was unrelated to religious practice. In fact, as discussed in chapter 3, imagery could often convey both religious and secular ideas at the same time. The reader could therefore interpret the content of the manuscript differently depending on how he or she approached it. As Iser argued, each reading of the manuscript was new, making it an ever-changing experience for the viewer.

This interactive nature of manuscripts and the multiple ways in which they were used by women of the Valois courts is central to this study. I adhere to the idea that devotional manuscripts used by these women must be studied within the context for which they were made and in which they were used. At first glance, devotional manuscripts appear to be just that, books

of prayers. On further examination, it is clear that they were multifunctional and could express issues that applied to many aspects of a noblewoman's life. This dissertation considers book collections of late medieval noblewomen and the ways in which they used their private devotional manuscripts as vehicles for self-definition, in order to preserve the devotional and cultural traditions of their families.

¹ For this manuscript, see Paul Pieper, “Der Meister der Katharina von Kleve: zu den Ausstellungen in New York und Den Haag,” *Kunstchronik* 18 (1965): 57-62; Paul Pieper, “Das Studienbuch der Katharina von Lochorst und der Meister der Katherina von Kleve,” *Westfalen* 44 (1966): 128-145, 158-162; John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: George Braziller, 1966); Friedrich Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch der Katherina von Kleve; Analyse und Kommentar* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1973); Robert G. Calkins, “Distribution of Labor: The Illuminators of the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* and their Workshop,” *The Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge* 69, part 5 (1979): 3-83; Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers, ed., *From the Hand of the Master: The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, exh. cat. (Nijmegen: Museum Het Valkhof and New York: The Morgan Library and Museum, 2009); and Rob Dückers and Ruud Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 2009). For further discussions of this manuscript, see sections II.A.2 and III.A in chapter 2, sections I.A.6, I.B.2, II.D and III.C in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4.

² Gerard Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 236, suggests that another book of hours from an artist in the circle the Master of Zweder van Culemborg, now in Stockholm, also belonged to the duchess.

³ For a discussion of these coats of arms, see section II.D in chapter 3.

⁴ The earliest extant example of a French, deluxe private devotional manuscript with textual additions by subsequent owners is the *Ingeborg Psalter* (Master of the Ingeborg Psalter, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 9); see Kathleen S. Schowalter, “The *Ingeborg Psalter*: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West,” in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 108; see also François Avril, *La Librairie de Charles V* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), 60, #124. An inscription commemorating the Battle of Bouvines, which took place on July 27, 1214, appears on folio 13v. of the *Ingeborg Psalter*. It reads “Anno d[oma]ni. M. cc. quertodecimo ueinq[ui] phelippe li rois de france en bataille. Le roi othon et le conte de flandres. Et le c[on]te de bologne et plusors autres barons [In the year of our Lord 1214. Philip, the King of France, conquered in battle King Othon (King Otto IV of Germany) and the Count of Flanders (Count Ferrand). And the Count of Boulogne (Reginald) and several other Barons].” My translation; see Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967), 12.

⁵ See the introduction to chapter 2 and section II.B in chapter 2.

⁶ Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, 2001), 30-31.

⁷ The source material for the history of devotional manuscripts is enormous. Some important sources are; David Robb, *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Art Alliance, 1973); John Harthan, *The Book of Hours* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977); John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts*

1420-1530 (New York: The J. Pierpont Morgan Library, 1982); Henri L.M. Defoer, Anne S. Korteweg, and Wilhelmina C.M. Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting* (New York: George Braziller, 1990); François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1993); Roger Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997); Wieck, *Time Sanctified*; Adelaide Bennett, et al., eds., *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold 800-1475* (Louvain: Davidsfonds and Brepols, 2002); Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003); and J.J.G Alexander, James Marrow and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York: The New York Public Library, 2005).

⁸ For a concise discussion of the changes made to private devotional manuscripts used by the laity, see Will Noel, “Books in the Home: Psalters and Books of Hours,” in *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold 800-1475*, eds. Adelaide Bennett, et al., 57-68.

⁹ Alexander, Marrow and Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word*, 193.

¹⁰ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹² For the *Little Office of the Virgin*, see, for example, Ethelred Taunton, *The Little Office of Our Lady* (London: J. Bale, 1903); J.B.L. Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1993), 120-129; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 51-78; and F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 992.

¹³ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 51.

¹⁴ For suffrages, see, for example, Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 101-107; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 109-116; and Adelaide Bennett, “Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion,” in *Objects, Images, and the Word*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003): 54-78.

¹⁵ For the *Hours of the Cross* and the *Hours of the Holy Spirit*, see, for example, Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 130; and Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 79-85. For the *Mass of the Dead*, see Richard Rutherford, *The Death of a Christian: The Rite of Funerals: Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church VII* (New York: Pueblo, 1970), 56-59; Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1993); Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 107-113; and Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117-132.

¹⁶ For St. Catherine, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 334-341; Henri Brémond, *Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1917); Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 265; Peter Assion, "Katharina (Aikaterinê) von Alexandrien," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Engelbert Kirschbaum, et al. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1974), 289-297; and Katherine Lewis, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 2000), xiii-xviii.

¹⁷ See section III.C in chapter 3.

¹⁸ A breviary contains the liturgical rites. It is usually divided into four sections: a Psalter, prayers of the seasons, prayers to the saints, and common or canonical prayers. It can also contain other prayer cycles like the Office of the Virgin. For a complete description of the contents of a breviary, see Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London: Longmans, New York: Green, 1955), 331-394.

¹⁹ See section I.B.5 in chapter 3.

²⁰ In February of 1328, Charles IV, King of France (1294-1328) and member of the Capetian dynasty, died. He left behind a daughter, Mary, and his third wife, Jeanne d'Évreux (1310-1371; see appendix 1), who was pregnant with their second child. In order for the rule of the house of Capet to continue, Jeanne needed to give birth to a male heir. The fate of the Capetian dynasty was realized later that year when Jeanne gave birth to a girl. The French throne therefore passed to the nearest male relative, Philip VI (1293-1350), son of Charles of Valois (1270-1325) and Marguerite of Anjou (1274-1299), and first cousin to Charles IV (see appendix 1).

²¹ For the few exceptions to this statement, see below, notes 22 and 23.

²² For example, an inventory was taken of the possessions of Charlotte of Savoy (1442-1483), great-granddaughter of Charles V (see appendix 2), a year after she died; see Anne-Marie Legaré, "Charlotte of Savoie's Library and Illuminators," *Journal of the Early Book Society IV* (2001): 33.

²³ For example, Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York: Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); Thomas Kren, ed., *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal* (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992); and Dagmar Eichberger, ed., *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York/Margaret of Austria* (Louvain: Davidsfonds and Brepols, 2005). The manuscripts in Margaret of York's library are identified in Kurtis A. Barstow, "The Library of Margaret of York and Some Related Books," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren, 257-263.

²⁴ The reign of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy begins with John the Good (1319-1364), first Valois Duke of Burgundy and second Valois King of France (he succeeded his father, Philip

VI (1293-1350), first Valois King of France; see appendix 1). The reign of the Habsburg Dukes of Burgundy begins with Maximilian I (1459-1519) in 1477 and ends at the death of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-1558; see appendix 4).

²⁵ Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 742-768.

²⁶ Kathleen Ashley, "Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002): 145.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

²⁸ Mary Dockray-Miller, "The St. Edith Cycle in the *Salisbury Breviary* (c. 1460)," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 34 (2009): 49. For a discussion of the commission of this manuscript and its connection to Anne of Burgundy, see section II.B in chapter 3.

²⁹ Joan Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17 (1994): 585-611.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 585-586.

³¹ Judith K. Golden, "Images of Instruction, Marie de Bretagne, and the Life of St. Eustace as Illustrated in British Library Ms. Egerton 745," in *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 60-84.

³² *Ibid.*, 74.

³³ See sections I.A and I.B in chapter 3.

³⁴ Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 104-135.

³⁵ Andrea Pearson, "Margaret of Austria's Devotional Portrait Diptychs," *Women's Art Journal* 22, no. 2 (Autumn, 2001-Winter, 2002): 19-25; and Laura Gelfand, "Regency, Power, and Dynastic Visual Memory: Margaret of Austria as Patron and Propagandist," in *The Texture of Society: Medieval Women in the Southern Low Countries*, eds. Ellen E. Kittell and Mary A. Suydam (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 203-225.

³⁶ Gelfand, "Regency, Power, and Dynastic Visual Memory: Margaret of Austria as Patron and Propagandist," 209.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 210.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Charity Cannon Willard, “The Patronage of Isabel of Portugal,” in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 306-320.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 310.

⁴¹ Mieke Bal, *Reading Rembrandt: Beyond the Word-Image Opposition* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 9.

⁴² Wolfgang Iser, “Interaction between Text and Reader,” in *The Reader in the Text, Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, eds. Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 106-119.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Ashley, “Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours,” 145-165.

Chapter 1: Female Book Collectors in the Valois Courts

Book collecting by women began in the early Middle Ages, but increased dramatically between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This was due in part to the rise of the Duchy of Burgundy and the subsequent court culture that flourished there as it did in France. Like their male counterparts, women collected manuscripts a number of ways: as gifts, through inheritance, commissions and purchases.

The ritual of gift-giving was well established in the Middle Ages.¹ The type of gift depended on the status and gender of the giver and recipient, its premise and the relationship between the parties involved.² Gifts given within a family solidified the relationships between members. For example, a mother could give a manuscript to her daughter in order to remind her of the appropriate behavior of a noblewoman. Books could also be given on the occasion of an important event, most often a marriage. Such gifts acknowledged the political union of the two families and sometimes identified the giver through inscriptions or portraits.

One of the most well-documented ways that women acquired books was through inheritance.³ There are numerous instances of women inheriting large numbers of books from either the paternal or maternal side of their families. Women also obtained manuscripts through commissions or purchases of their own. This form of acquisition most closely reveals the personality of the patron, who often expressed her religious and personal concerns through the prayers and illuminations that she chose for her manuscripts.

Bonne of Luxembourg, a Bohemian princess and the mother of the men and women responsible for the growth of Burgundy and the kingdom of France, initiated what would be a centuries-long trend of female book collecting. Bonne's role in the formation of the late medieval courts of Burgundy and France makes her the appropriate choice for the first woman to

be considered in this study. This chapter examines her book collecting habits as well as those of her female descendants by birth and by marriage up to the reign of Claude of France (1499-1524; see appendix 5). The study of these collections demonstrates that the patronage of these women continued throughout the late Middle Ages in the Valois courts of France, Burgundy and the northern Netherlands.

I. Bonne of Luxembourg

Bonne of Luxembourg, who was born in Prague in 1315, kneels with her husband, John the Good, at the *Crucifixion* on folio 329 of the Psalter that bears her name (Jean le Noir, *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Ms. 69.86; figs. 2 and 2a).⁴ Several of the manuscripts that Bonne owned are mentioned in the inventory of her son, Charles V (1338-1380).⁵ They are described in a general way, making it difficult to identify them with extant manuscripts. However, one entry from the 1380 inventory made at the time of Charles V's death may refer to the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg*.⁶ It is listed in the inventory as item number 348:

A book covered in blue satin with finely worked embroidery of angels and butterflies, and there are several prayers in Latin and French and several suffrages, and there is only a very small clasp of gold with the arms of madam, the duchess, mother of the king.⁷

The *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg* was completed between 1347 and 1348, near the end of Bonne's life. In addition to this manuscript, three other devotional books are recorded as her property. Two are cited in the inventory of 1380, mentioned above, and one is listed in the inventory of the Duke of Berry's possessions taken in 1402.⁸ She also owned a breviary that she received from her husband's aunt, Catherine of Valois (1303-1346; see appendix 1; London, Private Collection, Sotheby's, June 7, 1932, lot 2).⁹ Bonne had her coat of arms painted in the *bas-de-page* of twenty-one of its folios.¹⁰

Although Bonne of Luxembourg's manuscript collection was small, it demonstrates that noblewomen owned books in the mid-fourteenth century and thereby serves as a starting point for this study. Her sons, John, Charles and Philip, continued to be patrons of illuminated manuscripts as did their female descendants. These women, who are discussed throughout this study, are all related to Bonne, either directly or through marriage, beginning with her daughter-in-law, Jeanne of Bourbon (1338-1378), wife of Charles V.

II. Jeanne of Bourbon

In 1350, a year after the death of his mother, Charles married Jeanne, who is depicted with him at their coronation on folio 439 of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France de Charles V* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 2813; figs. 3 and 3a).¹¹ She was the daughter of Isabella of Valois (1313-1388) and Peter I, Duke of Bourbon (1311-1356; see appendix 1).¹² Charles appears to have respected the talents of his new wife, because he invited her to attend diplomatic meetings and appointed her guardian of their children.¹³ He became king of France in 1364 and Jeanne reigned as his queen until her death in 1378 (see appendix 2). Their coronation as queen and king is documented in the *Coronation Book of Charles V* (Master of the Coronation Book, London, The British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. VIII),¹⁴ which is listed in Charles V's 1380 inventory and later in the library of Charles VI.¹⁵

Les Grandes Chroniques de France de Charles V and the *Coronation Book of Charles V* were part of Jeanne and Charles's library, although Jeanne did not collect many secular manuscripts. According to the inventories of Charles V and Charles VI, the books that she owned were devotional texts. Among the eleven listed is the *Breviary of Jeanne of Bourbon* (Jean Pucelle or follower, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 1288), described in the 1380 inventory of the collection of Charles V:

A breviary with a chemise of satin to which azured sandalwood is attached, embroidered with the arms of the queen, with two gold clasps whose cloth is garnished with fine pearls and each clasp also has four pearls, and at the end of each said clasp is a silk lace to which a pearl button [is attached] and a gold pipe¹⁶ with two pearls, and the stone in the middle is missing; [It is] historiated and illuminated, in Latin script, written in formed letters, in two columns. At the beginning of the Psalter: *mini qui*. At the end: *tion et les trois*.¹⁷

Still another manuscript connected to Jeanne of Bourbon is the *Savoy Hours* (Workshop of Jean Pucelle, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 390).¹⁸ Blanche of Burgundy (1288-1348), the original owner, was the granddaughter of St. Louis (1214-1270) and the widow of Edward, Count of Savoy (1284-1329). Sometime around 1370, the manuscript entered the library of Jeanne and Charles, and soon thereafter Jeanne's portrait was painted on one of its folios.¹⁹ This page was destroyed in a fire at the library of the University of Turin in January 1904.²⁰

Like her mother-in-law, Bonne of Luxembourg, Jeanne's modest book collection was mostly comprised of manuscripts that were either inherited or commissioned by people other than herself. As mentioned above, inheritance was a common way to obtain books, but unless the manuscripts were altered by the subsequent owner, they do not present evidence of the individual's own ideas of self. In the case of the *Savoy Hours*, Jeanne's portrait acted as a sign of ownership and established her in the history of the provenance of the book.

III. Isabeau of Bavaria

Female patronage in the Valois dynasty continued during the reign of the successors of Jeanne of Bourbon and Charles V. In 1368, Jeanne gave birth to Charles VI (see appendix 2). She died in 1378, two years before the death of Charles V, who left the throne to his son when he was only twelve years old. Charles's uncle, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, ruled France until the young king was old enough to claim his royal place at court. The search for a suitable

wife commenced after the death of Charles V, and in 1385, Isabeau (1370-1435), daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, was chosen to be Queen of France. She appears on folio 3 of a collection of the works of Christine de Pizan, which the author presented to her (Master of the *Cité des Dames*, *Works of Christine de Pizan*. London, The British Library, Harley, Ms. 4431, ca. 1410-1414; figs. 4 and 4a).²¹ Isabeau married Charles VI in the Cathedral of Amiens on July 17, 1385.²² When she first arrived in France, she did not know the ways of the French nobility, but she soon became a favorite among the young scholars from the University of Paris, who flocked to the court.²³

Isabeau had a modest library and must have treasured her books greatly, as demonstrated by the many finely crafted boxes she had made in which to place them.²⁴ The 1401 inventory of her collection includes books written in Latin as well as in French.²⁵ She was fond of giving books as gifts to friends of the court as well as to her family.²⁶ For example, on September 26, 1397, she bought a book from Jean Dessy, a Parisian bookseller, and gave it to John of Moenanteuil, who was Charles VI's physician.²⁷ She gave a small book of hours with the Psalms to one of her daughters, Jeanne of France (1391-1433), on September 26, 1398 (see appendix 2).²⁸ On January 2, 1403, she commissioned three other manuscripts: a missal, a Psalter and an alphabet book with the Psalms for another of her daughters, Michele of France (1395-1422).²⁹

Isabeau's love of books was transferred to her only unmarried daughter, Marie of France (1393-1438), who became a nun. One of the manuscripts that Marie owned is the well-known *Belleville Breviary* (Jean Pucelle, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 10483-10484), which had belonged to her father, Charles VI.³⁰ Marie became an abbess at a convent at Poissy and the manuscript remained in her possession until it was bought by Marie Jovenel des Ursins, who

was also a nun there.³¹ Another manuscript that came to the convent via Marie was the *Psalter of St. Louis* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 10525), which was commissioned by St. Louis between 1260 and 1270.³² It subsequently passed to his descendents until it entered the library of Charles VI, who gave it to Marie in 1400. She bequeathed it to the convent of Poissy, where it remained for four hundred years.³³

IV. Margaret of Flanders

The *Psalter of St. Louis* passed through multiple generations of the French nobility before it came to the convent at Poissy. In this case, the transition from one person to the next was documented in an inscription by an unidentified author that was added at the time Marie of France received this manuscript.³⁴ Most of the time, however, manuscripts lack any physical evidence of their previous owners, forcing scholars to rely on the inventories in which they are cited. This is true of some of the manuscripts in the collection of Margaret of Flanders (1350-1405), the wife of Bonne of Luxembourg's youngest son, Philip the Bold, who kneels opposite Margaret on the Portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol of about 1385-1393 in Dijon (figs. 5 and 5a).³⁵

Margaret had a modest book collection, which was mostly composed of texts she inherited from her father, Louis of Mâle (1330-1384). When she died in 1405, an inventory of her belongings was made at Arras, where she had spent a great deal of time at the end of her life.³⁶ In it are listed two Bibles, thirteen books of hours, eight prayer books, two breviaries, and two Psalters.³⁷ She inherited one of the breviaries listed in this inventory from her father (*Breviary of Louis of Mâle*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9427).³⁸ Louis also bequeathed to her a book of hours with prayers in Flemish and a Psalter that was protected by a white cloth bag.³⁹ Another Psalter that she inherited belonged to both her father and her mother, Margaret of

Brabant (1323-1368), and contained both of their coats of arms.⁴⁰ These texts, along with the large book collection of Margaret's husband, Philip the Bold, became a significant part of the library now housed in Brussels at the Bibliothèque royale.

V. Margaret of Bavaria

In 1385, when he was fourteen, John (1371-1419), the eldest child of Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold, married the twenty-two-year-old Margaret of Bavaria (1363-1424; see appendix 5). Margaret's image is preserved on the *Tomb of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria* by Claus de Werve, Juan de la Huerta and Antoine le Moiturier of about 1443-1456 in Dijon (Musée des Beaux-Arts; figs. 6, 6a and 6b).⁴¹ On January 27, 1407, John became Duke of Burgundy and acquired the name John the Fearless for his daring demeanor, which surpassed his father's.⁴² John spent most of his time in Flanders and his visits to Burgundy were sporadic.⁴³ He groomed his son, Philip the Good, to be his successor by sending him to Burgundy. Philip traveled throughout the duchy learning the ways of the court.⁴⁴ In 1409, however, John transferred Philip to Ghent and decreed that his wife, Margaret of Bavaria, would reign over Burgundy.⁴⁵ Once she became duchess, she settled there and divided her time between Dijon and Rouvres.⁴⁶

When Margaret of Bavaria died in 1423, an inventory of her belongings listed a number of devotional books, including seven books of hours, three Psalters, one breviary, one Bible and two missals.⁴⁷ Two of these manuscripts can be identified today. The first is the well-known *Très Belles Heures*, more commonly known as the *Brussels Hours* (Jacquemart de Hesdin and others, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 11060-61). This manuscript was first mentioned in the 1402 inventory of John, Duke of Berry, who gave it to his nephew, John the Fearless (see

appendix 5).⁴⁸ When the latter died in 1419, Margaret requested it along with another manuscript.⁴⁹ The *Brussels Hours* is described again in the 1420 inventory of Philip the Good:⁵⁰

The beautiful hours of my lady, with two gold clasps decorated with the coat of arms of the Duke of Berry, in silk fabric sewn with clover leaves. One of these clasps is garnished with two large round pearls and in the middle [of the clasp] a flat ruby, and the other clasp is garnished with a pearl and a flat sapphire. On this clasp a pearl is missing.⁵¹

The *Sobieski Hours* (Bedford Master, Windsor, The Royal Library at Windsor Castle, no shelfmark) can also be associated with Margaret of Bavaria.⁵² It was begun sometime between the death of John the Fearless in 1419 and Margaret's death in 1424.⁵³ This manuscript is linked stylistically to the *Bedford Hours* (Bedford Master, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18850), which Philip the Good perhaps commissioned for his sister, Anne of Burgundy (1404-1432), as a wedding gift.⁵⁴ As suggested by Colin Eisler, Margaret of Bavaria commissioned the *Sobieski Hours* for another of her daughters, Margaret of Burgundy (1393-1442; see appendix 5), also on the occasion of her marriage,⁵⁵ in order to alert her to the appropriate religious and societal roles of a duchess.

VI. Yolande of Aragon

The tutorial function of devotional manuscripts was useful to noblewomen in the late Middle Ages, because it allowed them to assert their opinions in a subtle way. Yet some women, such as Yolande of Aragon (1379-1443), wife of Louis II, Duke of Anjou and King of Naples (1377-1417; see appendix 3), challenged the boundaries of established modes of behavior. Louis succeeded his father as King in 1384, and in 1400, he married Yolande. An illustration of their marriage appears on folio 163v. of the *Chronicles of Froissart* (Master of the Harley Froissart, London, The British Library, Harley Ms. 4379; fig. 7).⁵⁶ Yolande ruled Sicily, which was politically part of Naples, after her husband's death and cemented many political connections;

among these was an alliance with France after she arranged the marriage of her daughter, Marie of Anjou (1404-1463), to Charles VII (1403-1461), King of France.⁵⁷ Her son, René (1409-1480), became Duke of Anjou and an avid patron of the arts as well (see appendix 3).

Yolande of Aragon owned several books, two of which are extant. She purchased the *Belles Hours* (The Limbourgs, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, Ms. 54.1.1) from the estate of the Duke of Berry after his death in 1416.⁵⁸ The account of the transaction states that the Queen sent for the book and the executors of the estate indicated that the price would be 700 pounds or whatever the Queen wanted to pay. After she admired and examined the manuscript, she decided to keep it but paid only 300 pounds.⁵⁹

Yolande also owned the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* (Rohan Master and workshop, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9471).⁶⁰ The identity of the original patron of this manuscript is unclear, but it was probably made for her, one of her children, or for Charles VII. Yolande took Charles under her wing when he was a boy and he grew up in her household in the Loire valley. After her husband, Louis II, died in 1417, Yolande moved from Anjou to the château of his uncle, John, Duke of Berry, in Bourges, taking her thirteen year-old daughter Marie of Anjou with her.⁶¹ This move resulted from Yolande's involvement in the politics of Provence, which kept her there or in Berry between 1419 and 1427.⁶² Marie of Anjou was betrothed to the future Charles VII before they arrived in Bourges, and was crowned queen of France in 1422 (see appendix 2). As Charles's mother-in-law, Yolande acted as his councilor in his dealings with Joan of Arc. Charles was already considered a weak ruler, and Yolande's presence at court increased this perception of him.⁶³ That she commissioned the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* for him is suggested by its use of the masculine form of the *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*.⁶⁴

VII. Charlotte of Savoy

Charles's first-born son and successor, Louis XI, was particularly critical of his father's reliance on Yolande and the damage his reign inflicted on France.⁶⁵ When Louis ascended to the throne in 1461, he ruled more forcibly than his father. In 1451, Louis married the nine-year-old Charlotte of Savoy (1442-1483), daughter of Louis of Savoy (d. 1465) and Anne of Lusignan (1419-1462; see appendix 4).⁶⁶ Charlotte and Louis kneel in front of the altar of St. Adrian on folio 3v. of the *Légende de Saint Adrien* (Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and Ghent Associates. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. s.n. 2619; figs. 8 and 8a), datable between 1477 and 1483.⁶⁷

Charlotte and her brother, Amadeus IX, Duke of Savoy (1435-1472), were both manuscript enthusiasts like their great-grandfather, Amadeus VII (1360-1391), who was the founder of the library of Savoy (see appendix 4).⁶⁸ Charlotte proceeded to amass books for the library and increased the number of manuscripts substantially. Because of her small allowance, she could not afford to commission many new works. Most of the books in her library were either given to her as gifts or loaned to her and never returned.⁶⁹ At the time of her death, she possessed more than one hundred manuscripts, including six books of hours.⁷⁰ One of the most notable of these was the *Très Riches Heures* (the Limbourgs and Jean Colombe, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65), commissioned by John, Duke of Berry and inherited by his daughter, Bonne of Berry. It had been part of the Savoy library from the time Bonne married Amadeus VII, and eventually became part of Charlotte's collection (see appendix 4).⁷¹

Charlotte of Savoy also owned the *Grandes Heures du Duc de Berry* (Pseudo-Jacquemart, Boucicaut Master and others, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 919),⁷² which is mentioned in the Duke of Berry's inventories of 1413 and 1416.⁷³ She acquired it sometime after

his death in 1416. When she died in 1483, her son, Charles VIII, inherited it (1470-1498; see appendix 4). She also acquired the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* (Bedford Master or his workshop, Guise Master and others, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 1004).⁷⁴ As discussed in chapter 3, the arms of France and Savoy were added to some of the borders of this manuscript sometime after Charlotte and Louis were married (figs. 74, 74a and 74b).⁷⁵ Roger Wieck suggested that they were added to celebrate the marriage of Charlotte to Louis or that of her brother, Amadeus IX (1435-1472), to Yolande of France (1434-1478) in 1452.⁷⁶ The two marriages joined France and Savoy together politically (see appendix 4).

VIII. Anne of France

Charlotte of Savoy and Louis XI had eight children, three of whom survived into adulthood. The oldest, Anne of France (1461-1522), was educated in the court at Amboise, and her early education was gleaned from her mother's library (see appendix 4). She later educated many noblewomen herself, including Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) and Louise of Savoy (1476-1531).⁷⁷ She also taught her own daughter, Suzanne of Bourbon (1491-1521), and wrote a book of lessons for her (*Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, formerly in St. Petersburg, The Hermitage, MS. Fr. Q.v. III. 2, present location unknown).⁷⁸ Both Anne and Suzanne kneel in the right wing of the *Moulins Triptych* by Jean Hey of about 1498 (Moulins, Cathedral of Moulins; figs. 9 and 9a),⁷⁹ and Anne appears in figures 21, 21a, 58 and 59.

Two inventories, one from 1507 and the other from 1523, list almost five hundred books in Anne's libraries in Aigueperse and Moulins.⁸⁰ One of her extant manuscripts is the *Hours of Anne of France* (Jean Colombe, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 677), which was made for her when she was between the ages of ten and twelve.⁸¹ This manuscript contains Anne's arms alone and therefore was made before her marriage in 1474, when she was

only thirteen, to Peter, Duke of Bourbon (1438-1503; see appendix 4).⁸² Its miniatures are attributed to Jean Colombe, one of Charlotte of Savoy's favorite illuminators. Roger Wieck has argued that Charlotte commissioned it for Anne.⁸³

Anne of France also owned *The Hours of Louis of Laval* (Master of the Yale Missal, Jean Colombe, artiste fouquettien," and others Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 920), which Louis of Laval (1411-1489) bequeathed to her.⁸⁴ His posthumous gift to Anne is unique to this study in that he was not related to Anne. His gesture was perhaps meant to maintain his family's strong relationship with the French crown after his death.⁸⁵

IX. Louise of Savoy

As mentioned above, Anne of France educated her own daughter and other young women in the court at Amboise. Louise of Savoy, who appears as Anna carrying a basket at the *Presentation in the Temple* on folio 46v. of a book of hours that she commissioned (Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, Ms. 10; figs. 10 and 10a),⁸⁶ arrived there when she was six, after the death of her mother, Margaret of Bourbon (1439-1476).⁸⁷ Anne of France was Louise's aunt by marriage, since she was the wife of Peter of Bourbon, Margaret's brother (see appendix 4). In 1488, when Louise was twelve, Anne helped to arrange her marriage with Charles of Valois, Count of Angoulême (1459-1496; see appendix 4).⁸⁸ They were married for seven years before Charles died. Louise was only nineteen when she became a widow, but Charles had specified in his will that she should be responsible for the raising and early education of their children, Margaret of Navarre (1492-1549) and Francis (1494-1547), who later became King of France as Francis I (see appendix 4).⁸⁹ Pauline Maud Matarasso suggested that Louise instilled in them the same love of books in their formative years that she received from Anne of France.⁹⁰

Louise continued her interest in manuscripts after her marriage to Charles of Angoulême. His family had amassed a modest library composed of theological texts, saints' lives and popular romances at their court in Cognac.⁹¹ Louise added to this library after Charles's death, commissioning both secular and religious works.⁹² One devotional manuscript she owned was the *Hours of Louise of Savoy*, which was made for her use (Master of the Burgundian Prelates, London, The British Library, Sloane, Ms. 2419).⁹³ She also commissioned the book of hours in Washington, mentioned above, for an Italian official. Her son, Francis I, was held captive in Pavia at that time and the manuscript was meant as a gift of diplomacy. These two books of hours significantly differ in style from one another due to their intended users. Their disparities, which demonstrate Louise's choices as a patron, are discussed in chapter 2.⁹⁴

Louise of Savoy was a strong presence in the life of Francis. She desperately wanted him to become king of France, which would have also elevated her status to mother of the king. Through a complex turn of events Francis did ascend to throne after his marriage to Claude of France, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany (see appendices 4 and 5).⁹⁵

X. Anne of Brittany

Anne of Brittany became queen of France twice, first in 1492, after she married Charles VIII, and then again in 1499, when she married his successor and brother-in-law, Louis XII (1462-1515; see appendices 4 and 5). She appears seated with Claude on her lap on folio 165 of *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (Jean Pichore, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 225; figs. 11 and 11a).⁹⁶ Anne did not live to see the marriage of her daughter, Claude, to Francis of Angoulême, future king of France. Nor did she see her daughter crowned queen of France. Anne died in January of 1514 from a kidney stone, four months before the celebrated marriage.

Both of Anne's husbands had a substantial number of books that they had either taken as spoils or bought from Italy while on campaigns there.⁹⁷ Anne inherited these libraries and also commissioned a large number of manuscripts on her own.⁹⁸ Her earliest extant manuscript is the *Prayer Book of Anne of Bretagne* (Jean Poyet, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 50).⁹⁹ Roger Wieck suggested that it was produced as a primer for her son, Charles-Orland (1492-1495), the only child who lived past infancy from her marriage to Charles VIII (see appendix 4).¹⁰⁰ She also commissioned the *Primer of Claude of France* (Guido Mazzoni of Modena, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159) for Claude (1499-1524), one of her daughters with her second husband, Louis XII (see appendix 5).¹⁰¹

A later manuscript commissioned either by or for Anne of Brittany is the *Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Master of Coëtivy, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3120), which includes her coat of arms as well as those of Louis XII.¹⁰² Charles Sterling suggested that she commissioned it during her trip to Paris after the death of Charles VIII in 1498.¹⁰³ The inclusion of Louis XII's arms indicates that it was completed after Anne married him in 1499.¹⁰⁴ The royal couple's arms also appear in the latest of the three devotional manuscripts associated with Anne of Brittany, the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Jean Bourdichon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9474), which is datable to 1508.¹⁰⁵ As discussed in chapter 3, the initials A and L, representing Anne and Louis, are also depicted as is Anne's device in the form of a knotted cord (fig. 84).¹⁰⁶

XI. Claude of France

Anne of Brittany died when her oldest daughter, Claude, was only 15 years old. Claude's image is preserved on her tomb of about 1549-1559 in the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (Pierre Bontemps, *Tomb of Francis I and Claude of France*; figs. 12 and 12a).¹⁰⁷ As mentioned above,

she also appears as a child on her mother's lap in *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (figs. 11 and 11a).¹⁰⁸ Claude was devoted to her mother, as demonstrated by her adoption of Anne's motto "I will not change."¹⁰⁹ This motto and Anne's device of a knotted cord appear in a book of hours that Claude commissioned after her marriage to Francis, but before her coronation as queen of France in 1517 (Master of Claude of France, *Hours of Claude of France*, Paris, Private Collection).¹¹⁰ Roger Wieck suggested that she also commissioned an earlier prayer book, in 1514, to mark the occasion of her marriage to Francis (Master of Claude of France, *Prayer Book of Claude of France*, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 1166).¹¹¹ Claude's arms, combined with those of Francis, appear on several folios of this manuscript, and her arms alone are on three of its five illuminated pages.¹¹² Wieck suggested that she also commissioned a prayer book for her younger sister, Renée, at the same time (Master of Claude of France, *Les Petites prières de Renée de France*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS lat. 614=a.U.2.28; see appendix 5).¹¹³ This manuscript contains basic prayers used to teach Renée to read. Claude had a similar instructional prayer book when she was a child. One of the first books she owned was the *Primer of Claude of France* (Guido Mazzoni of Modena, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159),¹¹⁴ which Anne of Brittany commissioned for her between 1505 and 1510.¹¹⁵ Claude used the manuscript to learn to read, beginning with her ABC's and progressing to basic prayers.¹¹⁶

XII. Mary of Burgundy

Before Claude's mother, Anne of Brittany, married her first husband, Charles VIII, he was briefly engaged to his third cousin, Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482; see appendix 4). Mary was thirteen years older than Charles and the marriage contract was eventually annulled.¹¹⁷ This engagement was the third for the young duchess. First she was betrothed at the age of five to

Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516), who later married Isabelle of Castile (see appendix 6).¹¹⁸ Her second betrothal was to Charles of France, Duke of Berry (1446-1472), brother of Louis XI (see appendix 2).¹¹⁹ In 1477, she married Maximilian I of Austria (1459-1519), who eventually became Holy Roman Emperor (see appendix 4). Mary's popularity sprang from her position as the only child of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433-1477) and Isabelle of Bourbon (1437-1465; see appendix 4), which made her heir to the Burgundian lands. When Isabelle died in 1465, Charles married Margaret of York (1446-1503), who raised Mary of Burgundy as her own daughter (see appendix 5).

After Mary and Maximilian were wed, he began the consolidation of the Burgundian territories. Between 1478 and 1481, Mary gave birth to three children: Philip the Handsome (1478-1506), Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) and Francis (1481), who died in infancy. In 1482, Mary died unexpectedly after falling from a horse. Maximilian commissioned a number of posthumous portraits of her in order to keep her memory alive. These are probably based on the one by Michael Pacher of 1479 (Switzerland, Private collection; fig. 13).¹²⁰

Mary of Burgundy came from a long line of bibliophiles, beginning with two of her great-great-grandfathers, John, Duke of Berry and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (see appendices 4 and 5). She inherited many of the books in the Burgundian libraries that her male and female ancestors had amassed. The most well-known of her manuscripts is the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Master of Mary of Burgundy, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 1857), which was commissioned for her. She is probably the seated figure at prayer on folio 14v. (fig. 57).¹²¹ Mary is also associated with *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I* (Ghent Associates and Alexander Bening(?), Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 12),¹²² which was probably begun after her marriage to Maximilian I.¹²³

XIII. Margaret of Austria

In 1483, a year after Mary of Burgundy's death, her daughter, Margaret of Austria, who is depicted in a portrait of about 1490 by Jean Hey (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 14),¹²⁴ was betrothed to Charles VIII at the tender age of three.¹²⁵ She was sent to the court in Amboise, where Charles had succeeded his father, Louis XI (1423-1483) as king of France. It was here that she received her early education. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Charles's mother, Charlotte of Savoy (1443-1483) had an extensive library,¹²⁶ to which Margaret's tutor would have had access.¹²⁷ Anne of France, Charlotte's daughter, was also present at this court and may have urged Margaret to read a variety of books in order to improve herself (see appendix 4).¹²⁸

Margaret spent most of her life in the Netherlands and took trips to Germany to see her father, who spent time there after his father, Frederick the Wise, died in 1493.¹²⁹ She spoke French and Castilian but probably never learned to speak or read German.¹³⁰ The texts in her library that were German in origin were translated into French.¹³¹ In addition to manuscripts that she commissioned, she inherited the majority of the library of her godmother, Margaret of York (1446-1503).¹³² One of the manuscripts in this library, the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, mentioned above, is listed in the inventory from 1493 that was taken after Margaret left Amboise.¹³³ Her collection of books did not become noteworthy, however, until she left Spain after the death of her first husband, John of Castile (1478-1497). An inventory taken after her departure in 1499 cites six books of hours, one missal and one breviary.¹³⁴ By the time she

married Philibert of Savoy (1480-1504) in 1501, her library had increased considerably. Her contribution to Philibert's library increased its holdings by twenty percent.¹³⁵

During Margaret's short tenure as Duchess of Savoy, she added thirty manuscripts to her collection.¹³⁶ Bona of Savoy, Duchess of Milan and Philibert's aunt, gave Margaret and Philibert several books, including the *Sforza Hours* (Giovanni Pietro Birago and Gerard Horenbout, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 34294).¹³⁷ The decoration of this manuscript was incomplete when Margaret received it and she subsequently had her court painter, Gerard Horenbout, finish its illuminations.¹³⁸ Philibert died in 1504, and Margaret remained in Savoy until 1506, where she acquired a taste for Italianate manuscript illumination.¹³⁹ Another manuscript that may be associated with her is the *Spinola Hours* (Master of James IV of Scotland and others, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 18).¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren suggested that Margaret commissioned it from Gerard Horenbout, her court painter.¹⁴¹ It is described in the inventory from 1523 taken at Margaret's chapel in Mechelen as "A large hours written by hand, which has neither a cover nor clasps."¹⁴²

Margaret of Austria's library continued to grow after she returned to Mechelen in 1506. The books she commissioned were few in number, but she received many manuscripts as gifts and bought several others.¹⁴³ In 1523, an inventory of her possessions listed three hundred and forty manuscripts and forty-six printed books, most of which were kept in her library in Mechelen.¹⁴⁴ Her love of books probably derived from her association with other female patrons such as Charlotte of Savoy, Anne of France and her godmother, Margaret of York.

XIV. Margaret of York

Margaret of York (1446-1503), who appears in a portrait at the Louvre of about 1468 (fig. 15),¹⁴⁵ was more interested in religious books than her step-daughter, Mary of Burgundy.

She was the daughter of Cecily Neville (1415-1495) and Richard Plantagenet, 3rd Duke of York (1411-1460), and sister to Edward IV (1442-1483) and Richard III (1452-1485), both kings of England (see appendix 6). Although an inventory of Margaret's library does not exist, more than twenty books contain coats of arms or emblems linking them to her.¹⁴⁶ Margaret's interest in devotional manuscripts probably stemmed from her desire to produce a male heir. She expressed this wish through pilgrimages to sites said to help women with fertility problems.¹⁴⁷ Many of her texts were hagiographical, with special attention paid to the life of St. Anne.¹⁴⁸ Other manuscripts associated with Margaret that demonstrate her interest in private devotion include the *Breviary of Margaret of York* (Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, Cambridge, St. John's College, Ms. H. 13), which contains her motto "May good come of it" and her arms in the borders of folio 57v. (figs. 82 and 82a).¹⁴⁹ She also owned the *Bible moralisée de Charles le Téméraire* (Master of the *Traité de morale* and Master of Mary of Burgundy, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9030-37), which depicts her coat of arms but lacks those of her husband, Charles the Bold, suggesting that this book was created after his death in 1477.¹⁵⁰ Another of Margaret's manuscripts was the *Hours of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York*, now in a private collection in London (Christie's, May 26-27, 1965, lot 195), which was originally commissioned for Charles and his second wife, Isabelle of Bourbon (see appendix 5).¹⁵¹ Margaret acquired this manuscript after Isabelle died. Perhaps as a sign of ownership, Margaret had her arms painted over those of Isabelle.¹⁵²

As discussed in chapter 3, Margaret of York maintained devotional interests from her childhood that derived from her English roots.¹⁵³ She was born in Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, in 1446, where she lived until she married Charles the Bold in 1468. Her early life and education manifested itself in the choices she made in later commissions. She was

particularly interested in the cult of the guardian angel, which flourished in England. Her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Woodville, owned a text dedicated to her guardian angel, which Margaret probably knew (see appendix 6).¹⁵⁴

XV. Joanna of Castile

Similar expressions of devotional preferences were common in commissions by women who had to leave their place of birth after marriage. As demonstrated by the genealogical chart in appendix 7, marriage between courts was common. These widespread connections are exemplified by the double marriage of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) to John of Castile (1478-1497), and Margaret's brother, Philip the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy (1478-1506), to John's sister, Joanna of Castile (1479-1555), in 1497. Joanna's image is preserved in a portrait of 1500 by Juan de Flandes in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 16).¹⁵⁵ Philip was the son of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor (see appendix 4). Joanna was the daughter of Queen Isabelle of Castile (1451-1504) and King Ferdinand of Aragon (1452-1516; see appendix 6). She acquired the sobriquet, "Joanna the Mad" due to her obsessive love for her husband, who was frequently absent.¹⁵⁶ The double marriage between the two pairs of siblings is commemorated by the inclusion of their coats of arms on folio 436v. of a breviary owned by Joanna's mother: the *Breviary of Isabelle of Castile* (Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, Master of James IV of Scotland and others, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18851; fig. 79).¹⁵⁷

Joanna commissioned the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* (Master of the David Scenes in the *Grimani Breviary*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18852) sometime between her marriage to Philip and his death in 1506.¹⁵⁸ This manuscript is mentioned in an inventory of her possessions taken in 1545. This manuscript contains personalized texts that Joanna requested, which are discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4.¹⁵⁹ It also depicts two portraits of her, one of which is

adjacent to an image of the Virgin and Child (fig. 34).¹⁶⁰ This may have been based on a Byzantine icon listed in Joanna's inventory.¹⁶¹ The other appears on folio 26 at the beginning of a prayer to her guardian angel (fig. 32).¹⁶² She also owned the *Hours of Isabelle of Castile* (Willem Vrelant and workshop, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, no shelf mark), which she inherited from her mother.¹⁶³

XVI. Conclusion

This discussion of noblewomen of the Valois courts demonstrates that many were active patrons and book owners. The collecting habits of these women spanned many generations and cultural divides. They, like their male counterparts, acquired books as gifts, commissioned or bought their own books, or inherited them from relatives. The collecting habits of these women varied according to their financial situation. Some, like Catherine of Cleves and her aunt, Margaret of Cleves, focused on one or two lavish commissions. Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria, on the other hand, commissioned a greater number of manuscripts due to their levels of financial autonomy.

Because these books were meant to be held and their pages turned, their readers developed interactive bonds with them that made manuscripts unlike other objects that could be collected. They were therefore more likely to be altered through the addition of individual addenda. As they were commissioned or passed from one generation to the next, evidence of the transaction was often left behind in portraits, inscriptions or coats of arms that were added by the new owners. The patron could therefore be reminded of the history of her family or religious traditions, because of the evidence of past ownership. The idiosyncratic nature of devotional manuscripts provides insight into the lives and desires of their patrons. Chapters 2 and 3 address

the various ways in which the texts and illuminations in manuscripts owned by women of the Valois courts demonstrate the sacred and profane traditions of their time.

¹ For gift giving in the Middle Ages, see, for example, Natalie Zemon Davis, “Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series 33 (1983): 69-88; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock, New York: Overlook Press, 2000), 228-230; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Brigitte Buettner, “Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400,” *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 598-625; Myra Dickman Orth, “Family Values: Manuscripts as Gifts and Legacies among French Renaissance Women,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 4 (2001): 88-111; and Dagmar Eichberger, “The Culture of Gifts: A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective,” in *Women of Distinction*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 287-295.

² Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 229.

³ For inheritance as a way of obtaining books, see, for example, Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture;” Joel Rosenthal, “Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 64 (1982): 522-548; and Brigitte Buettner, “Women and the Circulation of Books,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 4 (2001): 9-31.

⁴ For this manuscript, executed before 1349, see Florens Deuchler, “Looking at Bonne of Luxembourg’s Prayer Book,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 6 (Feb., 1971): 267-278; and William Land, *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg: A Personal Document* (Washington D.C., 1984). For further discussions of it, see sections I.A.1 and III.A in chapter 3.

⁵ Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337-1380, Part II, Inventiari general des livres ayant appartenu aux rois Charles V et Charles VI et à Jean, duc de Berry. Notes et tables*, vol. II (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. Van Heusden, 1967), 62, 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁷ *Ibid.* “Ung livre couvert de satanin azuré, ouvré de brodeure, à angeloz et elles papillons, et sont plusieurs oroisons en latin et en franoys et plusieurs suffraiges, et n’y a que ung très petit fermoir d’or, aux armes de madame la duchesse, mere du Roy.” My translation.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁹ Bonne received it around the time of Catherine’s death in 1346; see Sotheby and Company, *Catalogue of a Book of Hours by Geoffrey Tory, Bound for Francis I, and of The Breviary of Catherine de Valois, Empress of Constantinople, and of Bonne de Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy* (London: J. Davy & Sons Ltd., 1932), 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ For this manuscript, executed between 1375 and 1380, see, for example, Roland Delachenal, *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, 2 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1910); Avril, *La Librairie de Charles V*, 76-77, # 146; Anne Hedeman, "Restructuring the Narrative: The Function of Ceremonial in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Studies in Art History*, vol. 16 (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 171-181; Anne Dawson Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422*, California Studies in the History of Art 28 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Laurence Harf-Lancner, L'Éclairage iconographique: L'illustration des *Chroniques de Froissart*," in *The Medieval Chronicle V*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 17-32.

¹² Before her marriage to Charles, she was betrothed twice, first to Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy (1334-1383), who later married her sister Bonne of Bourbon (1341-1402; see appendix 1); and then to Humbert, Dauphin of Viennois (1312-1355). Her betrothal to Charles occurred in 1349.

¹³ Claire Richter Sherman, "The Queen in Charles V's 'Coronation Book': Jeanne de Bourbon and the 'Ordo ad Reginam Benedicendam'," *Viator* 8 (1977): 288.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 256. For this manuscript, see, for example, Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London: Harvey Miller, 2001).

¹⁵ Sherman, "The Queen in Charles V's 'Coronation Book'," 255.

¹⁶ Pipes, which were used as bookmarkers, consist of small sticks with a length equal to that of the manuscript, on which one fixes ribbons; see Michelle Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994), 23.

¹⁷ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, 28. "Un Breviare couvert d'une chemise de satanin à queue double de sandal asuré, brodée aux armes de la Roïne, à deux fermoirs d'or dont les tissus sont garniz de perles menus, et les fermoirs aussy chascun à quatre perles, et a au bout de chascun desdiz fermoirs un laz de soye, auquel a ung bouton de perles, à une pipe dor à deux perles, et y fault la Pierre du milieu; historié et eluminé; en latin; escript de lettre de forme; à deux coulombs. Comm. du psaultier: *mini qui. Fin: tion et les trois.*" My translation. For this manuscript, see, for example, Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires: Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. III (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1934), 131-133.

¹⁸ Christopher de Hamel, "Les Heures de Blanche de Bourgogne, Comtesse de Savoie," in *Les Manuscrits enluminés des comtes et ducs de Savoie*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo (Turin: Umberto Allemandi & Co., 1989), 89. For this manuscript, see also Dom Blanchard, *Les Heures de Savoie* (London: Chiswick Press, 1910); and Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 176-177.

¹⁹ De Hamel, "Les Heures de Blanche de Bourgogne, Comtesse de Savoie," 89.

²⁰ Ibid., 90.

²¹ For this manuscript, see for example, Edward Harley Oxford and Robert Harley Oxford, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. II (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1808), no. 4431; Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. I, 134-135; and James Laidlaw, “Christine de Pizan: The Making of the Queen’s Manuscript (London, British Library, Harley 4431),” in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, eds. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 297-310.

²² Yann Grandeau, “Itinéraire d’Isabeau de Bavière,” *Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1964): 579.

²³ Valet de Viriville, “La Bibliothèque d’Isabeau de Bavière,” *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 14 (1858): 663.

²⁴ Ibid., 675-677.

²⁵ Ibid., 665.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 678.

²⁸ Ibid., 668.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, 231. For this manuscript, see, for example, Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires*, vol. III, 198-210; Avril, *La Librairie de Charles V*, 6769, # 132; Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 9-13; and Ingo Walther and Norbert Wolf, *Masterpieces of Illumination* (London: Taschen, 2005), 206-207. According to Walther and Wolf, the original owner of the *Belleville Breviary* may have been Olivier II de Clisson and his wife, Jeanne de Belleville. The French may have confiscated it in 1343, when it entered the royal library. Charles VI gave it to Richard II, King of England (1367-1400), on the occasion of Richard’s marriage to Isabella of France (1389-1409), Marie’s sister (see appendix 2). After Richard’s death, Henry IV (1366-1413), Richard’s successor and cousin, acquired the manuscript (see appendix 6). Henry gave the *Belleville Breviary* to John, Duke of Berry, who in turn gave it to his great-niece, Marie of France, daughter of Charles VI.

³¹ Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires*, vol. III, 205; and Walther and Wolf, *Masterpieces of Illumination*, 207.

³² For this manuscript, see, for example, Victor Leroquais, *Les Psautiers: Manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. II (Mâcon, Protat frères, 1940-1941), 101-105;

Avril, *La Librairie de Charles V*, 60-61, # 125; Gerald Guest, “Structuring Old Testament History in the Psalter of Louis IX,” in *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler: Studies in Illuminated Manuscripts*, eds. Kathryn Smith and Carol Krinsky (London: Harvey Miller, 2007), 51-61; and Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of St. Louis* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

³³ Walther and Wolf, *Masterpieces of Illumination*, 306.

³⁴ Leroquais, *Les Psautiers*, vol. II, 101; “Cest psautier fu saint Loys. Et le donna la royne Jehanne d’Évreux au roy Charles, filz du roy Jehan, l’an de Nostre Seigneur mil troys cens soissante et neuf. Et le roy Charles present, filz du dit roy Charles, le donna à Madame Marie de France, sa fille, religieuse à Poyssi, le jour de saint Michel, l’an mil IIII c. [This Psalter belonged to St. Louis. And Queen Jeanne d’Évreux gave it to King Charles [Charles V, King of France], the son of King John in the year of Our Lord 1369. And the present King Charles [Charles VI], son of said King Charles gave it to Marie de France, his daughter, who was a nun at Poissy, on the feast day of Saint Michael in the year 1400.]” My translation.

³⁵ For the Portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol by Claus Sluter, see, for example, Kathleen Morand, *Claus Sluter: Artist at the Court of Burgundy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 79-89.

³⁶ Muriel Hughes, “The Library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders,” *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 166.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 174-178.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁴¹ For this tomb, see, for example, Pierre Quarré, *Antoine le Moiturier, le dernier des grands imagiers des ducs de Bourgogne* (Dijon: Musée de Dijon, 1973), 36-37, #26-27 ; Pierre Quarré, *Claux de Werve: Imagier des ducs de Bourgogne* (Dijon: Musée de Dijon, 1976), 65-66, #93; and Pierre Quarré, *Claus Sluter en Bourgogne: Mythe et représentations* (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, 1990), 42-46.

⁴² Joseph Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and their Courts* (London: Phoenix Press, 1949), 73.

⁴³ Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), 9.

⁴⁴ For example, he was in Beaune in October of 1407 for a meeting of Parliament and again in June of 1408 to arbitrate over a mayoral election; see *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁷ Gabriel Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne, au XV^e siècle* (Dijon: Chez Victor Lagier, 1841), 76-83.

⁴⁸ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, 238. For this manuscript, see, for example, Camille Gasper and Frédéric Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* vol. 1, 399-409; and Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, text volume (New York: Phaidon, 1969), 198-255. For further discussion of this manuscript, see section III.B in chapter 2.

⁴⁹ Gasper and Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits*, vol. 1, 401. A note appears in the 1420 inventory that records Margaret's request, "Madame mere de Monseigneur a demandé à Bouloigne ces II paires de Heures de Notre-Dame et les a par devers alle."

⁵⁰ Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la librairie de Philippe le Bon (1420)* (Brussels: Kiessling and Co., 1906), 5.

⁵¹ Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la Bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne, au XV^e siècle*, 78. "Les belles Heures de madicte Dame, à deux fermaulx d'or, armoyez aux armes de Monseigneur de Berry, à tixu de soye, semé de feuilles de treffle; l'un desdits fermaulx garnj de deux grosses perles rondes et ung balay plat ou mileu, et l'autre fermait garnj d'une perle et d'un saphir plat; en icellui fermail fault une perle." My translation.

⁵² For this manuscript, see, for example, Eleanor Spencer, *The Sobieski Hours: A Manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle* (New York: Academic Press, 1977). For further discussion of it, see section II.A.1 in chapter 2.

⁵³ Colin Eisler, "The 'Rabbi' of the 'Sobieski hours': Jewish Scholarship and the Spell of Christian Art," *Artibus et Historiae* 20, no. 40 (1999): 118.

⁵⁴ As suggested by Eleanor Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours," *The Burlington Magazine* 107 (Oct., 1965), 498; and Spencer, *The Sobieski Hours*, 3. Eberhard König suggests that the original patron may have been Louis of France (1397-1415), brother-in-law of Anne of Burgundy (see appendix 5); see Eberhard König, *The Bedford Hours, The Making of a Medieval Manuscript* (London: The British Library, 2007), 62. For the *Bedford Hours*, see Janet Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours* (London: The British Library, 1990); and König, *The Bedford Hours, The Making of a Medieval Manuscript*. For further discussions of

these manuscripts, see section II.A.1 in chapter 2, sections I.A.4 and II.B in chapter 3 and section I in chapter 4.

⁵⁵ Eisler, “The ‘Rabbi’ of the “Sobieski hours”: Jewish Scholarship and the Spell of Christian Art,” 118.

⁵⁶ For this manuscript, see, for example, Oxford and Oxford, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III, no. 4379.

⁵⁷ Harthan, *The Book of Hours*, 85.

⁵⁸ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, 239. For this manuscript, see Jean Porcher, *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France duc de Berry* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1953); Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries* (New York: George Braziller, 1974); Millard Meiss and Elizabeth H. Beatson, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: The Cloisters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1974); Rob Dückers and Pieter Roelofs, eds., *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400-1416*, exh. cat. (Nijmegen: Ludion, 2005); Timothy Husband, *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (New York; New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2008); and Rob Dückers and Pieter Roelofs, eds., *The Limbourg Brothers: Reflections on the Origins and the Legacy of Three Illuminators from Nijmegen* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). For further discussions of this manuscript, see section I.D in chapter 2 and section I.A.2 in chapter 3.

⁵⁹ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, 239.

⁶⁰ For this manuscript, see, for example, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, *The Rohan Master, A Book of Hours* (New York: George Braziller, 1973); and Rachel Cropsey Simons, “Rohan Workshop Books of Hours: Reassessing the Models,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 140 (2002): 65-92. For further discussions of this manuscript, see section I.D in chapter 2 and section II in chapter 4.

⁶¹ Meiss and Thomas, *The Rohan Master*, 13.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶³ Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI, the Universal Spider* (New York: Norton, 1971), 40-44.

⁶⁴ Meiss and Thomas, *The Rohan Master*, 14.

⁶⁵ Kendall, *Louis XI, the Universal Spider*, 42.

⁶⁶ Louis of Savoy was the great-grandson of John, Duke of Berry and his first wife, Jeanne of Armagnac (see appendix 4).

⁶⁷ For this manuscript, see, for example, Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 194-196.

⁶⁸ Sheila Edmunds, “The Medieval Library of Savoy,” *Scriptorium* 24 (1970): 320.

⁶⁹ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 39-40.

⁷⁰ Roger Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 75.

⁷¹ For this manuscript, which was unfinished when Bonne inherited it, see, for example, Millard Meiss, *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry. Musée Condé, Chantilly*. New York: George Braziller, 1969; Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*; Dückers and Roelofs, eds., *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400-1416*; and Dückers and Roelofs, eds., *The Limbourg Brothers: Reflections on the Origins and the Legacy of Three Illuminators from Nijmegen*; for a further discussion of it, see section I.B in chapter 2. Charlotte bequeathed it to her nephew, Charles I, Duke of Savoy (1468-1490; see appendix 4); see Frédéric Elsig, “Reflections on the Arts at the Court of Savoy (1416-1536),” in *Artists at Court, Image Making and Identity 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Garner Museum, 2004), 68.

⁷² Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 78. For this manuscript, see, for example, Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 256-308; and Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d’heures: Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. I (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale), 9-15.

⁷³ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, 238.

⁷⁴ For this manuscript, see, for example, Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 2-3; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 75; Charles Sterling, *La Peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, vol. I (Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1990), 316-317; and Colum Hourihane, ed., *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months & Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), lvi, lvii, 10, pls. 262, 372, 397, 427, 459, 507, 531, 556, 571, 594, 618, 642. For further discussions of it, see section II.A in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4.

⁷⁵ For a discussion of the coats of arms in the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy*, see section II.A in chapter 3.

⁷⁶ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 75.

⁷⁷ Pauline Maud Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 36. For further discussion of the education of noblewomen by Anne of France, see section II in chapter 4.

⁷⁸ For this manuscript, see, for example, A.M. Chazand, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon* (Marseille: Laffitte Reprints, 1978 [1878]); Alexandre de Laborde, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Pétersbourg*, vol. II (Paris: Pour les membres de la Société française, 1938), 142-144; and for an English translation, see Sharon Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004). According to Jansen, the location of the manuscript is unknown, (*ibid.*, xi, note 17). For a discussion of *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France* and the education of Suzanne of Bourbon, see the introduction to chapter 4.

⁷⁹ Charles Sterling, "Jean Hey le Maître de Moulins," *Revue de l'Art* 1, 2 (1968): 27, argued that the Master of Moulins was Jean Hey. For Sterling's rationale for this attribution, see *ibid.*, 26-33. For a concise discussion of the problems with this attribution, see Christine Pellistrandi, *En l'honneur de Marie, le Maître de Moulins* (Paris: Mame, 1998), 18-27. For this painting, see *ibid.*; Madeleine Huillet d'Istria, *Le Maître de Moulins* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961); and Caterina Limentani Viridis, *Great Altarpieces: Gothic and Renaissance* (New York: Vendome Press, 2002), 149-152.

⁸⁰ Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, 10.

⁸¹ For this manuscript, see, for example, Plummer, *The Last Flowering*; Alexander, Marrow and Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, 235; and Hourihane, ed., *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months & Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art*, 53-54. lvi, 9, 22, pls. 50, 87, 161, 219, 264, 349, 404. For further discussions of it, see section III.C in chapter 2 and section I.B.1 in chapter 3.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 53.

⁸³ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 105.

⁸⁴ Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, vol. I, 17. For this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 15-30; Claude Schaeffer, "Nouvelles observations au sujet des Heures de Louis de Laval," *Arts de l'ouest* (1980): 33-68; and François Avril, *Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XV^e siècle*, exh. cat. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Hazan, 2003), 388-394, #52.. For further discussions of it, see sections I and II in chapter 4.

⁸⁵ Paul de Farcy, *La Maison de Laval, 1020-1605*, vol. III (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1900), 354-355. Louis of Laval served under Louis XI, King of France, as "the grand master of the lakes and forests of France" and as a knight of the order of Saint Michael. He also offered his advice to Charles VIII concerning his marriage to Anne of Brittany; see *ibid.* This manuscript

remained in the library of the Dukes of Bourbon until Francis I, King of France (1494-1547), confiscated it in 1523. An inscription at the beginning indicates that Henry IV, King of England, was a subsequent owner; see Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, vol. I, 17.

⁸⁶ As identified by Svato Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress*, vol. I (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989), 323, # 52. According to Luke 2:36-38, “And there was one, Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser. She was far advanced in years and had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity. And she was a widow until four-score and four years: who departed not from the temple, by fastings and prayers serving night and day. Now she, at the same hour, coming in, confessed to the Lord: and spoke of him to all that looked for the redemption of Israel.” For this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 318-323. Louise also appears in figures 22, 65 and 66. For further discussions of it, see section I.C in chapter 2, section I.B.4 in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4.

⁸⁷ John Freeman, “Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3 (1972): 82.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 113.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 115. For Louise's education, see section II in chapter 4.

⁹¹ Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 111.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 115.

⁹³ For this manuscript, see, for example, *Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts: Sloane 2268-2496* (London: British Library, unpublished manuscript of unedited descriptions, no date), no., 2419. For further discussion of it, see section I.C in chapter 2.

⁹⁴ See section I.C in chapter 2.

⁹⁵ When Francis was born in 1494, Charles VIII was King of France. His son, Charles-Orland, was next in line to inherit the throne, but died a year later. This left Charles VIII without a direct heir, with his brother-in-law, Louis d'Orleans, first in the line of succession. Louise's husband, Charles of Angoulême, was a first cousin to Louis, which made him the closest surviving relative and eligible as king if Louis died (see appendix 2). Louise of Savoy was perhaps counting on this turn of events, which would make her queen of France. Unfortunately, when she and Charles were on their way to the funeral of Charles-Orland, Charles of Angoulême caught pneumonia and died. The fates continued to shape the history of France when Charles VIII died in 1498, and Louis d'Orleans became Louis XII, king of France. Louis was married to Charles VIII's sister, Jeanne of France (1464-1505), but he had this marriage annulled by Pope Alexander VI in order to marry Anne of Brittany, Charles VIII's widow (see appendix 5); see

Dagmar Eichberger, “Timeline,” In *Women of Distinction, : Margaret of York/Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 26. Anne of Brittany and Louis XII had two daughters, Claude and René of France, but no male heirs. Louise was therefore in an advantageous position, since her son, Francis, was still a bachelor. In 1514, Francis married Claude of France, thereby putting himself in direct line for the French crown. In 1515, Claude’s father died without a son to inherit the throne. Because Claude was unable to succeed her father due to Salic Law, which forbade a woman from ruling France as queen, Francis was crowned King of France (see appendix 4). The Salic Laws were written for the Salian Franks around the fifth century. They were re-established in France in the fifteenth century to ensure that the French crown would be inherited along patriarchal lines; see Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); and Craig Taylor, “The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages,” *French Historical Studies* 29 (2006): 543-564.

⁹⁶ For this manuscript, see, for example, Georges Ritter, *Manuscrits à peintures de l’école de Rouen* (Rouen: Librairie de la société de l’histoire de Normandie, 1913), 37-42. Anne also appears in figures 55, 92 and 104.

⁹⁷ Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,” 748.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ For this manuscript, see, for example, Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 88-89; and Roger Wieck, *The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1999). For further discussions of it, see sections I and II in chapter 4.

¹⁰⁰ Roger Wieck, “The Primer of Claude of France and the Education of the Renaissance Child,” in *The Cambridge Illuminations, the Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), 267. For a discussion of the *Prayer Book of Anne of Bretagne* and the education of Charles-Orland, see section I in chapter 4.

¹⁰¹ For further discussions of this manuscript and the education of Claude, see section XI in this chapter, and section I in chapter 4.

¹⁰² For this manuscript, see, for example, Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, 266-267.

¹⁰³ See Sterling, *La Peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, vol. II, 408, and Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, 266.

¹⁰⁴ Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, 266.

¹⁰⁵ Leroquais, *Les Livres d’heures*, vol. I, 304. For this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 298-305; and Émile Mâle, *Les Heures d’Anne de Bretagne; Bibliothèque nationale (manuscrit latin 9474)*

(Paris: Editions Verve, 1946). For further discussions of it, see section I.A.8 in chapter 3 and sections I and II in chapter 4.

¹⁰⁶ See section II.A.8 in chapter 3; see also Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, vol. I, 297. A note included in the text and signed by Anne indicates that payment was made to the illuminator of the manuscript, Jean Bourdichon, on March 14, 1508; see *ibid.*, 304. Jean Bourdichon was the court painter of Louis XII.

¹⁰⁷ Claude and Francis appear twice on the tomb. They are sculpted in repose in the lower portion, under the central arch, and are also depicted kneeling on top of the tomb accompanied by three of their children. For this sculpture, see Maurice Roy, *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France: Recherches nouvelles et documents inédits*, vol. I (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1929), 157-168.

¹⁰⁸ Claude also appears in figure 93.

¹⁰⁹ For a further discussion of Anne of Brittany's mottos, see section II.F in chapter 3.

¹¹⁰ Charles Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France a Newly Defined Miniaturist* (New York: H.P. Kraus, 1975), 12. For this manuscript, see *ibid.*; and H.P. Kraus, *In Retrospect: A Catalogue of One Hundred Outstanding Manuscripts Sold in the Last Four Decades by H.P. Kraus* (New York: H.P. Kraus, 1978), 232-233. For further discussions of it, see section II.F in chapter 3 and section I in chapter 4.

¹¹¹ For this manuscript, see, for example, Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France*; Kraus, *In Retrospect*, 232-233; and Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 99. For further discussions of it, see section II.F in chapter 3 and sections I and II in chapter 4.

¹¹² Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 99. For a discussion of the coats of arms in this manuscript, see section II.F in chapter 3.

¹¹³ Wieck, "The Primer of Claude of France and the Education of the Renaissance Child," 270. For this manuscript, see F. Carta and G. Bertoni, *Les Petites prières de Renée de France* (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1919).

¹¹⁴ For this manuscript, see, for example, Carta and Bertoni, *Les Petites prières de Renée de France* (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1919). For further discussions of it, see sections I and II in chapter 4.

¹¹⁵ For further discussions of this manuscript, see section X in this chapter, and section I in chapter 4.

¹¹⁶ For a discussion of the way children and their mothers used primers and other instructional manuscripts as teaching tools, see section I in chapter 4.

¹¹⁷ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 283.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹²⁰ For this portrait, see, for example, Anne M. Roberts, “The Posthumous Image of Mary of Burgundy,” in *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe. Gender, Agency, Identity. Women, Men and Portraiture, 1400-1800*, ed. Andrea Pearson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 55-70; and Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck, eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court. Charles the Bold 1433-1477* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2009), 354, #166. Mary of Burgundy also appears in figures 56, 57, 67, and 68.

¹²¹ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 140. For this manuscript, see, for example, Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948); and Eric Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (London: Harvey Miller, 1995). For a discussion of the portrait on folio 14v. in the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, see section I.A.9 in chapter 3.

¹²² For this manuscript, see, for example, Eberhard König, Fedja Anzelewsky, et al., eds., *Das Berliner Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund und Kaiser Maximilians: Handschrift 78 B 12 im Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1998). For further discussions of it, see sections I.A.9 and I.B.5 in chapter 3.

¹²³ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 186.

¹²⁴ For this portrait, see Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, eds., *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 181, #35. Margaret of Austria also appears in figures 62 and 63. For the controversial identification of the Master of Moulins as Jean Hey, see note 79 in this chapter.

¹²⁵ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 286.

¹²⁶ See section VII in this chapter.

¹²⁷ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 214.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Dagmar Eichberger, “Margareta of Austria, A Princess with Ambition and Political Insight,” in *Women of Distinction*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 49. After 1494, Maximilian spent little time in the Low Countries and lived most of the rest of his life in Germany; see Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503*, 192. Maximilian’s father, Frederick the Wise, died in 1493 leaving Maximilian to rule alone as Holy Roman Emperor after ten years of joint rule. He moved to southern Germany after his father’s death to claim the family

property; see Gerhard Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459-1519), an Analytical Biography* (London: Routledge, 1982), 35.

¹³⁰ Eichberger, “Margareta of Austria, A Princess with Ambition and Political Insight,” 49.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³² Anne-Marie Legaré, “‘La librairie de Madame,’ Two Princesses and their Libraries,” in *Women of Distinction*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 210.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 215. For this manuscript, see above, note 121 and the accompanying text.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Camille Gaspar and Frédéric Lyna, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1940), 13.

¹³⁶ Legaré, “‘La librairie de Madame,’ Two Princesses and their Libraries,” 216.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 217. For this manuscript, see, for example, Mark Evans, *The Sforza Hours* (London: The British Library, 1992); and Alixe Bovey, “Renaissance Bibliomania,” in *Renaissance Art Reconsidered, vol. 3, Viewing Renaissance Art*, eds. Kim W. Woods, Carol M. Richardson and Angeliki Lymberopoulou (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 119-128. For further discussions of it, see section I.A in chapter 2 and section I.B.3 in chapter 3.

¹³⁸ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 416. For a discussion of Gerard Horenbout’s illuminations in the *Sforza Hours*, see section I.A in chapter 2.

¹³⁹ The ducal library had manuscripts that were illuminated by Flemish, French and Italian artists; see Caselnuovo, *Les Manuscrits enluminés des comtes et ducs de Savoie*, 195-206.

¹⁴⁰ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 416. For this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 414-417. For further discussion of it, see section I.A in chapter 2.

¹⁴¹ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 416.

¹⁴² Gaspar and Lyna, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche*, 60. “Une grande heures escripte a la main, lesquelles n’ont point de couverture ne fermeilletz.” My translation.

¹⁴³ Legaré, “‘La librairie de Madame,’ Two Princesses and their Libraries,” 217.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁴⁵ For this portrait, see, for example, H  l  ne Adh  mar, *Le Mus  e national du Louvre, Paris: Les Primitifs Flamands. I: Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas m  ridionaux au quinzi  me si  cle 5* (Brussels: Centre national de recherches “Primitifs Flamands,” 1962), 11-19; Marti, Borchert and Keck, eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, 177, #6. For other portraits of Margaret of York, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, “Margaret of York and the Burgundian Portrait Tradition,” in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren, 47-56.

¹⁴⁶ Pierre Cockshaw, “Some Remarks on the Character and Content of the Library of Margaret of York,” in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren, 58.

¹⁴⁷ For Margaret of York’s pilgrimages to sites devoted to the Virgin, see Walter Cahn, “Margaret of York’s Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome,” in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondol*, ed. Thomas Kren, 89-98; and Harry Schnitker, “Margaret of York on Pilgrimage: The Exercise of Devotion and the Religious Traditions of the House of York,” in *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Douglas Biggs, Sharon Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 81-122.

¹⁴⁸ Legar   “‘La librairie de Madame,’ Two Princesses and their Libraries,” 209.

¹⁴⁹ “Bien en aviengne.” Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 149. Nigel Morgan, in his commentary for catalogue #50, in *The Cambridge Illuminations, Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, eds. Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova, 134, translates Margaret’s motto as “May good come of it.” For this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 134-136. For a discussion of Margaret of York’s motto, see section II.E in chapter 3.

¹⁵⁰ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 162. For this manuscript, see, for example, L.M.J. Delaiss  , *Le Si  cle d’or de la miniature flamande: le m  c  nat de Philippe le Bon. Exposition organis  e    l’occasion du 400e anniversaire de la fondation de la Biblioth  que royale de Philippe II    Bruxelles, le 12 avril 1559* (Brussels: Biblioth  que royale de Belgique, 1959), 155-156, #197.

¹⁵¹ Barstow, “The Library of Margaret of York and Some Related Books, 260. For this manuscript, see Christie, Mason & Woods, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Which will be Sold at Auction by Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd.* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., 1965), 39-43; and Muriel Hughes, “Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy: Diplomat, Patroness, Bibliophile and Benefactress,” *The Private Library* 7 (1984): 57-58.

¹⁵² Barstow, “The Library of Margaret of York and Some Related Books,” 260.

¹⁵³ See section I.A.9 in chapter 3.

¹⁵⁴ Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, “The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth-Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville,” in *Women*

and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence, eds. Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor (London: The British Library, 1996), 230. For a further discussion of the cult of the guardian angel, see section I.A.9 in chapter 3.

¹⁵⁵ For this portrait, see, for example, Klaus Demus, Friderike Klauner, and Karl Schütz, *Flämische Malerei von Jan Van Eyck bis Pieter Bruegel d. Ä.* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1981), 177-178. Joanna also appears in figures 32 and 34.

¹⁵⁶ Bethany Aram, "Juana 'the Mad's' Signature: The Problem of Invoking Royal Authority, 1505-1507," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29 (1998): 332.

¹⁵⁷ For this manuscript, see, for example, Janet Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary* (London: The British Library, 1993); and Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 347-351. For a discussion of folio 436v., see section II.C.2 in chapter 2. Also see section II in chapter 4.

¹⁵⁸ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 385. For this manuscript, see, for example, Thomas Kren and Janet Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1983), 59-61.

¹⁵⁹ See sections II.A.3 in chapter 2, I.A.3 in chapter 3, and section I in chapter 4.

¹⁶⁰ For this portrait, see section I.A.3 in chapter 3.

¹⁶¹ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 385.

¹⁶² For this portrait, see section II.A.3 in chapter 2.

¹⁶³ For this manuscript, see Matilde López Serrano, *Libro de horas de Isabel la Católica: estudio preliminar* (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1969). Juana Enriquez, Queen of Aragon, may have commissioned this manuscript for her son, Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabelle of Castile, on the occasion of their marriage. After Juana Enriquez died, Ferdinand possibly gave the manuscript to his wife, who subsequently bequeathed it to Joanna; see Walther and Wolf, *Masterpieces of Illumination*, 347.

Chapter 2: Women and Devotional Manuscripts: Self-Definition Through Patronage

Although the format of books of hours had been established by the fourteenth century, patrons often requested variations in their basic structure. Many female patrons had stylistic preferences that reflected their cultural backgrounds or aesthetic sensibilities, which are revealed in several ways. For example, the choice of a particular artist can disclose a great deal about a patron's stylistic preferences. By choosing an artist from her place of birth, a female patron could preserve regional artistic conventions in her manuscript. A patron's own aesthetic tastes could also be the reason for her choice of a certain artist; for instance, if she had hired an artist for previous commissions, she may have chosen to employ him for subsequent works. In other cases, a woman learned of an artist's style through manuscripts owned or commissioned by others, and these may have inspired her to commission that artist to illuminate a manuscript of her own.

Textual choices can also reveal a patron's desires and background. The inclusion of unusual prayer cycles may indicate a woman's devotion toward a particular saint, such as St. Catherine. Among the reasons St. Catherine was venerated was her mystical marriage with Christ.¹ Young women were drawn to her because of this legend, especially those who were not married. Unmarried women were given the privilege of dressing statues of St. Catherine installed in churches in robes of flowers. Once they were married, they were no longer permitted to participate in this tradition.² Therefore, manuscripts made for unmarried women sometimes contain devotions to St. Catherine.

The language chosen for prayers in manuscripts frequently reveals the nationality of the patron or her level of education. For example, prayers written in the language of the woman's husband may have been used as a learning tool. If his native tongue was foreign to her, she could

learn the new language by reading it in the text of familiar prayers. Texts added to the original program of the manuscript can also reveal a woman's connection to a book. They are often in the form of inscriptions, which are in the hand of the patron or recipient of the manuscript.

Inscriptions are sometimes the only evidence of ownership. They often address patronage issues, such as payments made to an artist or the provenance of a manuscript.

The inclusion of specific saints in the text or illumination of a manuscript can also reveal the identity of a female patron. For example, certain saints were revered as intercessors for those wishing to have children. Inclusion of one of these saints in the suffrages of the manuscript may indicate that the patron was concerned with her fertility. Other saints are included because the patron venerated them as a child. In this case, the saint is a reminder of the patron's home and devotional traditions. Inclusion of local saints and their feast days in the calendar of a manuscript aids in determining its use and, sometimes, the origin of the patron.

This chapter explores evidence of stylistic and aesthetic choices made by female patrons associated with the Valois courts. The choice of a specific illuminator, insertion of texts, and inclusion of particular saints are three aspects of a commission that female patrons could control. These subcategories are discussed thematically rather than chronologically, in order to demonstrate consistent patterns of patronage among noblewomen. This approach reveals that the choices these women made in their commissions derived from religious, familial and political interests. I argue that by commissioning devotional manuscripts, women were able to express common concerns for the future while affirming their past.

I. Choice of Artists

A. Margaret of Austria

Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) was the daughter of Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) and Maximilian I (1459-1519; see appendix 4).³ In 1505, after the death of her second husband, Philibert II, Duke of Savoy (1480-1504), Margaret moved from Savoy to the Netherlands to act as regent for her nephew, Charles V (1500-1558).⁴ Among the fifteen manuscripts that she carried with her was one she had inherited from Philibert: the *Sforza Hours* (London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 34294),⁵ the illuminations of which had been begun by Giovanni Pietro Birago (1471/4-1513), an artist strongly influenced by Mantegna.⁶ Margaret did not turn her attention toward the *Sforza Hours* until 1517, when she hired the scribe Etienne de Lale to finish the texts,⁷ and in 1519, she commissioned Gerard Horenbout (1465-1541), her court painter since 1515, to finish the illuminations.⁸ He was responsible for sixteen of the miniatures added to the *Sforza Hours*, which he completed around 1520.⁹ Horenbout was a master painter in the city of Ghent, which was about 150 miles from her court in Mechelen.¹⁰ Her choice was therefore not a matter of convenience, because Horenbout had to travel from Ghent when he was needed at court.¹¹ Margaret would have known examples of his work, such as the large painting the city of Ghent commissioned from him in 1510, and these must have appealed to her.¹²

Horenbout's style was far removed from the Mantegna-esque style of Birago, as illustrated by a comparison of miniatures by both artists. In Birago's *St. Sebastian* (*Sforza Hours*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 34294, f. 193v.), for instance, the saint's idealized body is crisply defined, with emphasis on the anatomy of his chest (fig. 17). The landscape behind him is just as detailed as the foreground, with no concern for atmospheric perspective. In Horenbout's *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* on f. 189v., on the other hand, the emphasis is on emotionality (fig.

18). The crowd surrounding Andrew is filled with figures who revel in his misery. Horenbout's landscape extends into the distance, with a winding road leading to a fortified city that fades into the distance in an atmospheric haze. The stylization that characterizes Birago's miniature is absent in Horenbout. However, Horenbout did not totally disregard the existing miniatures in the *Sforza Hours*. His work sometimes incorporates Italianate motifs, such as the use of linear perspective in his image of *St. Mark in His Study* on f. 10v. (fig. 19). Within this illusionistic space, Horenbout places the figure of St. Mark, whose clothing is composed of identifiable materials such as fur, velvet and gold thread on the edge of his mantle. The specific rendering of these materials exemplifies the Flemish interest in detail and textural differentiation.

Margaret's decision to hire a Northern artist for a manuscript that had already been started in an Italian style suggests that she approached Horenbout because, among other reasons, she favored his believable landscapes and emphasis on emotion.¹³ She had been exposed to a variety of artistic approaches, having lived in many parts of Europe during her unsuccessful betrothal and two short-lived marriages. As mentioned in chapter 1, she was betrothed to Charles VIII (1470-1498) at the age of three, and lived at the court in France until this marriage was nullified in 1488.¹⁴ In 1493, Margaret returned to her father, Maximilian, in Mechelen.¹⁵ In 1497, she married John of Castile (1478-1497), the son of Isabelle of Castile (1451-1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516; see appendix 6), and moved to Spain. He died six months later, and she returned to the Netherlands in 1499. Her final marriage was to Philibert II, Duke of Savoy in 1501 (see appendix 4 and 5). She lived in Savoy until his death in 1504 and moved to Mechelen in the Netherlands a year later.¹⁶ She must therefore have been aware of current styles in France and Spain, but she chose a Burgundian illuminator to finish her deluxe manuscript. Margaret could have easily found an Italian illuminator for this task. During her marriage to

Philibert II, she had access to the library of Savoy, which included manuscripts illuminated by artists from Italy as well as Flanders and France.¹⁷ Yet she chose a Netherlandish artist, who left a decisively Northern European aesthetic mark on the manuscript. Her desire to connect with her Burgundian ancestry is also reflected in the secular manuscripts that she commissioned, several of which were dedicated to the history and genealogies of the house of Burgundy.¹⁸

The *Sforza Hours* is the only documented manuscript associated with Horenbout while he was working as Margaret's court painter.¹⁹ This raises a question as to what other manuscripts he illuminated. Margaret owned some books that are associated with the so-called Master of James IV of Scotland, whom scholars have sometimes identified as Gerard Horenbout,²⁰ one of which is the *Spinola Hours* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 18, c. 1510-1520).²¹ There is no evidence in this manuscript that identifies Margaret as its patron. Yet Horenbout was her court painter at the time the *Spinola Hours* was created, and the lavish treatment of its miniatures points to a royal commission. The *Annunciation* on folio 92v., for example, is framed by a secondary miniature in the border (fig. 20). The two images depict two views of the same building: the exterior in the border and the interior in the main miniature, where Mary receives Gabriel's news. The complexity of this composition suggests that it was executed by a seasoned artist who was familiar with courtly taste. If Horenbout is indeed the Master of James IV of Scotland, he could have painted the miniatures in the *Spinola Hours* with the help of his assistants.²²

In 1519, Margaret's father, Maximilian I, died, and her nephew, Charles V, was elected Holy Roman Emperor. Charles appointed Margaret as Regent and Governor-general of the Netherlands later that year.²³ These events coincided with Horenbout's commission for the missing miniatures in the *Sforza Hours*, suggesting that Margaret's choice of illuminator was not

purely aesthetic. She may well have wished to commemorate her appointment by hiring a Netherlandish artist to complete the Italianate manuscript. This is demonstrated by the inclusion of a medallion portrait of Charles V, painted by Horenbout in the margins of folio 213, which had been started by Birago (fig. 64). The medallion accompanies the beginnings of the texts for Psalms 37 and 50, which are two of the Penitential Psalms.²⁴ Margaret perhaps requested this miniature in gratitude to her nephew for appointing her Regent.²⁵ If so, this addendum acted as a marker in the manuscript, revealing Margaret's loyalty to her nephew.

When Margaret hired Gerard Horenbout to finish the *Sforza Hours*, she had been a widow for fifteen years. Although she was only twenty-four years old when her second husband died, she never remarried. Her status as a widow afforded her opportunities that were unavailable to her as a married woman. Margaret of Austria's political influences were greatly enhanced after the death of Philibert II.²⁶ Unlike married women, she was financially independent and able to pursue her own interests. A married woman could also achieve a level of autonomy, but this was dependent upon either her father or, after marriage, her husband. Depending on the temperament of her male custodian, the life of a noblewoman could be either constricted or empowered. In Margaret's case, her dowry, which was negotiated in 1505, after Philibert's death, ensured her financial stability.²⁷ As a widow, she was also free from the traditional roles faced by married women, such as the constant stress of bearing children. Widows could focus on their devotional or political interests. Margaret's additions to the *Sforza Hours* exemplify her individual persona as a widow and a politically powerful woman.

B. Charlotte of Savoy

One example of a noblewoman whose life was the antithesis of Margaret's is Charlotte of Savoy (1442-1483), queen to Louis XI of France. Charlotte was the daughter of Louis of Savoy

(1413-1465), who was an avid patron of the arts and a collector of valuable objects (see appendix 4). One of his major acquisitions was the *Shroud of Turin*, which he received in 1453.²⁸

Charlotte shared her father's interest in patronage and had a large collection of manuscripts. As discussed in chapter 1, she had a small allowance, so her acquisitions came as gifts or through inheritance.²⁹ For the manuscripts she did commission, she employed her favorite artists, who included Jean Colombe, Jean Poyet and Jean Bourdichon.³⁰ Jean Colombe was the illuminator to whom she gave her most lavish manuscript commissions.³¹ Among these is the *Hours of Anne of France* (Jean Colombe, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 677), which Charlotte commissioned for her daughter, Anne of France (1461-1522).³² Charlotte may have given this manuscript to Anne as a wedding gift on the occasion of her marriage to Peter of Bourbon (1438-1503) in 1474 (see appendix 4).³³

According to John Plummer, Colombe was most comfortable with projects that required the invention of new ideas for rarely depicted subjects.³⁴ The *Hours of Anne of France* contains an example of such imagery. On folio 146, at the end of the *Hours of the Virgin*, Colombe depicted a procession of women led by a figure who can be identified as Princess Anne (figs. 21 and 21a).³⁵ The inclusion of this unusual scene exemplifies Colombe's ability to personalize a manuscript for his patron. Its subject does not conform to the conventional visual program of the *Hours of the Virgin*, which normally contains scenes from the life of Mary. It may well have been Colombe's inventiveness that attracted Charlotte of Savoy to him. She was obviously impressed with his work because she sent a letter about him to a Monsieur Dubouchage, in which she stressed the importance of his services.³⁶

Although Charlotte was able to amass a substantial library, it was not due to her financial independence. Louis XI gave her a small allowance, which she used mostly for charitable

contributions.³⁷ The contents of her manuscript collection represent her devotional interests because three quarters of the books in her library were devotional.³⁸ Most of these works were obtained through gifts or loans, which were never returned.³⁹ She spent most of her time in Amboise with her ladies-in-waiting and, in the early years of their marriage, had only brief contact with her husband.⁴⁰ She was described as small and not beautiful, which may explain Louis XI's infrequent visits. She compensated for her loneliness and relative poverty by performing pious deeds for children and others in need.⁴¹

C. Louise of Savoy

As discussed in chapter 1, the giving and receiving of gifts was a complex matter.⁴² Both men and women commissioned manuscripts as gifts for a variety of reasons, such as to show political dominance over an opponent or favor toward members of the court.⁴³ When women gave gifts, the recipient was most often another woman such as a daughter, lady-in-waiting or other household personnel.⁴⁴ Women also gave gifts to men on certain occasions, but they were usually of lesser value than a gift from a man would have been. This was primarily due to the budget constrictions that faced noblewomen.⁴⁵

In 1524, Louise of Savoy (1476-1531) commissioned a manuscript as a gift that was perhaps meant for an Italian dignitary (*Book of Hours*, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, Ms. 10).⁴⁶ At the time this manuscript was made, Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, imprisoned her son, Francis (1494-1547; see appendix 4) in Italy after his defeat at the battle of Pavia. Louise may have intended to give the manuscript to an Italian official to aid in his release.⁴⁷ This is suggested by the Italianate style of its miniatures, which were perhaps meant to appeal to the sensibilities of the recipient. In *Pentecost* on folio 62v., for

instance, the architectural frame includes an engaged column with a Corinthian capital, which is classically inspired (fig. 22).⁴⁸

The prayer cycles and choice of saints in this manuscript also suggest that it was destined for an Italian male. One prayer to the Virgin, the *Obsecro te*, is written in the masculine form, suggesting the book was meant for a male reader.⁴⁹ Although the manuscript is written for the use of Rome, this does not localize it to a specific place, because Roman use was considered a universal usage.⁵⁰ In the suffrages of the manuscript, however, the focus is on saints from northern and northeastern Italy rather than French saints.⁵¹ The lack of French prayers supports the theory that this manuscript was destined for an Italian reader.

When Louise of Savoy commissioned this manuscript, she was perhaps less concerned with aesthetic interests than with using her power of patronage to create a devotional book that was meant to persuade, or at least impress, an Italian official, thereby aiding her son's political campaign. If so, her choice of an illuminator would reflect her role as a mother to a king and her desire to facilitate the release of her son.

When Louise did commission a work for her own use, a different stylistic outcome was produced, as demonstrated in the *Hours of Louise of Savoy* (Master of the Burgundian Prelates, London, The British Library, Sloane Ms. 2419).⁵² This manuscript was probably commissioned before Francis became king in 1515. Its miniatures exhibit characteristics of early Netherlandish panel painting and manuscript illumination. The *Annunciation to the Virgin* on folio 22, for instance, places the scene in an interior space with a bed and window (fig. 23), as in many *Annunciations* of this period. One example is a Rogierian panel of this theme in Antwerp (fig. 24).⁵³

In the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the *Hours of Louise of Savoy* the figures are depicted in a simplified manner, with little attention paid to naturalistic proportions. The interior space is rendered through the use of empirical perspective, but the bed and bench are drawn without the use of any mathematical system and appear flattened. The Italianate architecture found in the Washington manuscript is nonexistent in this earlier example. Louise therefore may well have chosen an illuminator because she intended to use the manuscript herself. The eight full-page miniatures in her own book of hours are simple and lack the opulence of the manuscript probably intended as a gift for an important Italian dignitary. The miniatures are more conducive to meditation and prayer because of this simplicity, which seems to reference Louise's aesthetic preferences and her personal ideas concerning devotional practice.

This discussion of two of the manuscripts commissioned by Louise of Savoy raises the question of how female patrons were exposed to different artistic styles. In the case of Louise of Savoy, the intended user of the manuscript dictated the style of the illuminations. A number of artists from Paris, Tours and Angoulême worked for her on various purchases.⁵⁴ Artists from Burgundy were also popular in France, especially after the French crown took over the region after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477.⁵⁵ The *Hours of Louise of Savoy* was produced by the Master of the Burgundian Prelates, who was one of the leading illuminators in Burgundy at the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶

Louise also had access to her husband's library, which contained seventy-five volumes.⁵⁷ The availability of these books and her interest in different artistic styles enabled her to choose illuminators she deemed appropriate for each commission. Louise and the other noblewomen in this study had access to books in many ways, which exposed them to various styles of illumination. Women inherited, borrowed or bought books with regional characteristics. Their

choices of illuminators for their own commissions often derived in part from their preferences for certain styles in other books from their collections.

D. Yolande of Aragon

This was perhaps the case with a commission that was produced a century earlier than Louise's book of hours: the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* (Rohan Master and workshop, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9471).⁵⁸ Millard Meiss argues that Yolande of Aragon (1379-1442), wife of Louis II, Duke of Anjou (1377-1417; see appendix 3), commissioned this manuscript.⁵⁹ According to Meiss, it was finished sometime between 1419 and 1427.⁶⁰ Three of its ten full-page illuminations have been attributed to the Rohan Master, who was active in Angers when Yolande of Aragon resided there.⁶¹ The rest of the manuscript was completed in the master's workshop, under his supervision. According to Marcel Thomas, other manuscripts can be traced to this atelier, several of which can be associated with Anjou and, subsequently, to patrons in the court.⁶² One example is *The Hours of René of Anjou* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 1156A), which is solidly linked to the house of Anjou because of the inclusion of armorials and other personal devices of the family.⁶³

The compositions of many of the miniatures in the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* can be traced to two manuscripts produced by the Limbourgs: the *Très Riches Heures*, discussed above, and the *Belles Heures* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection Ms. 54.1.1, ca. 1409), both of which were in the library of John, Duke of Berry.⁶⁴ Yolande of Aragon bought the *Belles Heures* in 1416, the year John died.⁶⁵ The similarities between the *Belles Heures* and the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* suggest that the Rohan Master knew the earlier manuscript, on which he modeled Yolande's commission at her request.⁶⁶

The miniatures on folio 29v. of the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* and f. 218 of the *Belles Heures* are especially similar (figs. 25 and 26).⁶⁷ In the illumination for the *Obsecro te* in the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*, an image of God the Father holding an orb at the top of the page looks down at a half-length image of the Virgin and Child. He is encircled by a band of seraphim and flanked by SS. John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, with additional apostles directly below him. Six female saints appear at the bottom of the miniature. St. Catherine, identified by the wheel on which she was tortured, is depicted on the left. Opposite her is St. Margaret, emerging from the dragon that swallowed her. Directly behind her is St. Barbara holding a model of the tower in which she was imprisoned. The *Belles Heures* has a similar composition on folio 218, in the miniature for *All Saints*. The image of God the Father is nearly identical to the one in the *Rohan* miniature, except for the color of his clothes. Similar seraphim surround him and appear below the Virgin in both miniatures. The palette is limited to red, blue and gold, as on folio 29v. of the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*. The Christ Child in the *Belles Heures* is also reminiscent of the Child on folio 29v. His cheek is pressed against his mother's and his right arm is raised, nearly touching her face, in a position derived from Byzantine icons.⁶⁸ Other similarities include the placement of the Evangelist and the Baptist on either side of God the Father in the upper corners of both miniatures and the depiction of the Virgin and Child in a roundel, attended by apostles. The arrangement of the figures in the lower section of the illumination also resembles the miniature of the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*, with the female saints placed in nearly identical positions.

Such compositional choices may reveal other information regarding the intended recipient of the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*. As mentioned above, Yolande bought the *Belles Heures* in 1416, a few months after John, Duke of Berry, died. Her daughter, Marie of Anjou

(1404-1463), was engaged to Charles, Dauphin of France (1403-1461), John's successor as Duke of Berry and King of France as Charles VII (see appendices 2 and 3).⁶⁹ Before Charles assumed his great-uncle's title, Yolande and her daughter, Marie, went to live with him at John's chateau.⁷⁰ While there, Yolande became close to Charles, assuming a nurturing role in her nephew's life even before the death of the elder Duke of Berry.⁷¹ Millard Meiss argues that her close relationship with Charles led her to give him the *Belles Heures* as a gift and to commission the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* for him as well.⁷² The compositional similarities in these manuscripts could derive from Yolande's familiarity with the *Belles Heures*. It was not uncommon for patrons to commission an artist to execute a work based on an earlier example either from his atelier or another's. Yolande may also have commissioned the Rohan Master in homage to her benefactor, Jean, Duke of Berry, and by giving it to Jean's great-nephew she reiterated her devotion to the new Duke of Berry while acknowledging her past allegiance.

II. Textual Evidence of Self-Definition

A. Choice of Prayers

The most basic texts found in a book of hours are the calendar and the *Hours of the Virgin*. On occasion, other prayer cycles that represented the patron's individual concerns were also included. The *Office of the Dead*, for example, which is one of the few texts that were exactly the same as the cycle read by the clergy,⁷³ often occurs at the end of books of hours. Its inclusion in these manuscripts represents the ever-present possibility of death that permeated the Middle Ages.⁷⁴ In some cases, more specific concerns motivated the patron to include certain prayer cycles and texts. The presence of prayers to St. Margaret, for example, may indicate a female patron's desire to conceive. Regardless of the reason, the addition of texts not normally associated with books of hours personalized the manuscript, thereby reflecting components of

the owner's identity. If a manuscript was to be given as a gift, the patron often included texts that reflected the interests of the recipient. If the gift was made for a specific event, such as a marriage, the manuscript may contain messages in commemoration of this event.

1. The *Bedford Hours* and the *Sobieski Hours*

Manuscripts commissioned or given as gifts in commemoration of a wedding were not uncommon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Marriages were not only religious unions but could also solidify relationships between different duchies or provinces. These unions were therefore often politically motivated. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy (1371-1419), was a master at such manipulations. He arranged the marriages of four of his daughters, thereby creating alliances with Bedford, Bourbon, Cleves and Brittany. He lived to see only one of these marriages realized: the union of Mary of Burgundy (1394-1463) and Adolph of Cleves (1373-1448) in 1406 (see appendix 5).

In 1419, John was assassinated, and his son, Philip, became Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1396-1467).⁷⁵ Philip kept the promises made by his father in regard to the marriages of three of his sisters, two of whom, Anne of Burgundy (1404-1432) and Margaret of Burgundy (1393-1442), were married in 1423. Anne married John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford (1389-1435) and brother of Henry V of England (see appendix 6), and Margaret married Arthur, Count of Richemont (d. 1458; see appendix 5), thereby becoming Duchess of Brittany.⁷⁶ To celebrate Anne's marriage, Philip the Good perhaps commissioned a book of hours, now in London (*The Bedford Hours*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18850).⁷⁷ Philip's mother, Margaret of Bavaria (1363-1423), commissioned a book of hours to celebrate the marriage of her other daughter, Margaret of Burgundy, to Arthur (*The Sobieski Hours*, Windsor, The Royal Library at Windsor Castle, no shelfmark).⁷⁸ The same atelier produced both manuscripts under the

direction of the so-called Bedford Master. They are stylistically similar but their contents differ significantly.

The *Bedford Hours* was written for the use of Paris, perhaps so that Anne of Burgundy would be more comfortable using it for private devotion rather than English prayer books. However, an examination of the illuminations and texts suggests that the book was meant to appeal more to John than Anne. The first indication of this is the inclusion of the arms and devices of John and Anne on nine folios of the manuscript, an example of which appears on folio 257v. (fig. 50).⁷⁹ In addition to the arms of Bedford and Burgundy, a unique text was inserted into the *Bedford Hours*: this is the legend of how Clovis received the *fleurs-de-lis*, which became the arms of France.⁸⁰ Because Clovis's wife, Clothilda, was a Burgundian princess, this story was firmly integrated into Burgundian folklore.⁸¹ Its inclusion in the *Bedford Hours* is a reference to Anne's marriage to John of Lancaster and the resulting political union.⁸² This legend was also significant to John of Lancaster because of his role as regent of France, which began in 1422 during the English occupation. I suggest that this specific reference to the political nature of this union implies that the probable patron of this manuscript, Philip the Good, wished to emphasize politics and power over other aspects of the marriage.

By contrast, the *Sobieski Hours* is more focused on devotion and family ties as suggested by the image of a kneeling woman praying to St. Margaret in a bedroom on folio 162v. (fig. 27).⁸³ Another female figure appears behind the bed, and there are two additional women in a doorway leading into the room at the right. Eleanor Spencer suggested that the kneeling figure is Margaret of Burgundy, the likely recipient of the manuscript, and further, that the woman behind the bed is her mother, Margaret of Bavaria, and the two women in the doorway are her sisters, Anne and Agnes (1407-1476; fig. 27a).⁸⁴

This folio from the *Sobieski Hours* is filled with information regarding Margaret of Burgundy's duties as a countess and Christian. The prayer to St. Margaret and Margaret of Burgundy's portrait address her role as mother of the future counts of Richemont. St. Margaret was not only Margaret of Burgundy's patron saint but also one of the female saints who could be invoked for aid in childbirth, because of an event in her vita.⁸⁵ The legend describes how St. Margaret encountered the devil, who appeared to her in the guise of a dragon. The dragon swallowed her, but a small cross she carried irritated its throat and forced it to regurgitate her unharmed. If Margaret of Bavaria was the one who commissioned the *Sobieski Hours* for her daughter, then the inclusion of St. Margaret would reflect Margaret of Bavaria's desire for her daughter to have children. This was one of the most important functions of women in the late Middle Ages, and would have been a legitimate concern for Margaret of Burgundy.

The appearance of Margaret of Burgundy's sisters and mother probably refers to the idea of procreation and the continuation of the noble line. All of Margaret of Bavaria's daughters married important men outside of the Burgundian court. These unions gave Burgundy the political strength that it had previously lacked. Margaret of Bavaria's depiction here would have acted as a model for her daughter, who was about to start her own family and legacy.

Below the illumination is an excerpt from a poem called *La Vie Sainte Margaret* that was popular in the fifteenth century: "My friend, if thou hast seen God, grant me a time and a place to worship my creator, for I no longer want to live" (fig. 27).⁸⁶ According to Eleanor Spencer, the inclusion of this text was rare in books of hours.⁸⁷ This poem is Margaret of Burgundy's plea that she may have a child. It is directed toward St. Margaret, who could help those having difficulty conceiving. This excerpt demonstrates that Margaret of Burgundy's desire to bear an heir was so strong that she would rather die than be denied the chance to ask God for help. It, and

the remainder of the text, was a daily reminder of Margaret's wish to conceive an heir. This poem addressed her role as a mother and her belief in St. Margaret's intercessory abilities. Unfortunately, Margaret did not have children with either of her husbands and died childless in 1441.

Although the *Sobieski Hours* was commissioned from the same workshop as the *Bedford Hours*, the imagery and texts of the former are focused more on the conventional roles expected of noblewomen: wife, mother and devoted Christian. The *Sobieski Hours* addresses issues of marriage, in contrast to the political issues emphasized in the *Bedford Hours*. If the patronage of the two manuscripts described above is accepted, then Margaret of Bavaria's concerns, unlike those of her son, Philip the Good, were directed to her daughter and the roles of a noblewoman. Through her decisions as a patron she made these concerns known to her daughter, Margaret of Burgundy. As a result, the *Sobieski Hours* served a different purpose than the *Bedford Hours*. Margaret of Bavaria's concerns about the future of her daughter's marriage differed considerably from her son's ideas of marriage. Both Philip the Good and Margaret of Bavaria focused on gender-specific aspects of the marriage contract in their commissions through specific textual and visual choices.

2. *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*

Texts included in manuscripts can also demonstrate complex devotional practices related to an individual or a place. Such is the case with the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Master of Catherine of Cleves, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 917 and 945), which is one of the most iconographically sophisticated preserved illuminated manuscripts from the fifteenth century.⁸⁸ It was commissioned by Catherine of Cleves (1417-1476), daughter of Mary of Burgundy (1394-1463) and Adolph, Duke of Cleves (1373-1448; see appendix 5)

between 1442 and 1443, about twelve years after Catherine's marriage to Arnold, Duke of Guelders (1410-1473). Its format is more complex than most books of hours from this period. In addition to the *Little Hours of the Virgin* and other texts common to books of hours, such as the *Office of the Dead* and numerous suffrages, this manuscript contains unusual prayer cycles specific to every day of the week, such as the *Tuesday Hours of the Holy Ghost* and the *Thursday Hours of the Sacrament*.⁸⁹ Within the margins of both of these prayer cycles are short quotations. Some of these are taken from the Bible and others simply explain the content of the miniatures. This type of addendum also occurs on page 72 of M. 917 and folio 109 of M. 945 of the *Mass of the Holy Ghost*,⁹⁰ and on f. 142v. of the *Mass of the Holy Sacrament*.⁹¹ When one reads these passages, the first question that comes to mind is why are they included in these specific prayer cycles? An examination of these passages and the devotional climate of Utrecht, the manuscript's place of origin, sheds some light on this question.

The *Tuesday Hours of the Holy Ghost* contains one miniature for every canonical hour, with the exception of Lauds.⁹² The subject matter of the miniatures is as follows: Matins, *Judgment of Solomon*; Prime, *David Kneeling in Front of an Altar*; Terce, *King and Advisors Taking Council*; Sext, *Jacob Struggling with the Angel*; None, *Teacher and Pupils*; Vespers, *Lady Distributing Alms*; and Compline, *Fear of the Lord*. Of these seven miniatures, those for the hours of Matins, Terce, Sext, Vespers and Compline have marginal texts.⁹³ In the miniature for Matins on page 53 of M. 917, for example, Solomon is about to split a child in two in order to settle a dispute between two women, who both claim to be his mother (fig. 28).⁹⁴ The marginal text explains that through the wisdom of Solomon, the child was saved and given back to his real mother: "Give the living child to this woman, and let it not be killed; for she is the mother thereof."⁹⁵ This text emphasizes the importance of wisdom, the first gift of the Holy Ghost,

thereby reminding the reader of this noble virtue. The miniature depicts the real mother kneeling in front of Solomon, and giving up her child to avoid seeing him killed.⁹⁶ This narrative was appropriate for a manuscript destined for a noblewoman who understood the importance of children and the bond between a woman and her child, and it would have reminded Catherine of her role as mother and bearer of the future rulers of Guelders.

The miniature for Vespers, on page 65 of M. 917, concerns piety, the sixth gift of the Holy Ghost. It shows Catherine of Cleves giving alms to three peasants, one of whom has a scroll emanating from his open mouth (fig. 29).⁹⁷ The passage on the scroll states, “Give alms and all things are clean unto you.”⁹⁸ The phrase, “Piety: for private devotion,” appears in the upper margin in French.⁹⁹ One of the many duties of a noblewoman was to give away a certain amount of the household’s money to the poor.¹⁰⁰ The giving of alms was one of the six acts of charity that derived from Matthew 25:35-36: “For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat: I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink: I was a stranger, and you took me in: Naked, and you covered me; sick and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me.” References to alms-giving can be found in other books of hours, such as *The Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux* (Jean Pucelle, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Ms. 54.1.2).¹⁰¹ These acts were prescribed by St. Louis, who was said to have carried them out himself during his tenure as king.¹⁰² In the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Catherine is directly linked to the act of giving by the insertion of her portrait. Her image acts as a surrogate, who visibly gives alms to the poor.¹⁰³ This imagery, combined with the textual reminder, would have reminded Catherine of this obligation as she read through her Tuesday prayers.

The *Thursday Hours of the Holy Sacrament* in this manuscript also has miniatures for every canonical hour except for Lauds. The miniatures in this cycle can be grouped into three

categories; supper images, images involving the gathering or distribution of bread, and images of the veneration of the host. As in the *Hours of the Holy Ghost*, the miniatures are accompanied by marginal texts. The passages are taken from the Old and New Testaments and complement the miniatures. The scene accompanying the prayer for Prime on folio 133 of Ms. 945, for instance, depicts Moses and St. John the Evangelist kneeling in front of a monstrance on an altar (fig. 30). A third figure, whom John Plummer has identified as Nehemiah, kneels behind the image of Moses.¹⁰⁴ A curving scroll issuing from Moses is inscribed with the beginning words of Deuteronomy 8:3: "... and [he] gave thee manna for food [which neither thou nor thy fathers knew]..."¹⁰⁵ A scroll also issues from the mouth of St. John the Evangelist, inscribed with a passage taken from Revelations 2:17: "...To him that overcometh I will give the hidden manna..."¹⁰⁶ Two banners in the side margins also contain texts. The passage on the left, closest to Moses, is from Nehemiah 9:15: "And thou gavest them bread from heaven for their hunger..."¹⁰⁷ The passage on the right is from the Gospel of John 6:35: "...I am the bread of life: He that cometh to me shall never hunger..."¹⁰⁸

Multiple textual references from the Old and New Testaments pertaining to manna and bread also occur in the remaining six miniatures from the *Thursday Hours of the Holy Sacrament*. These texts and illuminations form a comprehensive devotional study of the Eucharistic ritual, with typological themes from the Old Testament that presage events in the New Testament. This is exemplified on folio 133 by the inclusion of Moses and St. John (fig. 30). Moses received manna from the sky while wandering in the desert and St. John was present at the Last Supper. Both figures were present during miracles involving bread. As Catherine read through this prayer cycle, she would have been schooled in the symbolic meaning of bread in the Old and New Testaments, beginning with Moses and ending with Christ's sacrifice.

At the time Catherine's manuscript was produced, Utrecht and the rest of the Netherlands were absorbed in the movement of the *Devotio Moderna*, which preached that salvation lay in the hands of the individual.¹⁰⁹ The *Devotio Moderna* developed from the writings of Geert Grote, who promoted reflection on texts and a personal approach to devotion.¹¹⁰ He was the founder of the Brethren of Common Life, whose followers were dedicated to imitating Christ's life by focusing on episodes from his Passion.¹¹¹ The Eucharistic ritual, which is considered a mystery of faith, celebrates Christ's sacrifice and is central to the Mass. The inclusion of supplemental texts in the *Thursday Hours of the Holy Sacrament* in Catherine of Cleves's manuscript would have helped her understand the history and meaning of the Eucharist. She was presumably aided in this task by a private confessor, who would have explained the finer points of this complex ideology.¹¹² Studying the texts and illuminations would have also facilitated the attainment of the meditative state described by Grote.

The marginal passages in the *Hours of the Holy Sacrament* also relate to another aspect of prayer in the late Middle Ages. Caroline Walker Bynum has noted that women had been losing power within the church since the thirteenth century.¹¹³ In the early medieval Church, nuns had some of the same privileges as the male clergy, such as hearing confessions and giving communion to other nuns.¹¹⁴ These roles were reduced or eliminated in the later Middle Ages, as is demonstrated by the origin of female saints from this period, who were, for the most part, members of the laity.¹¹⁵ In contrast, female saints from the early Church were most often members of the religious community such as nuns or abbesses.¹¹⁶ Because women were unable to participate in the celebration of the mass in the same manner as priests, they were attracted to other methods of devotion, which allowed them to form a personal relationship with God.

Women had been drawn to the celebration of the Eucharist since the thirteenth century, when the feast of Corpus Christi was established.¹¹⁷ This feast, which commemorated the gift of the Holy Eucharist, was championed by Juliana of Cornillon and Eva of St. Martin, and was established in the diocese of Liège by Bishop Robert of Turotte in 1246.¹¹⁸ The ritual centered on the elevation of the Host by the priest, which allowed the congregation to see the bread that was believed to be transformed into Christ's body during the Transubstantiation.¹¹⁹ As Miri Rubin has noted, seeing the elevated Host could serve as a spiritual substitute for its consumption.¹²⁰ Because the taking of communion was limited for the laity, the elevation of the Host held even greater importance.¹²¹ For women, the consumption of the Host was limited further, because they were thought to be too frivolous to understand the meaning of the act.¹²² Exposure to the Host was also minimal, because women could not become priests. As a result of these stipulations, women did not have the same access to the Host as clergymen or men in general.

Dedication to the elevated Host was one way to become close to God. In the late Middle Ages, people often went from one church to another in the hope of seeing the elevated Host as many times as possible.¹²³ The idea of seeing the Host rather than eating it manifested itself in books of hours in the guise of the *Hours of the Sacrament*.¹²⁴ Catherine's dedication to this feast may have been the reason for the inclusion of this prayer cycle. Images of the Host, like the one on folio 133 (fig. 30), would have enabled her to meditate on the sacrifice of Christ as often as she wished. Such images could substitute for the actual elevation of the Host, thereby giving Catherine control over her own devotional practice.

The *Thursday Hours of the Holy Sacrament* in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* represents Catherine's reverence for the Holy Sacrament and her practice of the *Devotio*

Moderna. The inclusion of this text allowed her to venerate the host by reciting an entire prayer cycle dedicated to the Holy Sacrament. The miniatures that accompany these prayers were models of devotion for Catherine to emulate. The supplemental texts in these miniatures relate to the meditative issues associated with the *Devotio Moderna* by exposing Catherine to doctrine concerning the Eucharistic ritual. By reading these passages, she could take control of her own understanding of the Eucharistic rite. This prayer cycle therefore relates to her definition of her own spiritual identity and reflects both the religious environment in which she worshipped and the limitations placed on her as a woman. Her book of hours was a place in which such lessons could be learned and reinforced.

3. The *Hours of Joanna of Castile*

Another equally telling example of textual choice in a book of hours appears in *The Hours of Joanna of Castile* (Master of the David Scenes in the *Grimani Breviary*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18852),¹²⁵ which Joanna of Castile (1479-1555) commissioned sometime between the year of her wedding to Philip the Handsome (1478-1506) in 1497, and his death in 1506.¹²⁶ As mentioned in chapter 1, Joanna was the daughter of Isabelle of Castile (1451-1504) and Ferdinand of Aragon (1452-1516; see appendix 6), and Philip was the son of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor (see appendix 4).¹²⁷ Her book of hours contains a calendar for the use of Rome and the *Hours of the Virgin*. The remaining texts are not usually found in books of hours: catechismal texts, the *Office of the Guardian Angel*, and several prayers to the Virgin. I suggest that Joanna requested the inclusion of these prayers in her manuscript, each for a different reason.

The texts immediately following the calendar in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* are eight fundamental elements of faith: the Ten Commandments, Seven Mortal Sins, Twelve Articles of

Faith, Five Senses, Seven Acts of Mercy, Three Theological Virtues, Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the Seven Sacraments.¹²⁸ Each element is followed by an explanation of how Christians veer from the path of righteousness by disregarding these basic tenets.¹²⁹ These texts are introduced by two miniatures on folios 14v.-15 (fig. 31). An image of the *Temptation of Adam and Eve in the Garden* appears on folio 14v. The introduction to the eight elements of faith is on the adjacent folio, accompanied by a reflection of a skull looking out at the viewer. James Marrow suggested that the images on both folios were meant to inspire Joanna to reflect on her spiritual resolve and to alert her of her eventual death.¹³⁰ These miniatures acted as a *memento mori*, reminding Joanna of what could happen after her death if she chose the wrong path. The illuminator's treatment of the skull is naturalistic, and he successfully creates the curve of the concave mirror by including a highlight on the upper left. This illusionism gives viewers the sense that they are looking into a mirror and seeing a reflection of their own fate.

The eight fundamental elements of faith immediately follow the *memento mori* image and served another function. When Joanna married Philip the Handsome, he was Duke of Burgundy. Once married, she was required to play the role of duchess in a foreign land. Since noblewomen were expected to exhibit certain traits even at a young age, their education included instructions in piety and the responsibilities of wives and mothers. Books of hours often functioned as primers that informed them of these duties.¹³¹ The *Hours of Joanna of Castile* contains several fundamental texts that contributed to Joanna's education in these areas. Among these are the Seven Acts of Mercy, which would have reminded her of her obligations as a noblewoman and a Christian. The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, wisdom, understanding, knowledge, counsel, fortitude, piety and fear of the Lord, are also part of the catechismal texts in Joanna's manuscript.

As discussed above, they are also integral to Catherine of Cleves's book of hours,¹³² where they similarly served as a reminder of the spiritual and social issues confronting a young duchess.

The *Office of the Guardian Angel* directly follows the fundamental elements of faith in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile*.¹³³ The veneration of guardian angels was not part of the official calendar of the church at the time Joanna's manuscript was produced. It was a localized custom that was particularly popular in Spain. In 1579, the diocese of Cordoba was the first to petition the Church in Rome to include a feast day in the canonical calendar that honored guardian angels.¹³⁴ In the fifteenth century, the bishop of the diocese of Cordoba was suffragan to Toledo.¹³⁵ Since this was Joanna's birthplace, she would have been educated in its local customs.¹³⁶ After her marriage to Philip, she moved to Burgundy and eventually settled in Ghent.¹³⁷ Her inclusion of a prayer cycle devoted to guardian angels in her manuscript, even though she no longer lived in a region that recognized them in its liturgical calendar, suggests that she still had strong devotional ties to her homeland.

The importance of this prayer cycle is further emphasized by the miniature that introduces it: a portrait of Joanna of Castile on folio 26, with her patron saint, St. John the Baptist and a guardian angel (fig. 32). This folio is also decorated with the arms and mottos of the Duke and Duchess. These numerous symbols of Joanna's identity are clearly meant to mark the importance of the prayer cycle. The combination of religious figures (St. John the Baptist and an angel), with political symbols (arms and mottos) illustrates the dual roles Joanna was expected to play as a noblewoman. The miniature's placement at the beginning of the *Office of the Guardian Angel* is also telling in that it marks a prayer cycle from Joanna's youth and place of birth. Her past identity as a Christian princess of Spain is acknowledged and combined with her current identity as Christian Duchess of Burgundy.

The final anomaly in Joanna's book of hours is an unusual prayer to the Virgin.¹³⁸ The rubric and incipit for this prayer are on folio 288, accompanied by a portrait of Joanna with St. John the Evangelist. Joanna kneels and faces an image of the Virgin and Child on folio 287v. (fig. 34). The rubric of the prayer states that it is "A prayer dedicated to the Blessed Virgin."¹³⁹ The prayer begins with a plea to the Virgin, "Grant that I may praise you, sacred Virgin. Give me..."¹⁴⁰ By including her portrait at the beginning of this prayer, Joanna has emphasized its importance, just as her portrait at the beginning of the *Office of the Guardian Angel* underscored the significance of that cycle.

Joanna was deliberate in the placement of her portraits in her book of hours. Most portraits in books of hours are found at the beginning of two common prayers to the Virgin, the *Obsecro te* and the *O intemerata*, and in the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*.¹⁴¹ These portraits were meant to prepare the reader mentally for the text and the resulting spiritual experience, and acted as models for the reader to emulate.¹⁴² In Joanna's book of hours, her portrait is paired with an image of the Virgin and Child. If the meditative process was successful, she would have seen the same vision as her painted likeness. Portraits accompanied texts that were read frequently in order to aid in the mental exertion required to achieve this spiritual state. Joanna chose to place her own image in two key locations, suggesting that these were texts that she read often. Her choice of two obscure texts illustrates her power as a patron and perhaps her desire to cultivate certain religious and Spanish aspects of her identity.

B. Choice of Language

In the early Middle Ages, devotional manuscripts were written in Latin, since the majority of manuscripts were meant for and used by the clergy, who were schooled in Latin. It was rare for men outside of the clergy to know Latin and even more uncommon for women.¹⁴³

As private devotional manuscripts became more popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, accommodations were made for those who could not read Latin. One modification was the inclusion of rubrics at the beginning of a prayer written in the vernacular of the patron. Rubrics consisted of a few words that acted as markers introducing the reader to the prayer that followed. Most of the time, the prayers were in Latin, so the rubric was extremely important in order for the reader to know the content of the text. If the prayer was common, such as the *Pater Noster*, it could then be recited aloud or to oneself and regardless of whether the reader knew the equivalent words in Latin.¹⁴⁴ Devotional books commissioned or made for women often had rubrics in the vernacular followed by Latin prayers. The language chosen for a book of hours can therefore reveal a woman's place of origin and her level of literacy. As books of hours gained popularity, some women of means had the entire contents of their devotional books translated into their native tongue, resulting in an outpouring of vernacular texts. June Hall McCash has noted that this enabled women to participate more fully in private devotion.¹⁴⁵ Because public devotion was limited by the patriarchal structure of the church, access to prayer through the vernacular empowered women. They could proceed on the path to salvation more easily because the way was textually accessible.¹⁴⁶

1. The *Hours of Isabel of Portugal*

Many devotional manuscripts are written in diverse languages, due, in part, to the peripatetic nature of noblewomen as a result of betrothals and marriages to men from other regions. This is the case for the *Hours of Isabel of Portugal* (Simon Bening and two Iberian illuminators, San Marino, The Huntington Library, HM 1162),¹⁴⁷ which was commissioned by Isabel of Portugal (1503-1539), daughter of Maria of Aragon (1482-1517) and Manuel I, King of Portugal (1469-1521) and wife of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-1558; see appendices

4 and 6). It was written in Spain and contains some passages in Spanish.¹⁴⁸ On folios 1-1v., for example, there is a table of contents that begins: “Table of devotions that appear in this book. First, a calendar, in two pages, the devotions that the Catholic queen was accustomed to praying in the morning.”¹⁴⁹ The calendar includes the feast days for archbishops from Toledo, such as Ildephonsus and Julianus.¹⁵⁰ In addition, St. Leocadia, an early Christian martyr who suffered under the persecution of Diocletian and was particularly revered in Toledo, is listed in the suffrages.¹⁵¹ Her relics were taken to Oviedo, in northern Spain, when the Moors invaded.¹⁵² They were eventually moved to the church of St. Ghislain, in Belgium where they remained until 1589, when they were returned to Toledo.¹⁵³ Isabel of Castile’s daughter, Joanna of Castile, and Philip the Handsome brought the tibia bone of St. Leocadia back to Spain when her relics were in Belgium.¹⁵⁴ These three saints, Leocadia, Ildephonsus and Julianus, were revered in Toledo and also in Isabel’s family. Their inclusion in her book of hours therefore demonstrates part of her devotional identity.

The feast days and suffrages listed in Isabel’s book of hours represent her Spanish roots, but the illuminations combine Spanish and Burgundian elements. Sometime in the early 1530s, Isabel hired Simon Bening to produce fifteen small miniatures and two full-page miniatures, which were executed in Bruges, sent to Spain and pasted onto its pages.¹⁵⁵ A Spanish artist added illusionistic borders around the miniatures by Bening, as on folio 86v. (fig. 35).¹⁵⁶ Isabel may have known Bening’s work through her brother Fernando, who commissioned a manuscript of the genealogy of his family from Bening sometime between 1530 and 1534 (Simon Bening and António de Holanda, *Genealogy of the Royal House of Spain and Portugal*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 12531).¹⁵⁷

The seemingly disjointed nature of Isabel's manuscript reflects her aesthetic preferences and her devotional traditions. The table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript enabled her to access prayers easily even if she was unable to read the Latin incipits. The incipit pages were further emphasized by the use of burgundy or slate backgrounds on which the text was written.¹⁵⁸ Folio 86v., for example, contains the second part of the text for the beginning of Compline in the *Hours of the Virgin*, which begins on folio 86 (fig. 35). These colors allowed Isabel to recognize the beginning of the desired prayer. The inclusion of local saints in the calendar derives from her personal interest in the religious history of Toledo, and the familiarity of these saints may have also provided her with some comfort. Their inclusion is not unusual, because Isabel lived in Spain after her marriage and would have continued to practice her devotions in the manner to which she was accustomed. What is interesting is her desire to include Flemish illuminations in her manuscript. She may have chosen Simon Bening because she admired his style. Regardless of the reason for her choices of illuminators, the result was a manuscript that combined Flemish and Spanish elements, representing Isabel's devotional, aesthetic, and political identity.

2. The *Hours of Margaret of Cleves*

In the case of the *Hours of Isabel of Portugal*, the language choice is not unusual. As discussed above, the vernacular was often used in books of hours to aid those not schooled in Latin. In some cases, the language choice in a manuscript is unique and reveals somewhat surprising aspects of the patron. Such is the case with the *Hours of Margaret of Cleves* (Master of Margaret of Cleves, Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. L.A. 148; fig. 52).¹⁵⁹ This manuscript was probably commissioned for Margaret of Cleves (1375-1411), wife of Albert, Duke of Cleves (d. 1404), sometime between 1395 and 1400 (see appendix 5).¹⁶⁰ It was

produced in Utrecht and the prayers are written in Latin.¹⁶¹ This is unusual because books of hours in Latin were infrequent among manuscripts produced in the northern Netherlands.¹⁶² Most were produced in the vernacular, which allowed the laity greater access to devotional texts.¹⁶³ This also resulted in an increase in the popularity of books of hours for female patrons.

If vernacular texts were the norm for this period and region, why was Margaret's book written in Latin? James Marrow argued that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the teachings of Geert Grote, who championed the translation of devotional manuscripts into the vernacular, had not yet saturated the northern Netherlands.¹⁶⁴ As a result, most books of hours created there during this time did not have standardized texts nor were they all written in the vernacular.¹⁶⁵ According to Marrow, since Margaret's manuscript was produced at the beginning of the fifteenth century, its Latin texts are not unusual.

It is also possible that Margaret commissioned her manuscript in Latin because she knew how to read it. Unlike many laywomen, Margaret had ties to a number of pious organizations. She was the founder of the Dominican monastery at The Hague and was buried there in 1411.¹⁶⁶ She was also a benefactor of the nunnery at Schönensteinbach in Alsace, and bequeathed this book of hours to them after her death.¹⁶⁷ Her connection to this institution was perhaps due to the increase in opportunities for women who wanted to lead a pious life. One way to do this was to enter a nunnery. At the end of the fourteenth century, the most popular nunnery in Northern Europe was Schönensteinbach.¹⁶⁸ Women from Utrecht came here in great numbers, leading the Church to permit the establishment of a similar institution, named after Mary Magdalene, in Utrecht.¹⁶⁹ This nunnery and Schönensteinbach were therefore connected to one another, which may have led Margaret and Albert to support the latter.¹⁷⁰

In addition to financing Dominican organizations, Margaret's private devotions were centered on Dominican ideology. The chaplain at the court at The Hague was a Dominican, who had a manuscript made for Margaret in 1401.¹⁷¹ He served as her confessor and may have schooled her in doctrine. If so, she may have learned Latin well enough to read it without the aid of a vernacular translation or rubrics. Margaret's support of Dominican institutions, her connection to the nunnery in Alsace, and her Dominican confessor contributed to her private religious life. As a result, her understanding of doctrine would have allowed her to glean her devotions from Latin texts rather than vernacular translations.

Margaret's religious background and devotional interests suggest that she was a learned woman. She and her husband were at the center of the newly established court at The Hague, where they were surrounded by artists and musicians schooled in the latest trends.¹⁷² Margaret must have been aware of Geert Grote's vernacular translations. Although she could have had these included in her manuscript, I believe that she requested Latin texts as a reflection of her education and preferred devotional practice.

C. Inscriptions

As discussed above, the prayers and languages in books of hours differ from one manuscript to the next. Specific prayers were included based on the preferences of the patron. Yet the structures of the prayer cycles, which could be identified by their incipits, were the same from one book of hours to the next.¹⁷³ Therefore, patrons did not often manipulate their content, although someone other than the scribe sometimes added inscriptions extraneous to the prayer cycles. These addenda occur in a variety of places, and were sometimes written by the original owner of the manuscript or a subsequent owner. Regardless of when they were placed in a

manuscript, inscriptions can shed light on its commission, provenance, or the identity of its owner.

1. The *Breviary of Mary of Savoy*

An example occurs in the *Breviary of Mary of Savoy* (Master of the *Vitae imperatorium* and Belbello of Pavia, Chambéry, Bibliothèque publique de Chambéry, Ms. 4), which was commissioned by Mary of Savoy (1411-1469), wife of Philippe Marie Visconti (1392-1447; see appendix 4).¹⁷⁴ An inscription appears on folio 319 of this breviary, identifying Mary as the patron (figs. 36 and 36a):

Duchess Marie who is well-known throughout the universe, spouse and associate of the Duke of Anguiger [Philippe Marie Visconti], first child of prince Amadee, who served the great [duchy] of Savoy. [Marie] Ordered the script and various paintings in this ornate book, in order to honor God.¹⁷⁵

This inscription reveals a great deal about Mary's identity. It begins with a statement that establishes her as an important person in her own right (well known throughout the universe). The second part of the inscription connects her with two important men in her life, her husband Philippe Marie, whom she married in 1428, and her father, Amadeus VIII (1383-1451).¹⁷⁶ The inscription describes her as Philippe's spouse and associate, indicating that it was commissioned at the time of her marriage or sometime after. Mary's father was Duke of Savoy until 1439, at which time he was elected antipope and took the name Felix V. He remained in that position until 1449, when he acquiesced to Nicholas V, who was recognized as the true pope.¹⁷⁷ This inscription does not describe Amadeus VIII as pope but as Duke of Savoy, indicating that the manuscript was finished before he became Felix V. It was therefore produced between 1428 and 1439.¹⁷⁸

This inscription establishes Mary of Savoy's place in the genealogy of her family by linking her to her past life through the description of her father. It also refers to her present life, that of Duchess of Savoy and wife of Philippe Marie. The final portion of the inscription addresses her role as patron. It explains that Mary was the one who commissioned the script and illuminations in the manuscript. It also gives her reason for the commission: the glorification of God. This last portion of the inscription underscores Mary's religious identity. This role is the most personal of those mentioned in the inscription, which establishes a hierarchy by beginning with a description of her public identity and concluding with a personal addendum. Her most public persona is described first, followed by her personal and political relationships. Her devotional identity is mentioned last. This hierarchy may not have been based on the importance of each role, but on the progression from the most visible to the most intimate.

The structure of this inscription underscores several functions of a devotional manuscript in the late Middle Ages. The *Breviary of Mary of Savoy* is a devotional manuscript, but this inscription identifies its other equally important functions. The religious purpose, "To honor God," is mentioned last, while Mary's political and familial identity are mentioned first. This thematic hierarchy may have been intentional so that Philippe, the recipient of the manuscript, would see Mary's devotion to him as most important. Reading further, Philippe would also have been reminded of his father-in-law's title, which gave him political strength via his association to Mary. In this hierarchy, honoring God takes a tertiary role, due to the context in which the manuscript was created.¹⁷⁹

2. The *Breviary of Isabelle of Castile*

Family connections and piety are only two aspects of a woman's self-definition revealed by inscriptions. A noblewoman's roles as mother and perpetuator of the family were also integral

parts of her life. Some inscriptions commemorated events that related to the continuation of the family line. Weddings, for instance, were celebrated for their religious significance and the political unions they created. An example of an important wedding documented in a manuscript is the double marriage of Joanna and John of Castile to Philip the Handsome and Margaret of Austria, respectively. As mentioned earlier, Joanna and John were the children of Isabelle of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon (see appendix 6), and Philip and Margaret were the children of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor (see appendix 4).¹⁸⁰

These marriages were politically beneficial to Isabelle and Ferdinand, because they made Spain and Burgundy political allies. Both sets of parents had representatives, who met in Flanders to negotiate the complicated arrangements for the weddings.¹⁸¹ Francisco de Rojas was the negotiator for Isabelle and Ferdinand, and on January 20, 1495, in Antwerp, he signed a marriage contract in the names of Joanna and John.¹⁸² The wedding took place on November 5, 1495 in Mechelen, but neither couple was present.¹⁸³ Rojas stood in for the prince and princess of Castile at the legal ceremony and Berthold von Henneberg represented the archduke and archduchess of Austria.¹⁸⁴ Joanna did not meet her husband, Philip, until October of the following year, when she arrived in Flanders from Spain. After Joanna arrived, Margaret left Flanders for Spain with Francisco de Rojas. She finally joined her husband, John, in April of 1497.¹⁸⁵

Rojas's role in this marriage negotiation lasted for more than two years. He must have been pleased with the outcome of his efforts as a servant of Isabelle and Ferdinand, because he commemorated his participation in this political union by giving a breviary to Isabelle (*Breviary of Isabelle of Castile*, Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, Master of James IV of Scotland, and

others, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18851).¹⁸⁶ An inscription in the right lower margin of folio 437 records his gift to the Queen (figs. 37 and 37a):

To the blessed Elizabeth,
 queen of the Spaniards and of Sicily etc.,
 his most Christian, most powerful, ever
 august, and most clement supreme lady,
 Franciscus de Roias, the most humble
 servant and creature of that same Majesty,
 offered this... in homage.¹⁸⁷

This manuscript was produced in either Bruges or Ghent, so Rojas must have commissioned it while he was in Flanders negotiating the double marriage.¹⁸⁸ He left with the manuscript by 1497, so it must have been completed by that time. Isabelle probably cherished Rojas's gift, because both she and Rojas had a love of Flemish art. She owned a Flemish book of hours and commissioned a Flemish manuscript for her daughter, Joanna.¹⁸⁹

An examination of Rojas's inscription reveals that his gesture was not completely selfless. He begins with an homage to his benefactor, Isabelle, by identifying her as queen of Spain and Sicily, thereby establishing her as a powerful woman (figs. 37 and 37a). In the second half of the inscription, he inserts information about his humble participation in the service of the Queen. For Rojas, Isabelle's sovereign role is the most important aspect of her identity. He then defines his relationship to her, thereby raising his own level of importance. The impetus for the entire inscription was of course the double marriage of Isabelle's children. Her roles as mother and perpetuator of the royal line are what inspired Rojas to commission the manuscript, but he mentions and associates himself with her role as sovereign. Although this inscription was not written or requested by Isabelle, it reveals aspects of her identity as recognized by an admirer and member of the court.

III. Hagiographic Evidence of Self-Definition

By the fourteenth century, pilgrimage to the sites of saints' relics became a goal for those who were seeking forgiveness or cures for their ailments.¹⁹⁰ Pilgrimage, however, was arduous and time-consuming and those who could not or did not wish to make the physical journey had other options. They could pay for someone to go on pilgrimage in their stead, or they could take a spiritual, or mental pilgrimage.¹⁹¹ The mental pilgrimage was a spiritual quest in which the devotees imagined that they were physically moving from one holy site to the next. Mental pilgrimage had the same effect as an actual pilgrimage in that it could lead to curative results or spiritual salvation through the acquisition of indulgences.¹⁹² This type of pilgrimage usually required an image to help the worshipper visualize the various venues.

Illuminated manuscripts and panel paintings served as guides to lead the devotees into an internal world where they could move freely from site to site. Images to aid in spiritual pilgrimage became popular in private devotional books, especially miniatures of saints holding their attributes. St. Stephen, for example, was often depicted holding a stone in his hand, because he was stoned to death. He was venerated for his ability to cure headaches and was also the patron saint of stone-masons, because of the way he was martyred.¹⁹³ Sometimes the imagery for a particular saint came from an event from his or her life. St. John the Evangelist, for instance, could be depicted either on Patmos, writing the book of Revelation, or in the vat of boiling water in which he was martyred.¹⁹⁴ Such images and the prayers that accompanied them served as aids for the veneration of particular saints. In books of hours, these short prayers and their imagery are called suffrages and veneration of them could replace traveling to pilgrimage sites that housed the saints' relics themselves.¹⁹⁵

Suffrages were most often included at the end of books of hours. They appear in a certain order, based on the celestial hierarchy of heaven.¹⁹⁶ The suffrage to the Trinity was usually first, followed by suffrages to the Holy Spirit, Holy Cross, the Virgin, angels and saints.¹⁹⁷ The saints were further subdivided and ranked by importance. Apostles were first, then male martyrs, confessors, virgin martyrs and widows.¹⁹⁸ Some saints, such as Stephen, Margaret, Catherine, and Peter, were common in books of hours regardless of where the book was produced or used. Patrons could also request the inclusion of favorite saints, patron saints, or saints who were venerated in their hometown. These variations reveal aspects of the patron's spiritual identity and place of birth. This is especially true in books commissioned by women who traveled from their birthplace to their husband's residence after marriage, carrying their devotional manuscripts with them to their new homes. If local saints were included in the suffrages, their presence could offer some comfort to a woman in a strange place. Conversely, the depiction of saints who were venerated in her new home could aid her in her adjustment to unfamiliar traditions.

A. *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*

The *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, discussed above, contains fifty-seven illuminated suffrages.¹⁹⁹ These include typical saints such as the apostles, the four doctors of the church, SS. Mary Magdalene and Catherine, as well as a variety of saints who seem to have had special significance for Catherine of Cleves. A miniature on page 284 of M. 917, for instance, depicts St. Servatius, standing and holding a set of keys (fig. 38).²⁰⁰ He became the first bishop of Tongres, a city in northeastern Belgium, around 345.²⁰¹ After his death, his remains were moved to Maastricht, where a church was built to house his relics. This translation occurred because the seat of the holy see of Tongres was moved to Maastricht.²⁰² His cult spread throughout the region, which included Cleves where Catherine was born.²⁰³ The inclusion of St. Servatius in

Catherine's book of hours therefore helps to localize it to a specific place and devotional tradition.

Among the female martyrs included in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* is St. Cecilia, who appears on page 308 of M. 917 (fig. 39).²⁰⁴ She is a relatively common saint found in books of hours, but in Catherine's manuscript there are several anomalies in her suffrage miniature that deserve discussion.²⁰⁵ Before the fifteenth century, images of St. Cecilia relate to the legend of her martyrdom, in which she was boiled in water and almost beheaded.²⁰⁶ Paintings of her depicted these tortures or showed her holding a cauldron.²⁰⁷ Sometime during the fifteenth century, she became known as the patron saint of music.²⁰⁸ This attribution derives from her vita, which relates the story of her wedding day. During the ceremony, musicians played and she sang to God, silently asking him to keep her body from being defiled by her husband.²⁰⁹ At this time, artists began painting her with musical instruments, such as a lyre or a portable organ.²¹⁰

The image of St. Cecilia in Catherine's book of hours does not show either of these *topoi*. Instead, she holds a falcon and a stick used to feed it meat. The wall behind her is decorated with a repeated pattern of a winged boy holding a white falcon. In the borders of the miniature, four large falcon feathers are depicted with the letters C or E and D.²¹¹ If the letters are read as C and D, then they may stand for *Catherina Duxissa*, which refers to Catherine's title as duchess of Guelders. These initials are also embroidered on a blue velvet bag in the *bas-de-page* of page 237 of M. 917 (fig. 89).²¹² On page 308, the initials are chained together and a falcon lure hangs from each chain.²¹³

This unique depiction of St. Cecilia has yet to be explained. Her connection to falconry may link her to Catherine of Cleves in some way. The aristocracy practiced the sport of falconry, and Catherine and St. Cecilia both came from wealthy families. Falconry was very popular in

Belgium and the Netherlands. In the fourteenth century, falcons were brought from Germany and Scandinavia to be trained for this sport.²¹⁴ One of the most notable centers for the training of falcons was the Duchy of Brabant, which was adjacent to the Duchy of Cleves, Catherine of Cleves's place of birth, and the Duchy of Guelders, where she was duchess.²¹⁵ The proximity of a great falconry center to areas where Catherine lived may be a clue to the unique depiction of St. Cecilia in this manuscript. Perhaps her family was involved in this sport, so much so that it was commemorated in her book of hours. The gold letters on the falcon feathers literally mark this page with Catherine's presence, signifying that there is some significance to the falconry imagery.

The presence of three more folios in the manuscript that contain images related to birds and hunting supports this argument. The marginalia on page 247 of M. 917 depicts birdcages and training devices for birds of prey (fig. 40).²¹⁶ This page also contains the initials C and D and a third illegible letter in the lower right corner. These letters may function as marking devices as on page 308. The second example occurs on folio 32 of M. 945 (fig. 41), where St. John the Baptist and Christ appear in the *bas-de-page* as infants playing with a device used to trap birds.²¹⁷ The third image appears in the *bas-de-page* on folio 107 of M. 945 (fig. 42). Here a man uses a rope-trap to catch birds.²¹⁸

Falconry is emphasized in this imagery, whether it was to be read in a concrete way, as I have suggested, or in a more symbolic manner. These miniatures also suggest that Catherine or her family had a particular connection to the sport. The references to falconry are clearly unrelated to piety or Catherine's political or familiar concerns. Instead, they reference the non-devotional or profane function of her book of hours.

B. The *Brussels Hours*

The suffrages in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* were part of its original program. In some cases, subsequent patrons added suffrages or images of saints to personalize manuscripts that they acquired. An example of this type of addendum can be found in the *Brussels Hours* (Jacquemart de Hesdin and others, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 11060-61).²¹⁹ This manuscript was made for John, Duke of Berry between 1405 and 1409, and is listed in an inventory taken of his manuscripts in 1420.²²⁰ He gave it to his nephew, John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy.²²¹ As discussed in chapter 1, when John died in 1419, his wife, Margaret of Bavaria, requested it (see appendix 5).²²² She retained it until her death in 1424, and it is recorded in a posthumous inventory of her effects that was compiled in that same year.²²³

Around 1420, after the *Brussels Hours* entered the Burgundian library, an image of Veronica was glued to folio 8 (fig. 43).²²⁴ Veronica holds the sudarium imprinted with the Holy Face in front of her.²²⁵ SS. Paul and Peter appear to her right and left respectively. The sudarium is linked to the most well-known portion of Veronica's vita. According to one version of the legend, Veronica desired an image of Jesus' face that she could gaze upon in his absence. To please her, Jesus wiped his face on a piece of cloth and gave it to her. He told her that it would cure the sicknesses of those who were truly pious.²²⁶

According to Gaspar and Lyna, Margaret was the one who requested that Veronica's image be inserted in the *Brussels Hours*.²²⁷ This theory is plausible because two other manuscripts that Margaret owned also contain images of Veronica that were also inserted into the manuscripts rather than being painted on existing folios.²²⁸ Jeffrey Hamburger suggests the reason for this was that attached images physically resembled the holy cloth more than a painting

on an existing folio.²²⁹ The physicality of the images may have appealed to Margaret and aided in her devotions.

Veronica was venerated in the Burgundian court and was especially important to Margaret of Bavaria, who was dedicated to her cult,²³⁰ perhaps because of Veronica's ability to ward off unexpected death without benefit of the sacraments.²³¹ This would have concerned Margaret, because her husband, John the Fearless, was assassinated in 1419.²³² Moreover, two of her brothers-in-law, Anthony and Philip, were killed at the battle of Agincourt in 1415.²³³ Veronica and the Holy Face would have offered comfort and hope to Margaret, who was probably worried about the future of her children after the death of their father. It seems that Margaret's devotion was rewarded. Five of her children lived long enough to marry and successfully expand the power of the Burgundian court (see appendix 5).

C. The *Hours of Anne of France*

Books of hours did not always include suffrages, but saints important to the patron were sometimes acknowledged in the calendar at the beginning of the manuscript. The calendar listed important events in a saint's life and the day that event was celebrated.²³⁴ For example, the day the saint died or was martyred was often recognized.²³⁵ Other events could include the day the saint's relics were moved to their final resting place, known as the translation day.²³⁶ These feasts and the saints themselves were rated by level of importance. This hierarchy was indicated in the calendar by different colors of ink. The most important days were written in gold, with feast days of lesser importance in red, and the least important days in blue or black.²³⁷ This rating system varied, depending on where the manuscript was produced or used.²³⁸ A book made in Paris, for example, may indicate St. Denis's feast day on October 9th in gold; since St. Denis is the patron saint of France, his feast day was ranked high on the hierarchical scale.²³⁹ This

method of ranking the importance of feast days is useful, because it can help to identify the origin of the manuscript or the devotional traditions of the patron.

The *Hours of Anne of France*, mentioned above, is an example of a manuscript that does not contain any suffrages.²⁴⁰ However, the calendar is very detailed and a saint is listed for every day of the year.²⁴¹ Among the many who are acknowledged are four who can be localized to Bourges: St. William (d. 1209), St. Sulpice (d. 647), St. Austregisille (551-624) and St. Ursinus (3rd century), all of whom were bishops of Bourges.²⁴² St. Ursinus was the founder of the bishopric at Bourges at the end of the third century. His feast day is celebrated on December 29 and appears in red letters in the manuscript's calendar on folio 6v. (fig. 44).²⁴³ St. William's feast day is January 10 and St. Sulpice's is celebrated on January 17 (fig. 45).²⁴⁴ Their names appear in black on folio 1 of the calendar pages. St. Austregisille was honored on May 20 and his name is also in black letters on folio 3 (fig. 46).²⁴⁵

The inclusion of Bourges saints in the calendar indicates that the patron was connected to this city in some way. This manuscript was made for Anne of France before her marriage to Peter of Bourbon.²⁴⁶ It must have been a gift from her mother, Charlotte of Savoy (see appendix 2).²⁴⁷ Jean Colombe, the artist of the miniatures, was from Bourges, and Charlotte of Savoy employed him between 1469 and 1479 for various projects.²⁴⁸ Anne of France was connected to Bourges through her father, Louis XI, who was born there in 1423. In 1456, he fled Bourges and went to Burgundy, where he remained in exile under the protection of Philip the Good.²⁴⁹ His thirteen-year old bride, Charlotte of Savoy, accompanied him and spent most of her life in Burgundy.

Charlotte may have asked Jean Colombe to include Bourges saints in this manuscript to educate her daughter in the family's religious traditions. Anne was born in Burgundy and was

probably educated there. Her book of hours may have been used to familiarize her with saints her father would have known as a child. The inclusion of Bourges saints in the calendar of the *Hours of Anne of France* reflects the importance of this city to Charlotte of Savoy, Louis XI and Anne of France. The religious traditions of Louis XI's place of birth would have been instilled in her as she read her manuscript. Her father's traditions thereby became her own, linking her to a long line of family devotional practice. Anne's religious identity was formed in part by the mores of her ancestors. She would have naturally taken the manuscript across the border of Burgundy into Bourbon after her marriage to Peter of Bourbon. The feasts of the Bourges saints would have kept her connection to her father alive through her family's religious traditions. These practices presumably continued and were passed down to the next generation, as Anne became a mother herself.

D. The *Hours of Margaret of Cleves*

In the *Hours of Anne of France*, the lack of suffrages makes it difficult to localize the book based on the saints venerated, so the calendar is integral to a discussion of preferential saints. In some books of hours, the patron's hagiographic desires are reflected in other sections of the manuscript besides the calendar or suffrages. Prayers to saints are sometimes inserted in unusual sections of a book of hours, as in the *Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, mentioned above.²⁵⁰ Margaret's manuscript was produced in Utrecht, and the calendar is filled with saints venerated in that region. St. Servatius's feast day is acknowledged on May 13, for instance, and his name is written in red. He was bishop of Tongres in the last quarter of the fourth century.²⁵¹ The name of St. Odulphus, canon at Utrecht in the ninth century, is also written in red next to his feast day on June 12.²⁵² St. Lambertus was bishop of Tongres in the seventh century, and his name appears in red on September 17.²⁵³ St. Willibrordus was another seventh-century saint, who established his

bishopric at Utrecht in 695. He built a chapel dedicated to St. Martin in the Cathedral of Utrecht, and his feast day is celebrated on November 7.²⁵⁴

Perhaps the most important saint in the calendar of the *Hours of Margaret of Cleves* is St. Martin of Tours.²⁵⁵ He is listed twice: on folio 16v. under November 11, the date of his martyrdom, and on folio 10 under July 4, the date of the translation of his relics. St. Martin was venerated in Utrecht and the Cathedral there is dedicated to him.²⁵⁶ In addition to being recognized in the calendar, St. Martin is venerated in the manuscript after Lauds of the *Hours of the Virgin*. A suffrage to him was added along with prayers to the *Holy Cross* and *All Saints*. James Marrow has suggested that Margaret of Cleves asked for these suffrages to be added to her manuscript.²⁵⁷ If so, she may have had a special devotion to St. Martin. Sometime after the manuscript was completed in the late fourteenth century, Margaret moved to The Hague with her new husband, Albert, Duke of Cleves (see appendix 5).²⁵⁸ Perhaps her dedication to St. Martin and his shrine at Utrecht were important enough to deserve recognition in her book of hours. Utrecht was the Holy See of the northern Netherlands, and Margaret's devotional traditions were rooted in this region. When she left the north for the court life of The Hague, the familiar prayer to St. Martin and the feast days of the other Utrecht saints would have reminded her of her homeland.

E. The *Psalter of Jeanne of Laval*

In addition to suffrages to saints and acknowledgement of their feast days in the calendar, private devotional books often contained a section called the Litany of Saints, which followed the Penitential Psalms.²⁵⁹ The Litany is a list of saint's names followed by the words "Pray for us."²⁶⁰ The reader would invoke the name saint and then ask that a prayer be offered up for his or her soul. Like suffrages, the Litany was organized in hierarchical fashion.²⁶¹ It began with an

abbreviated version of the *Kyrie Eleison*, which is the prayer the priest says at the beginning of Mass.²⁶² The list of saints would follow, beginning with the Virgin, then archangels, angels, St. John the Baptist, apostles, male martyrs, confessors, male saints, female virgin martyrs and widows.²⁶³ The saints included in these categories could vary depending on the patron, where the manuscript was made or where it would be used.

The Litany in the *Psalter of Jeanne of Laval* (Bedford Master, Rohan Master, Jean Fouquet and others, Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 41) includes a large number of saints, who represent most of the categories just mentioned.²⁶⁴ This manuscript was commissioned for, and owned by, Jeanne of Laval (1433-1498), second wife of René of Anjou (1409-1480; see appendix 3).²⁶⁵ It was probably produced in Angers, where Jeanne lived after her marriage to René.²⁶⁶ The Litany contains a number of saints from Brittany and Anjou. These two regions were adjacent to one another and may have shared some of the same religious traditions. The saints from Brittany include St. Ivo, who was born in Brittany in 1253, and St. Samson, who founded a monastery in Dol, Brittany in the sixth century.²⁶⁷ The most important saint mentioned from Anjou is St. Louis of Anjou, a distant relative of René of Anjou, who was briefly bishop of Toulouse, in 1296, but resigned the bishopric after six months.²⁶⁸ The saint who is the most geographically specific in Jeanne's Litany is St. William of Firmatus. He was a hermit saint who lived in Laval and Mayenne, both located in Anjou.²⁶⁹ After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, William continued his life as a hermit in Vitré and surrounding areas. He died in Mantilly in 1090.²⁷⁰

Unlike other women discussed in this chapter, Jeanne did not venture far from her place of birth. She and her husband were born near one another and presumably followed the same devotional practices. The saints cited in the Litany in her Psalter reflect the cohesiveness of her family's traditions. Jeanne's marriage to René of Anjou would not have required her to learn new

traditions or covet old ones. The saints in the Litany therefore reflect Jeanne's family traditions, which were probably similar to those of her husband.

IV. Conclusion

The restrictions placed on noblewomen in the late Middle Ages were derived from established modes of behavior developed over many centuries. Laws, such as those developed by the Salian Franks,²⁷¹ limited a woman politically, because queens were outranked by their husbands or male relatives and could not ascend to the throne. However, some women, such as Louise of Savoy, occasionally circumvented these laws when they acted as regents for their sons or husbands. This empowerment was fleeting and could end abruptly, and was, of course, dependent upon the decisions of men.

The Church also placed limitations on woman by dictating their level of participation in the Mass. In the late Middle Ages, the Church was more restrictive than in the earlier medieval period, and women were forced to find new outlets for their devotion. This caused them to gravitate to certain devotional ideologies, such as the *Devotio moderna* movement, reverence to the elevated Host, or the cult of a specific saint. By prescribing to one of these ideologies, a woman felt empowered within her church and better able to participate in the Christian rituals that were more accessible to men.

A noblewoman's role in her family was also based on traditions developed by generations of the aristocracy. Even in what one would consider an intimate moment, women were placed on display and scrutinized by the court and the public. Isabelle of Portugal, for example, made a point to learn the appropriate birthing rituals in the Burgundian court so as not to offend anyone or embarrass herself or her family.²⁷² She and other noblewomen were also required to teach their children, but only until they were seven. After that age, boys, and

sometimes girls, were placed under the care of a tutor, usually chosen by their fathers. The relationships between a mother and her children were therefore regulated by societal traditions.

Clearly noblewomen were restricted in the three most important areas in their lives; politics, devotion and family life. There were very few ways in which they could assert their identity. Patronage was one of the areas where they could make choices that reflected their personal desires and aesthetic sensibilities. Margaret of Austria, Charlotte of Savoy, Louise of Savoy, and Yolande of Aragon, among others, used their power as patrons to choose artists who could fulfill their aesthetic and stylistic preferences. By contrast, identity was expressed through the prayers included in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* and the *Hours of Joanna of Castile*. These books of hours exhibit textual choices that reflect the interests of their patrons and the traditions of their native regions. The language of prayers was also important to female patrons, because it allowed access to doctrine that had sometimes been inaccessible to them. Vernacular texts enabled women like Isabel of Portugal and Anne of Burgundy to enact their private devotions. In the *Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, the use of Latin exhibits Margaret's level of education and devotional practice.

Perhaps the most revealing texts are those added after the manuscript was completed. The *Hours of Mary of Savoy* uncovers several levels of the patron's identity by means of such an inscription. The organization of these levels alerted the reader to Mary's identity and her place in the court. Inscriptions are also helpful in tracing the provenance of a manuscript, thereby linking a woman to a devotional work. They are especially useful in manuscripts like the *Psalter of St. Louis* and *The Hours of Louis of Laval*, which were originally owned by men. In such cases, the inscription is the only evidence that a woman owned the manuscript.

Devotional preferences are best represented in manuscripts through the choice of saints. Whether saints are mentioned in the calendar, Litany, or suffrages, they reflect the devotional traditions of the patron. In deluxe manuscripts like the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, a comprehensive devotional method can be discerned based on the saints included. Devotions to saints that were added after a manuscript was completed also reflect the patron's desires. For example, Margaret of Bavaria placed an image of St. Veronica in the suffrages of the *Brussels Hours* in order to personalize her book. This insertion also indicates that St. Veronica was crucial to Margaret's own devotional practice.

Devotional manuscripts gave women a vehicle by which they could demonstrate their own self-definition within the restricted court environment. Books were ideal for this role because their innate structures represented conventional modes of religious expression designed by the Church. However, the choices women made about the components within this established structure, discussed above, represent their individual concerns. Noblewomen could therefore express themselves within the parameters of the manuscript's construction. Although the changes seem small, within the limited range of actions available to women, they are precious evidence of the devotional needs and even political and familial aspirations of many noblewomen from the late Middle Ages. Through patronage, they regained the individuality that was often stripped from them due to their conventional roles within the courts.

¹ Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 265. For St. Catherine, see note 16 in the Introduction.

² Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 265.

³ For Margaret of Austria, see section XIII in chapter 1 and section I.B.3 in chapter 3

⁴ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 429.

⁵ For a discussion of the stylistic differences in this manuscript, see Bovey, "Renaissance Bibliomania," 119-128. For the library of Margaret of Austria, see section XIII in chapter 1. For further discussions of this manuscript, see also section I.B.3 in chapter 3.

⁶ Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 16. Bona of Savoy (1449-1503), Philibert's aunt, was the original owner of this manuscript and commissioned it in 1490 (see appendix 4). While Birago was working on the manuscript, Gian Jacopo, a friar from San Marco, stole a large portion of the finished section; see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 428. This setback, combined with the death of Bona's son, Gian Galeazzo Sforza (1469-1494), caused her to lose interest in the project; see Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 11-12. In 1495, she moved from Milan to Savoy, where she stayed with Philibert II until her death in 1503; see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 429. Philibert inherited the manuscript, which he bequeathed to his wife, Margaret of Austria.

⁷ Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 12. A document of 1520 from the household of Savoy records that payment was made to him, "for his pain and trouble in having written several vellum leaves for those hours, made in the Italian style and with Italian pictures, which came from the late madame Bonne of Milan, which hours had lost the said leaves in various places, and is now put back in order." Translation by Evans.

⁸ Georges Dogaer, James Marrow and Friedrich Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1987), 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* The municipal authorities of Ghent paid Horenbout for the painting. Evans has suggested that it was a depiction of part of the city.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ See section XIII in chapter 1.

¹⁵ When Mary of Burgundy died in 1482, Maximilian maintained the court at Mechelen, which was the administrative center of the Netherlands; see Jelle Haemers, *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 36-38.

¹⁶ Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1988), 213. For a previous discussion of Margaret's marriages, see section XIII in chapter 1.

¹⁷ See Castelnuovo, *Les Manuscrits enluminés des comtes et ducs de Savoie*, 195-206.

¹⁸ Legaré, "'La librairie de Madame,' Two Princesses and their Libraries," 210.

¹⁹ Dogaer, Marrow, and Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, 161.

²⁰ Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, 116; Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler *Flemish Miniature Painting*, 164; and Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 28.

²¹ Attributed to the Master of James IV of Scotland and others. For this manuscript, see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 414-417. For a previous discussion of it, see section XIII in chapter 1.

²² As suggested by Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 28. Evans notes that Horenbout is documented by 1498 as having apprentices in his workshop in Ghent, and he received commissions from the city of Ghent between 1487 and 1511.

²³ Margaret had served as Regent from 1507-1515. Charles's gesture was therefore a re-appointment.

²⁴ Psalm 37: "Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thy indignation: nor chastise me in thy wrath. Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripas me." Psalm 50: "Have mercy on me, O God, according..." Miserere mei domine quoniam..." All Bible passages in this study are taken from the Douay-Rheims version.

²⁵ For a further discussion of this folio, see section I.B.3 in chapter 3.

²⁶ For a summary of Margaret's life, see Eichberger, "Timeline," 26-27. For her life as a widow, see Barbara Welzel, "Widowhood: Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria," in *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York/ Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 103-113.

²⁷ Eichberger, "Timeline," 26.

²⁸ Ian Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin: The Burial Cloth of Jesus Christ?* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 261. Louis received the Shroud from Margaret de Charny on March 22, 1453.

²⁹ See section VII in chapter 1.

³⁰ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 45-47. Legaré incorrectly identifies Charlotte of Savoy as Charles I’s sister. She was his aunt (see appendix 4).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

³² For further discussions of this manuscript, see section VIII in chapter 1, section III.C in this chapter and section I.B.1 in chapter 3.

³³ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 53.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁵ *Hours of Anne of France*, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS. M. 677, curatorial file, 2.

³⁶ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 50. “Monsieur Dubochage, I have a poor illuminator in Bourges, named Jean Colombe. Several times I have written and asked those in the city that by my request, they release him from the duties of said city, however, they force him to guard the gate and so he is unable to take care of my affairs. I ask you to write to those you will see regarding this matter because I am weary of asking them. And know that you would give me great pleasure if you could have him discharged of these duties, because he provides me with many services. And may God give you what you wish, Monsieur Dubochage. Written at Amboise the twelfth day of June. Charlotte. [Monsieur Dubochage, j’ay ung povre enlumineur a Bourges, nommé Jehan Coulombe. Par plusieurs fois ay escript et prié a ceulx de la ville, que en ma faveur ilz tenissent exempt des charges de la dite ville, ce neantmoins ilz le contraignent de faire le guet a la porte, par quoy il ne peut vacquer en mes affaires. Je vous prie que en vueillez escrire a ceulx que verrez estre a faire, car je suis lassé de plus les requerir. Et croyez que me ferez ung bien singulier plaisir se vous le faictes descharger desdites charges, car il me faict beaucoup de services. Et à Dieu, Monsieur Dubochage, qui vous doint ce que desirez. Escrip a Amboise, le 12th jour de juing. Charlotte.”] My translation.

³⁷ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 36.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 41.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 39-41.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Kendall, *Louis XI, the Universal Spider*, 123; and Matarasso, *Queen’s Mate*, 10.

⁴¹ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 36.

⁴² For a previous discussion of gift-giving in the late Middle Ages, see the introduction to chapter 1.

⁴³ Buettner, “Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400,” 598.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 614.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ For further discussions of this manuscript, see section IX in chapter 1, section I.B.4 in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4.

⁴⁷ Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress*, vol. I, 323.

⁴⁸ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 103.

⁴⁹ Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress*, vol. I, 319. For an English translation of the *Obsecro te*, see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 163-164.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁵¹ Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress*, vol. I, 318.

⁵² For a previous discussion of this manuscript, see section IX in chapter 1.

⁵³ Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, ca. 1464. For this painting, see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans. Heinz Norden, vol. II (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1967), 62, #10.

⁵⁴ Mary Beth Winn, “Louise de Savoie, ‘Bibliophile’,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 4 (2001): 229.

⁵⁵ Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, 393.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* For other manuscripts illuminated by this artist, see *ibid.*, 393-398.

⁵⁷ Winn, “Louise de Savoie, ‘Bibliophile’,” 230.

⁵⁸ For further discussions of this manuscript, see section VI in chapter 1 and section II in chapter 4.

⁵⁹ Millard Meiss, “Introduction I,” in *The Rohan Master*, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, 14.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 13.

⁶² Marcel Thomas, "Introduction II," in *The Rohan Master*, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, 22-28.

⁶³ Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, vol. I, 66. For this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 171-174.

⁶⁴ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 239. For a previous discussion of the *Très Riches Heures*, see section VII in chapter 1. For the *Belles Heures*, see section VI in chapter 1.

⁶⁵ Porcher, *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France duc de Berry*, 24. For further discussions of this manuscript, see section VI in chapter 1 and section I.A.2 in chapter 3.

⁶⁶ For a comparison between the three manuscripts, see Simons, "Rohan Workshop Books of Hours: Reassessing the Models."

⁶⁷ As recognized by Marcel Thomas in *The Rohan Master*, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, commentary to plate 34.

⁶⁸ See Maryann W. Ainsworth, "À la façon grèce": The Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons," in *Byzantine Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, Helen C. Evans, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004): 545-555, #349-355; and see # 87-89 for Byzantine examples.

⁶⁹ Meiss, "Introduction I," in *The Rohan Master*, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, 14. Charles was John, Duke of Berry's great-nephew. John died without a direct heir, and the title was given to Charles because he was the closest surviving male heir.

⁷⁰ Meiss, "Introduction I," in *The Rohan Master*, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, 13.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 14.

⁷³ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117. For the *Mass of the Dead*, see, for example Rutherford, *The Death of a Christian*, 56-59; Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*; and Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 107-113.

⁷⁴ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117.

⁷⁵ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 124. Companions of Charles VI killed John the Fearless during a meeting on the Yonne Bridge at Montereau between the two cousins. They were to discuss their alliance against the English; *ibid.* 123.

⁷⁶ Margaret's first husband, Louis of France, died in 1415 at the age of 18.

⁷⁷ As suggested by Spencer, see section V in chapter 1. For further discussions of this manuscript, see section V in chapter 1, sections I.A.4 and II.B in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4. For the controversy over the patronage of the *Bedford Hours*, see section V in chapter 1.

⁷⁸ For this manuscript, see section V in chapter 1.

⁷⁹ For a further discussion of this folio, see section I.A.4 in chapter 3. For a further discussion of the armorials in the *Bedford Hours*, see section II.B in chapter 3.

⁸⁰ See Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 32-33; and König, *The Bedford Hours*, 125-126, who argues that Anne and John had the two folios depicting Clovis and the Legend of the Fleurs-de-lis added to the manuscript before they gave it to Henry VI.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁸³ König misidentifies the image as a woman in prayer to the Virgin. The figure, who Margaret of Burgundy venerates, is St. Margaret, who emerges from the belly of a dragon; see König, *The Bedford Hours*, 79.

⁸⁴ Spencer, *The Sobieski Hours*, 4.

⁸⁵ St. Margaret is also referred to as St. Pelagia, which derives from her *vita*. According to the legend, St. Margaret ran away from her husband on her wedding night and hid in a monastery. She disguised herself as a man and took the name Pelagius. For the life of St. Margaret, see, for example, De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 368-370; Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 877-882; Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962), 150-156; and Sabine Kimpel, "Margareta (Marina) von Antiochien," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 494-500.

⁸⁶ "Amis se tu veu dieu / Donne moy respit et lieu / De mon creatour aourer / Car ie ne veux plus demourer." *Ibid.*, 3. Translation by Eleanor Spencer.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For further discussions of it, see section I in the Introduction, section III.A in this chapter, sections I.A.6, I.B.2, II.D and III.C in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4.

⁸⁹ The inclusion of weekday Offices in books of hours was rare in manuscripts commissioned in the northern Netherlands; see Anne S. Korteweg, “The Master of Catherine of Cleves: Unique Genius or Teamwork?” in *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Dücker and Priem, 59.

⁹⁰ For these miniatures, see Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, #59 and #60; and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, # 79.

⁹¹ For these miniatures, see Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, #77; and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, # 87.

⁹² This is one of the eleven miniatures in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* that are missing; see, for example, James Marrow, “*Multitudo et Varietas*: the Hours of Catherine of Cleves,” in *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Dücker and Priem, 20, who notes that at least four full-page miniatures and seven half-page miniatures are lost.

⁹³ For these miniatures, see Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Matins*, plate 52; Terce, plate 54; Sext, plate 55; Vespers, plate 57 and Compline, plate 58; and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*: Matins, #73, Sext, #78, Vespers, #76 and Compline, #77 (Terce is not illustrated in the catalogue).

⁹⁴ For the story of the Wisdom of Solomon, see 1 Kings 3:16-28.

⁹⁵ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 52, and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #73, “Sapia: Date huic infante[m] [vivum] e[t] [non occidatur haec est] m[ate]r ei[us].”

⁹⁶ As identified by Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 52.

⁹⁷ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 57, and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #76.

⁹⁸ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 57, and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #76. “Date ele[m]osyna[m] et [ecce] o[mn]ia munda s[un]t vobis.”

⁹⁹ “Pietas: ad dire valet.”

¹⁰⁰ Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters,” 603.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the Seven Acts of Charity, see Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters,” 586-593. For this manuscript, see Avril, *La Librairie de Charles V*, 69-70, # 133; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*; Florens Deuchler, “Jean Pucelle-Facts and Fictions,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series 29 (1971): 253-256; Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters; Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt and William D. Wixom, *The Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux: Acc. No. 54.1.2, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, New York* (Lucern: Faksimile Verlag; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000); and Joan Holladay, “Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d’Évreux and her Contemporaries,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 69-100.

¹⁰² Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Évreux,” 589.

¹⁰³ For a discussion on portraits used as surrogates in Northern panel painting and manuscripts, see Laura Gelfand and Walter Gibson, “Surrogate Selves: the *Rolin Madonna* and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait,” *Simiolus* 29, no. 3/4 (2002): 119-138.

¹⁰⁴ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 71.

¹⁰⁵ “dedi[t] tibi cibi[m] man[n]a quem ign[or]abas.”

¹⁰⁶ “Vince[n]ti dabo [ei] man[n]a ab[s]conditu[m]”

¹⁰⁷ “Pane[m] [quoquo] de c[a]elo dedisti eis in fame eor[um].”

¹⁰⁸ “Ego su[m] panis vit[a]e q[ui] veint ad me no[n] es[ur]iet.”

¹⁰⁹ F. Donald Logan, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 342.

¹¹⁰ For the history of the *Devotio Moderna* movement, see, for example, Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the “Devotio Moderna”* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965); and John van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988).

¹¹¹ Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the “Devotio Moderna”*, 39.

¹¹² According to Marrow, “*Multitudo et Varietas: the Hours of Catherine of Cleves*,” 19-20, the complexity of the illuminations, scrolls and marginal texts suggests that a theologian was

consulted during the commission and that this same person or persons schooled Catherine in her devotions.

¹¹³ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 22.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹⁷ For the Feast of Corpus Christi, see especially Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 127. In the thirteenth century, Augustine decreed that taking communion too often would diminish the experience by making it too common.

¹²² Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 58.

¹²³ See, for example, Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 150-151; and Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, Caroline Walker Bynum (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 122.

¹²⁴ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 297.

¹²⁵ For this manuscript, see the references cited in note 158 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XV in chapter 1, section I.A.3 in chapter 3 and section I in chapter 4.

¹²⁶ Section XV.

¹²⁷ See section XV in chapter 1.

¹²⁸ Kren and Mckendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 386, note 3.

¹²⁹ James Marrow, "'In desen speigell': A New Form of 'Memento Mori' in Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Art," in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert*

Haverkamp-Begemann on his Sixtieth Birthday, ed. Bitite Vinklers (Groningen: Davaco, 1983), 157; see also James Marrow, *Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages: The Play of Illusion and Meaning* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, vol. 16, Low Countries Series II), ed. Bridgitte Dekeyzer and Jan van der Stock (Paris; Louvain: Peeters, 2005), 27-29.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ June Hall McCash, “The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview,” in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash, 22. For a discussion of primers and how women used them to educate their children, see sections I and II in chapter 4.

¹³² For the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, see Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plates 51-58; Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #72, #73, #74, #75, #76, #77 and #78; and section II.A.2 in this chapter.

¹³³ For Guardian Angels, see, for example, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, “The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth-Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville,” 230-265; and David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 161-164. For another example of its occurrence in a manuscript considered in this study, see section I.A.9 in chapter 3.

¹³⁴ Thomas Gilmartin, “Feast of the Guardian Angels,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VII, eds. Charles Herbermann, Edward Pace, Condé Pallen, et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 50.

¹³⁵ A suffragan bishop was an assistant to the bishop of the diocese, in this case Toledo. See Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1565-1566.

¹³⁶ Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad, Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 15.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 40-41.

¹³⁸ This prayer is not included in any of the manuscripts examined by Victor Leroquais in his comprehensive tome from 1927, in which he catalogued the books of hours in the Bibliothèque nationale; see Leroquais, *Les Livres d’heures*, 2 vols.

¹³⁹ The rubric states: “Oratio devota de b[ea]ta virgine maria vers.” My translation.

¹⁴⁰ The incipit states: “Dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata da michi.” My translation. This is the verse and the beginning of the response to the *Regina Coeli*, which is a prayer to the Virgin said during the Easter season. See Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1385.

¹⁴¹ Joan Naughton, "A Minimally-intrusive Presence: Portraits in Illustrations for Prayers to the Virgin," in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Chur: Hardwood Academic Publishers, 1991), 111.

¹⁴² For portraits as exemplars of devotional behavior, see, for example, Craig Harbison, "Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 87-118; Martha Driver, "Mirrors of a Collective Past: Re-considering Images of Medieval Women," in *Women and the Book, Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor, 75-93, especially, 86-90; Bret Rothstein, "Vision and Devotion in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Joris van der Paele*," *Word and Image* 15, no. 3 (July-September, 1999): 262-271; Andrea Pearson, "Personal Worship, Gender, and the Devotional Portrait Diptych," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 31, no., 1 (Spring, 2000): 99-122, especially, 113-117; and Gelfand and Gibson, "Surrogate Selves: The *Rolin Madonna* and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait," 119-138.

¹⁴³ McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," 27.

¹⁴⁴ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 40.

¹⁴⁵ McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," 27.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁴⁷ For this manuscript, see C.W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, vol. II (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1989), 497-501.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 501.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 497. "Tabla de las devociones que estan en este libro Primeramente, El kalenario, A fojas 2, Las devociones que la reyna catholica acostumbrava a rezar por la mañana..." My translation.

¹⁵⁰ Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, vol. II, 497. For St. Ildephonsus, see John J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 312-313. For St. Julianus, see *ibid.*, 352.

¹⁵¹ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 376; see also Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 797-798; and Lieselotte Schütz, "Leokadia von Toledo," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 392.

¹⁵² Francisco de Pisa, *Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo, y historia de sus antigüedades...* (Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1974 [1605]), 8.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 87. Joanna of Castile was Isabel of Portugal's mother-in-law and aunt; see appendix 6.

¹⁵⁵ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 470.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 471.

¹⁵⁹ For this manuscript, see James Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves* (Lisbon: Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995); Katherine Baetjer and James David Draper, eds., *Only the Best: Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 34-35, #13; and Joao Castel-Branco Pereira and Isabel Pereira Coutinho, et al., *Calouste Gulbenkian Museum* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2001), 88, #64. For further discussions of this manuscript, see section III.D in this chapter and section I.A.5 in chapter 3.

¹⁶⁰ Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, 148, 151-152.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 148, 150.

¹⁶² Defoer, Korteweg and Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 9.

¹⁶³ For a previous discussion of vernacular translations, see section II.B in this chapter.

¹⁶⁴ Defoer, Korteweg and Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 18.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, 13.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶⁸ Defoer, Korteweg and Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 28. In the early fourteenth century, Alsace was under the control of Archduke Sigismund of Austria.

¹⁶⁹ Defoer, Korteweg and Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 29.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, 13.

¹⁷² Defoer, Korteweg and Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 10.

¹⁷³ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 159.

¹⁷⁴ For this manuscript, see François Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Maison de Savoie* (Moutiers-Tarentaise: François Ducloz, 1894), 27-76; and Caroline Heid-Guillaume and Anne Ritz, *Manuscrits médiévaux de Chambéry: Textes et enluminures* (Paris: Brepols, 1998), 31-43. For further discussions of it, see sections I.A.7 and III.B in chapter 3 and section I in chapter 4.

¹⁷⁵ Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Maison de Savoie*, 29. “Orbe perexcellens celebrisque ducissa Maria Anguigero consors associata Duci, principe Amadeo cui magna Sabuadia Paret pridemque genita est diva puella patre Ornatum variis librum hunc pictumque figuris Perscribi iussit. Laudet ut ipsa deum.” My translation.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁷⁷ Richard P. McBrien, *Lives of the Popes* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 259.

¹⁷⁸ Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Maison de Savoie*, 31-34.

¹⁷⁹ For a further discussion of Mary of Savoy’s political and familial identity, see sections I.A.7 and III.B in chapter 3.

¹⁸⁰ See sections XIII and XV in chapter 1 and section II.A.3 in this chapter.

¹⁸¹ Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary*, 17. For the documents naming Francisco de Rojas representative for Isabella and Ferdinand, see Henri d’Hulst, *Le Mariage de Philippe le Beau avec Jeanne de Castille* (Anvers: Lloyd Anversois, 1958), 11-16.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 14, and D’Hulst, *Le Mariage de Philippe le Beau avec Jeanne de Castille*, 13.

¹⁸⁵ Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary*, 17.

¹⁸⁶ For this manuscript, see note 157 in chapter 1 and the accompanying text. For further discussions of it, see section XV in chapter 1 and section II in chapter 4.

¹⁸⁷ Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, 47, note 5. “Dive Elisabeth/ Hispaniar[um] et Siscilie Regine ze/ xpianissi[m]e pontent tissi[m]e Semp[er] augus/ te, supreme Dnê sue clementissime/ Franciscus de Roias eiusde[m] ma/ iestatis hu[m]i limus servus ac/ creatura, optime de se merite H[ic]/ marin...hi...ex obsequio obtulit.” Translation by Kren and Backhouse.

¹⁸⁸ Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, 40.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ For pilgrimage, see, for example, Sidney Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1971); Colin Morris, "A Critique of Popular Religion. Guibert of Nogent on the Relics of the Saints," in *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers Read at the Ninth Summer and Tenth Winter Meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society, Studies in Ecclesiastical History*, VIII, G.J. Cummings and D. Baker, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 55-60; Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage, an Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975); Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), chapters 4 and 5; and Matthew Botvinick, "The Painting as Pilgrimage: Traces of a Subtext in the Work of Campin and his Contemporaries," *Art History* 15 (1992): 1-18.

¹⁹¹ For mental or spiritual pilgrimage, see, for example, Sumption, *Pilgrimage, an Image of Medieval Religion*, 295-302; Nine Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion," in *The Broken Body, Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, A.A. MacDonald and H.N.B Ridderbos, eds. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 84-91; Botvinick, "The Painting as Pilgrimage," 1-18; Kathryn Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 63, no. 4 (2000): 494-515; and Kathryn Rudy, "Northern European Visual Responses to Holy Land Pilgrimage, 1453-1550" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001), 129-176.

¹⁹² Miedema, "The Broken Body," 85; and Botvinick, "The Painting as Pilgrimage," 8.

¹⁹³ For St. Stephen, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 45-50; Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 444-456; and Gaynor Nitz, "Stephen Erzmart," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 395-403.

¹⁹⁴ For John the Evangelist, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 50-55; Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 708-720; and Gregor Martin Lechner, "Johannes der Evangelist (der Theologe)," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 108-130.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 55. For suffrages, see for example, Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 101-107; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 109-116; and Bennett, "Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages," 54-78.

¹⁹⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 111.

¹⁹⁷ Bennett, "Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages," 57.

¹⁹⁸ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 111.

¹⁹⁹ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction; for further discussion of it, see section I of the Introduction, section II.A.2 in this chapter, sections I.A.6, I.B.2, II.D and III.C in chapter 3 and section II in chapter 4.

²⁰⁰ For St. Servatius, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1205-1207; Christel Squarr, "Servatius von Tongern," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 330-332, and Heinrich von Veldeke, *The Life of St. Servatius*, trans. Kim Vivian, et al. (Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press, 2006). According to the legend, St. Servatius went to the tomb of St. Peter in Rome on pilgrimage. While keeping vigil, he had a vision in which Peter informed him that Tongres would be destroyed because of its sinful ways and he should move the Episcopal see to Maastricht. St. Peter then gave St. Servatius the keys to the gates of heaven in order to verify the vision. St. Servatius is therefore often depicted holding keys.

²⁰¹ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, commentary to plate 138.

²⁰² Giles Constable, review of *Jocundus, biographie de saint Servais* by P.C. Boeren, *Speculum* 49, no. 2 (April 1974): 317.

²⁰³ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, commentary to plate 138.

²⁰⁴ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 151, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #128

²⁰⁵ For St. Cecilia, see, for example, De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 318-323; Vincent Lorne Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1938), 178-182; and Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 278-284.

²⁰⁶ For St. Cecilia's martyrdom, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 323.

²⁰⁷ Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 283.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 280-281.

²⁰⁹ For St. Cecilia's marriage, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 318.

²¹⁰ For the iconography of St. Cecilia, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 281.

²¹¹ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 151, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #128.

²¹² Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 116, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #114.

²¹³ As described in Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 151, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #128.

²¹⁴ John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk; the Art of Medieval Hunting* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 197.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 121, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #5a and #118.

²¹⁷ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 11, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, 39.

²¹⁸ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 48, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #70.

²¹⁹ For this manuscript, see note 48 in chapter 1, with a discussion of it in section V.

²²⁰ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 282.

²²¹ Ibid., 282.

²²² See section V in chapter 1.

²²³ Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, text volume, 199.

²²⁴ For St. Veronica, see for example De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 212; Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1314-1317; Johannes H. Emminghaus, "Veronika," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 543-545; Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 114-142; J.K. Elliott, trans., "The *Vindicta Salvatoris* from the *Acts of Pilate*," in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, J.K. Elliott, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 213-216; and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 317-382. For a further discussion of St. Veronica, see section I.B.4 in chapter 3.

²²⁵ Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, text volume, 202. The image was glued to a folio and then pasted on a stub. A stub is the truncated half of a bifolium that is wide enough to affix an added leaf to a manuscript; for bifolia, see Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts*, 21. For the codicology of the *Brussels Hours*, see Robert Calkins, “The *Brussels Hours* Reevaluated,” *Scriptorium* 24 (1970): 22-26.

²²⁶ Gaspar and Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. I, 403.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.* The manuscripts are Ms. 5163-64 and Ms. 11035-37, both in Brussels in the Bibliothèque Royale.

²²⁹ Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 332.

²³⁰ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 212. According to the author of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* from the *Acts of Pilate*, Emperor Tiberius requested that Veronica bring the image of the Holy face to him so that his facial cancer would be healed; see Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 214-216.

²³¹ Gaspar and Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. I, 403.

²³² For a previous discussion of the death of John the Fearless, see section II.A.1 in this chapter.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 116.

²³⁴ For calendars in books of hours, see, for example, Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 26-38; and the introduction to chapter 1.

²³⁵ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 26.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

²³⁹ For St. Denis, see, for example, De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 236-241; Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 374-382; Dieter Kimpel, “Dionysius (Denis) von Paris,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 6, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 62-67; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “The Cult of St. Denis and Capetian Kingship,” in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in*

Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 141-168; and Sumner McKnight Crosby and Pamela Z. Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: From Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475-1151* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 3-12.

²⁴⁰ For this manuscript, see note 81 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section I.B in this chapter, section VIII in chapter 1 and section I.B.1 in chapter 3.

²⁴¹ *Hours of Anne of France*, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 677, curatorial file, p. 1.

²⁴² Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 49.

²⁴³ For St. Ursinus, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1295-1296; and Georges Kiesel, "Ursinus von Bourges," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 518-520.

²⁴⁴ For St. William, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 627-628; Lieselotte Schütz, "Wilhelm (Guillaume) von Bourges," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 606; and Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 636. For St. Sulpice, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1239; Christel Squarr, "Sulpitius II. von Bourges (der Gute, der Fromme)," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 414; and Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 579.

²⁴⁵ For St. Austregisille, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 160; Elisabeth Weis, "Austregisilus (Oustrille) von Bourges," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 5, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 294; and Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 69.

²⁴⁶ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 53.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ *Hours of Anne of France*, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 677, curatorial file, p. 4.

²⁴⁹ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 164.

²⁵⁰ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For further discussions of it, see section II.B.2 in this chapter, and section I.A.5 in chapter 3.

²⁵¹ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 557. A suffrage to St. Servatius is included in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, which was also produced in Utrecht. See section III.A in this chapter.

²⁵² Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 465; see also Georges Kiesel, “Odulphus von Utrecht,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 82.

²⁵³ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 364; see also Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 783-784; and Georges Kiesel, “Lambert (Lambrecht, Lampert) von Maastricht,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 363-369.

²⁵⁴ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 640; see also Georges Kiesel, “Willibrord (volkstüml. Wilbert, Wilfert),” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 616-623.

²⁵⁵ For St. Martin of Tours, see for example De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 292-300; Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 906-917; Sabine Kimpel, “Martin von Tours,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 572-579; Raymond Van Dam, “Images of Saint Martin in Late Roman and Early Merovingian Gaul,” *Viator* 19 (1988): 1-27; and Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

²⁵⁶ Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, 20.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 20

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁵⁹ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 101.

²⁶⁰ “Ora pro nobis.” For the Litany of the Saints, see The Jesuits, *Litany of the Saints* (Woodstock: Woodstock College Press, 1958); Paul de Clerck, *La “Prière Universelle” dans les liturgies latines anciennes* (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1977) especially 275-281; Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991), especially 1-33 for the history of the Litany of Saints; Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 69-72; and Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 990.

²⁶¹ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 92.

²⁶² For the *Kyrie Eleison*, see, for example, Joseph Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite* (New York: Benziger Bros., 1959), 222-231.

²⁶³ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 92.

²⁶⁴ For this manuscript, see Leroquais, *Les Psautiers*, 162-164.

²⁶⁵ Anne-Marie Legaré, “Reassessing Women’s Libraries in Late Medieval France: The Case of Jeanne de Laval,” *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 210.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 214.

²⁶⁷ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 320, 547. For St. Ivo, see also Sabine Kimpel, “Ivo (Yves) Helory,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 18-20. For St. Samson, see Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1181; and Christel Squaar, “Samson von Dol,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 309.

²⁶⁸ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 385; see also Victor Verlaque, *Saint Louis, prince royal, évêque de Toulouse et la famille d’Anjou au treizième siècle d’après des documents inédits* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et cie, 1885); Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 820-822; and Siegfried Grän, “Ludwig von Toulouse (von Anjou),” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 7, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 442-445.

²⁶⁹ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 637; see also Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 629.

²⁷⁰ Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 637.

²⁷¹ For Salic Law, see section IX in chapter 1.

²⁷² Susan Broomhall, “Gendering the Culture of Honour at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court,” in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 184-186.

Chapter 3: Visual Demonstrations of Self-Definition

Certain types of miniatures other than those discussed above also exemplify the religious and secular concerns of the patron or owner. Portraits, either inserted into a manuscript or part of its original design, are the most obvious illuminations that acknowledge ownership. They occur in several forms. Manuscripts that were jointly owned by a husband and wife often contain dual portraits. These are sometimes depicted on separate folios and are usually accompanied by a patron saint or other holy figure. Manuscripts commissioned by or made for an individual woman may exclude the husband. In such cases, the female patron sometimes appears with a patron saint or the Virgin. Finally, female portraits occasionally occur in narrative scenes in which they take on fictitious roles. Such portraits are the most difficult to identify. In these cases, the identification must be based on the similarity of the portrait in the miniature to other extant portraits of the person portrayed.

Coats of arms also reveal a great deal about the patron or owner of a manuscript. These are especially useful in identifying the women and dating the manuscript. Before a noblewoman married, she used the coat of arms of her father as a sign of her identity. After her marriage, her coat of arms was joined with her husband's to create a new device. The composition of a woman's arms in a manuscript can therefore help to date it either before or after her marriage. If the name of a patron is unknown, coats of arms can help to identify her and establish to whom she was married at the time of the manuscript's commission. In addition to the arms of an individual, manuscripts often contain those of a woman's ancestors. In a world where many women were named Margaret or Mary, these additional arms can help to identify a family and, consequently, the most likely owner of the book.

Miniatures depicted in the borders of folios, called marginalia, can complement the text on the page or may not relate to it in any way. The subject is often profane or even grotesque. In many cases, these illuminations reveal aspects of a patron's personality that do not concern piety. Marginalia are therefore often useful for their insight into the secular components of a noblewoman's identity.

This chapter examines examples of portraits, coats of arms, and marginalia that reveal aspects of patrons' personalities often unrelated to the realm of religious practice. These three markers of identity reveal political, cultural, and generational concerns of the patron and subsequent owners of these books. A study of these images demonstrates that the manuscripts in which they appear functioned both as devotional aids and as vehicles for self-definition.

I. Portraits

A. Devotional Portraits

Of all the imagery in devotional manuscripts, portraiture is the most intimately linked to the patron or owner. On one level, the desire of individuals to include their likenesses in their manuscripts indicates that they wanted to leave evidence of their connection to their books. A deeper analysis of portraits shows that the placement of the image must be considered in order to understand the devotional traditions of the supplicant. In most cases, the patron used the portrait as an aid to devotion. When analyzing these portraits, it is therefore necessary to consider the religious traditions of the time and place the manuscripts were produced.

Unlike the generalized images of religious figures found in prayer cycles of devotional books, portraits are often highly individualized and are meant to act as representations of the patron or patrons of a manuscript. The figures are usually placed in attitudes of prayer either kneeling or standing with their hands folded, and are often accompanied by their patron saint.

Their prayers are directed toward a holy figure, usually the Virgin and Child. Devotional portraits can be placed at the beginning of important prayer cycles, such as the *Hours of the Virgin*, or at the beginning of the two major prayers to the Virgin, the *Obsecro te* or *O intemerata*.¹

The cult of the Virgin was linked to the late medieval devotion to the Passion of Christ. Mary, as the mother of Christ, suffered emotionally when he was crucified. Her compassion for her son made her an equal participant in the redemption of man.² She was therefore thought of as the co-redeemer and the ultimate model for the devout who wished to experience Christ's pain. Devotion to her was aided through the use of images, which were often believed to contain her essence and had the ability, in some cases, to perform miracles.³ This notion came from popular literature of the time, most notably the work of Thomas à Kempis (c. 1379-1471), who wrote that one should give thanks and,

...most joyously sing the hymns and canticles of joy on her feasts and commemorations throughout the year. But especially before the altar of God and in the presence of the image of the blessed Virgin bare your heads and bow: humbly bend the knee, as if you saw Mary present in the body speaking with the angel, or holding her son in her bosom: and then lifting up your eyes with good hope of the salvation for which we look, most lovingly implore the help of mercy from the Mother of mercy and say: 'O most merciful Mother of God Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the world, joy of the saints, solace of the sinners, heed the groans of the contrite, fulfill the desires of the devout: succor the necessities of the weak, comfort the hearts of the distressed: assist the agonizing, protect thy suppliant servants from the harassing of the demons: bring thy lovers with thee to the reward of everlasting blessedness: where with thy most loving Son Jesus Christ thou reignest most happily forever. Amen'⁴

Although this particular prayer was part of a sermon directed toward novices, Kempis's ideas became popular with the laity in his *Imitatio Christi*, which was the basis for the *Devotio Moderna* movement that permeated the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages.⁵ As mentioned

above, devotional portraits aided the reader in the meditative process inspired by this movement. In order to understand this usage of portraits in devotional manuscripts, they therefore must be discussed within the context of late medieval devotional practice.

1. Bonne of Luxembourg

The earliest portraits in this study come from the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg* (Jean Le Noir, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Ms. 69.86), mentioned at the beginning of chapter 1, in which Bonne of Luxembourg (1315-1349) and her husband, John the Good (1319-1364), appear in a scene of the *Crucifixion* on folio 329 (fig. 2).⁶ They kneel at the base of the cross, on which Christ points to the wound in his side. The supplicants and Christ are aware of one another, as indicated by their direct eye contact. His exaggerated gesture calls their attention to his wound, which seems to be the focus of their veneration.

The adoration of the five wounds of Christ stemmed from the *Imitatio Christi*, mentioned above.⁷ Followers of this ideology vowed to imitate as closely as possible the suffering of Christ through intense meditation, which caused them to focus on each of his wounds in order to internalize and physically feel the pain that he endured.⁸ Images of each wound aided in this meditative process.⁹ As demonstrated by Jeffrey Hamburger and Caroline Walker Bynum, the wound in Christ's side was especially venerated.¹⁰ Medieval scholars claimed to know the measurements of this actual wound and an attempt was made to adhere to this measurement in images.¹¹

Bonne's Psalter includes an image of the wound in Christ's side on folio 331 (fig. 47). This image and the aforementioned *Crucifixion* appear at the end of the manuscript, among prayers dedicated to the Passion of Christ. The inclusion of Bonne's portrait in this section of her

prayer book suggests that she was dedicated to the veneration of the Passion. This idea is supported by the fact that the latter part of the Psalter contains prayers devoted to the Passion that are written in French,¹² whereas the rest of the text is in Latin.¹³ The use of the vernacular in the prayers associated with the Passion suggests that Bonne read this section of the manuscript more often and more easily than the Latin portions.¹⁴ Her portrait and that of her husband mark this important section and also act as a visual reminder of their devotion.¹⁵

These portraits also reveal another aspect of the *Imitatio Christi*. In the *Crucifixion* image on folio 329, Christ is aware of the two figures, who kneel beneath him as he gestures to his wound. The supplicants appear to be physically present at the event. Their gazes suggest that they acknowledge Christ's gesture and perhaps interpret it as a response to their devotion. Christ directs their gaze to his wound, creating a relationship with them. The figures participate in a dialogue, which the reader, in this case Bonne, viewed. This active participation in the veneration of the wounds of Christ was an important aspect of devotional practice. It stemmed from the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, which related the narrative of the Passion in minute detail and thereby made the reader privy to every aspect of Christ's suffering.¹⁶ Illuminations such as the *Crucifixion* and the *Wound in Christ's Side* in Bonne's Psalter aided in this reciprocity and allowed the devout to form a closer relationship between themselves and the divine.¹⁷

2. Jeanne of Boulogne

In the example above, the portraits of Bonne and John are included in the same space as the figure of the crucified Christ. In other cases, portraits are not included in the same pictorial space as the holy figures. This creates a physical divide between the patrons and the object of their devotion, which seems contradictory to the devotional practice of the *Imitatio Christi*. An example occurs on folio 91v. of the *Belles Heures* (The Limbourgs, New York, The

Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection Ms. 54.1.1).¹⁸ An image of Jeanne of Boulogne (1378-1422), second wife of John, Duke of Berry, appears kneeling at a *prie-dieu* (fig. 48; see appendix 4). Another miniature above and to the left depicts the *Holy Trinity*. Both miniatures are contained within their own framework. Unlike the portraits of John the Good and Bonne of Luxembourg, discussed above, the holy figures do not acknowledge the kneeling patron, but Jeanne looks up toward the Trinity in adoration. Because the three figures of the Trinity do not make eye contact with Jeanne, they seem physically and psychologically removed from her. The Father, Son and Holy Spirit do not engage Jeanne as Christ acknowledges Bonne and John. The isolation of Jeanne's portrait may be related to the Trinity as an iconic symbol representing the three parts of the same God. The concept of the Trinity is theologically challenging and requires a leap of faith on the part of the devotee. In contrast, Bonne and John venerate the physical wounds of Christ, so their presence at the *Crucifixion* is more concrete. The wounds are visible evidence of Christ's suffering and do not require the devotees to contemplate abstract theological ideas. Bonne and John are therefore expressing their devotion to the physical aspects of Christ's life, whereas Jeanne focuses on spiritual concerns.

The way in which the viewer of this folio, probably Jeanne herself, would have used these images reflects another aspect of medieval piety dealing with the meditative process of prayer. Many medieval writers discussed meditation and the use of images, including Jean Gerson (1363-1429) and Geert Grote (c. 1340-1384).¹⁹ Gerson believed that images could help individuals, especially the laity, to attain a higher meditative state.²⁰ The image could help the devout understand abstract concepts that were too difficult to comprehend through words alone.²¹ However, the ultimate goal was eventually to become so sophisticated in your devotions that you could discard the image.²² Once this state was reached, visions could occur, thereby

relieving the devotee of the need for physical imagery. Juliana of Mont Cornillon (1192-1258) was a Flemish anchoress who purportedly attained this level of devotional bliss. She was said to have seen visions of the Trinity after reciting the words, “Grant, O Father, through the Son; grant through the Holy Spirit,” while reading one of the prayers from the *Hours of the Virgin*.²³ After this initial incident, she was able to achieve the same state without the aid of books.²⁴ Although Jeanne of Boulogne may have not attained the meditative level of Juliana of Mont Cornillon, she would have used the portrait of herself to aid in her own devotion. As she meditated on her prayers, she saw an image of herself engaged in the same activity. The image helped her meditate by acting as a reinforcement of her own devotional practice.²⁵

Jeanne of Boulogne’s portrait also reflects the ideas of Geert Grote, who believed that the word and image held equal weight and both could stimulate the worshiper to reach a meditative state.²⁶ The image of the Trinity is separated from Jeanne’s image by the text of eight short prayers to God, which follows the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*.²⁷ The text and images occupy an equal amount of space, suggesting that they carry the same importance. Jeanne’s goal as a reader may have been to see the same vision that her image sees. The text could have stimulated her devotion as she recited it, while the image acted as a visual model. Therefore, text and image would have helped her to achieve the same goal, one intellectually and the other visually.

3. Joanna of Castile

An example of a portrait in which the supplicant venerates the Virgin rather than the Trinity occurs in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* (The Master of the David Scenes in the *Grimani Breviary*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18852).²⁸ As mentioned in chapter 2, Joanna of Castile (1479-1555) was the wife of Philip the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy (1478-1506; see appendix 4). Her portrait directly follows the *Hours of the Virgin* and the *Office of the Virgin for*

Advent, on folio 288 (fig. 34).²⁹ John the Evangelist stands to her right as she kneels at a *prie-dieu*. She faces the preceding folio, which contains a half-length Virgin and Child. These folios mark the beginning of a special prayer introduced with a rubric stating that it is dedicated to the Virgin. The rubric is followed by the incipit, which implores the Virgin to consider Joanna.³⁰ Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick have suggested that Joanna requested this prayer for her manuscript.³¹

As with Jeanne of Boulogne in the *Belles Heures*, Joanna of Castile is separate from the holy figures. In this case, she occupies a different folio than the Virgin and Child. The Virgin and Child are much larger than Joanna and St. John, establishing a visual hierarchy between them. Joanna gazes toward the holy figures but, unlike Jeanne of Boulogne in her devotion to the Trinity, does not look at them. She seems to look past the Virgin and Child, as if she is in a meditative state. The open book on her *prie-dieu* suggests that she was reading her devotions and looked up for a moment as if to contemplate a particular passage.

In this example, Joanna is not in the same physical or temporal space as the Virgin and Child. Even so, all the figures are believable in their own space, because the materials in each image are rendered naturalistically. The Virgin's mantle, for example, is as luxurious as the robe that Joanna wears. This attempt at naturalism allowed the viewer, most likely Joanna, to accept the images as plausible. What she encountered as she read her book of hours was an image of herself, accompanied by her patron saint, reading from the same book of hours that she held in her hands. Her image has paused to consider a passage while gazing outward, encouraging Joanna to do the same. The result of this meditative state is the vision of the Virgin and Child rendered on the preceding folio. The heightened naturalism of the objects and the portrait of Joanna are used to pull her into the meditative process.

This elaborate devotional practice is a reflection of the writing of Jean Gerson, who championed the use of images for meditation. Bert Rothstein applies Gerson's ideas to his discussion of Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1434-1436).³² In this panel painting, Canon van der Paele is presented to the Virgin and Child by St. George (fig. 49). The Canon looks up from his book and gazes past the holy figures in front of him in the same manner as Joanna of Castile. Scholars have suggested that the Canon does not see the figures that surround him and has surpassed the need for imagery in his private devotions.³³ For Gerson, this was the ultimate goal of images. In her book of hours, Joanna's image seems to have attained the same meditative state as Canon van der Paele, suggesting that a woman could understand abstract spiritual notions without the use of imagery. This is extraordinary in a period where the laity and women especially were considered unable to achieve this goal.³⁴ If the figure of Joanna does not see the vision of the holy figures, then why are they depicted? Herein lays the relationship between the user of the manuscript, Joanna, and the image. The image is perhaps a catalyst for her so that she may attain the devotional level of her surrogate.³⁵ Her devotion to the Virgin is clear because of the placement of her portrait at the beginning of a special prayer to the Virgin and at the end of the *Hours of the Virgin*. This miniature would have enhanced her meditative practice, with the hope of achieving a higher level of spirituality.

Another aspect of the Virgin that must be considered is her pose. In this image, she offers her breast to Christ, but her gesture is awkward. Her breast is frontal while the Child is to her side, which is a posture not conducive to efficient breast-feeding. The Child does not in fact nurse from the Virgin, but stares straight ahead. Her breast is therefore exposed for the viewer to see. In essence, the Virgin offers her breast to the Child and to the viewer.³⁶ This composition

was common in medieval art and this pose of the Virgin derives from Roger van der Weyden's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin and Child* (Boston, Museum of Fine Art; fig. 33)³⁷ This motif was a reflection of the cult of the Virgin's milk, which gained popularity in Europe during the late Middle Ages.³⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum has suggested that women used images of the nursing Virgin to identify with Mary as a mother.³⁹ She goes on to say that the milk from the Virgin's breast was associated with the wine of the Eucharist.⁴⁰ Mary offers the "wine" to the viewer and her son, who symbolizes the bread. Barbara G. Lane has argued that Mary's lap is the altar on which both offerings are presented.⁴¹ These gifts were offered to Joanna as she read her devotions. She was therefore able to participate symbolically in the Holy Eucharist. In addition, she could relate to the Virgin as a mother, a role that the recently married Joanna would soon play. The motif of the nursing Virgin was an appropriate one for Joanna's manuscript and its placement attests to her devotion to the Madonna as a nursing mother.

4. Anne of Burgundy

Another example of piety towards a holy female figure appears in the *Bedford Hours* (Bedford Master, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18850).⁴² A portrait of Anne of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford, appears on folio 257v., kneeling before St. Anne (fig. 50). St. Anne is seated and instructing her daughter, the Virgin Mary, who appears as a child. The Christ Child is to Mary's left and he gestures toward the kneeling duchess. Small scenes with images of St. Anne's three husbands and two other daughters appear in the margins of the main miniature. Their names are inscribed above or below the architectural framework in which they sit. Beginning at the top left is Joachim, with Cleophae and Salomae. St. Anne's daughters are in the lower margins; Mary Cleophae, with her husband Alpheus, are to the left and Mary Salomae and her husband Zebedee are to the right. St. Anne's grandchildren are depicted on folios 258 and

258v. of the manuscript.⁴³ These images were placed at the beginning of the section of the *Bedford Hours* devoted to the suffrages of the saints.

The veneration of saints can be traced back to late antiquity, when worshippers could talk with their “invisible companion” who would help them in times of need.⁴⁴ Images aided in such conversations by giving the saint a physical presence that the devout could see. Saints were not to be prayed to directly but were called on to act as liaisons between God and the supplicant.⁴⁵ Individuals venerated saints for a variety of reasons, one of which was his or her association with a particular attribute or skill. These attributes were assigned to saints because of information gleaned from their lives. As mentioned in chapter 2, for example, people suffering from headaches prayed to St. Stephen, because he was martyred by stoning.⁴⁶ He is often depicted with a head wound in suffrages and panel paintings.

If a particular saint gained a following, a feast day was assigned and, in some cases, special prayers and masses were created in his or her honor.⁴⁷ This was the case for St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin. Images of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read became popular after Pope Urban VI approved her feast day in 1378.⁴⁸ In some cases, as in the *Bedford Hours*, this iconography was expanded to include the Christ Child and other members of St. Anne’s family. In this example, Anne of Burgundy is included in the composition, kneeling in front what Pamela Sheingorn describes as the “St. Anne Trinity.”⁴⁹

St. Anne’s attribute as the teacher of the Virgin may have been one reason for Anne of Burgundy’s devotion to her. This manuscript was completed around the time of Anne’s marriage to John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, and the miniature addressed one of Anne’s duties as teacher of their children. Here, St. Anne acts as a model for Anne to emulate. St. Anne appears as a learned woman, able to read and teach her young daughter. Anne of Burgundy also uses a

book in the miniature. The emphasis on reading, according to Martha Driver, showed that medieval women valued literacy.⁵⁰ When Anne of Burgundy saw herself in this image, she saw a pious woman venerating her patron saint and a learned woman who could educate her children in the same manner as St. Anne.⁵¹

As mentioned above, the “St. Anne Trinity” in the *Bedford Hours* is expanded to include St. Anne’s three husbands, two other daughters and their husbands in the margins. This “Holy Kinship” was also an appropriate addition to Anne of Burgundy’s manuscript.⁵² As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, Anne and her sisters, Agnes and Margaret, were married to powerful men in order to expand Burgundian alliances throughout Europe.⁵³ Legacy and genealogy were clearly important to Anne and to her husband, John. The emphasis on the family of St. Anne would have been a familiar motif for Anne of Burgundy, because of these generational ties.⁵⁴

A variation of the Holy Kinship composition occurs in another manuscript associated with Anne of Burgundy, *The Breviary of the Duke of Bedford*, also known as the *Salisbury Breviary* (Bedford Master and others, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 17294).⁵⁵ The Virgin and Child appear on folio 518, with an elderly St. Anne in an ecclesiastical interior (fig. 51). On either side of the group are the two sisters of the Virgin and their children. Scenes from the life of St. Anne appear in the margins; clockwise from the top right, these are the *Annunciation to Joachim*, followed by the *Annunciation to Anne*, *Joachim and Anne in front of the Golden Gate* and the *Birth of the Virgin*. A portrait of Anne of Burgundy appears inside a large letter “A” that begins a prayer to St. Anne. Anne of Burgundy holds a scroll in her hand that flutters up and towards the scene of St. Anne and her family. The words “Hail, mother Anna, full of honey, a sweetness to whom her husband...,” which is the incipit for the text next to Anne’s portrait, are written on the scroll.⁵⁶

Unlike her portrait in the *Bedford Hours*, Anne of Burgundy is physically removed from the family group on this folio. Her only connection is the scroll that links her space with the space occupied by the holy figures. In this case, neither St. Anne nor Anne of Burgundy holds a book. The Virgin and St. Anne are engaged with the Christ Child and Anne of Burgundy has her hands folded in prayer. The emphasis seems to be directed toward piety rather than teaching, as it is in the *Bedford Hours*. This is reflected in Anne's posture and the repetition of the incipit text on the scroll. In addition, Anne of Burgundy's placement outside of the main miniature implies that the figures exist in her imagination rather than being physically present.⁵⁷ In this case, her focus seems to have been on prayer rather than motherly duties.

The scroll that flows from Anne of Burgundy's folded hands may also suggest the way in which she is praying. Unlike other examples in which the donor is reading, such as the image of Joanna of Castile in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* (fig. 34), Anne has not paused in her devotions in order to contemplate a passage. Since she does not have a book in front of her, she appears to be reciting the prayer from memory. The scroll may act as a visualization of the spoken word. Mnemonic devices like this were often used in the Middle Ages to aid in memory.⁵⁸ This motif is also used on this folio in the images of the *Annunciation to Joachim* and the *Annunciation to Anne*. In both cases, the angels' words are written on a scroll. The emphasis is on the spoken rather than the written word, but this spoken dialogue is not heard. In Anne of Burgundy's portrait, her mouth is closed, suggesting that the prayer is not audible but is spoken with Anne's inner voice. Her internalized prayer radiates out from her folded hands in the form of a scroll and flutters upward into the space of the holy figures.

The objectifying of words is linked to the veneration of images. As discussed above, images were used to aid in meditation by giving the devotee a visual catalyst. Anne's plea to the

holy figures above her is also visualized, which would have helped her formulate the words of her prayer. She could clearly see the words emitted from her portrait's mouth, which eliminated all confusion as to what text was to be recited and helped her remember the prayer. This desire to solidify ideas into concrete images was common in the Middle Ages.⁵⁹ I suggest that this was the reason scrolls were used to exhibit the written word in the *Salisbury Breviary*.

5. Margaret of Cleves

Another example of a scroll used to link a donor with a holy figure occurs in the *Hours of Margaret of Cleves* (Master of Margaret of Cleves, Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. L.A. 148).⁶⁰ On folio 19v., the Virgin and Child appear within an architectural framework (fig. 52). The Child is seated on the Virgin's lap writing on a scroll that flutters outward to the left. The end of the scroll touches the folded hands of Margaret of Cleves, who kneels at a *prie-dieu* covered with a red cloth; this overlaps the architectural framework and connects the space between the supplicant and the holy figures.

In this image, Margaret is not isolated from the Virgin and Child, nor is she completely in their space. The *prie-dieu* and the scroll link the earthly space that Margaret occupies with the divine space of the Virgin and Child. This composition differs from miniatures discussed earlier in this chapter, in which the supplicant is in the same space as the holy figures or totally isolated from them. James Marrow has suggested that the artist of this miniature blurred the line between the sacred and the profane to create a narrative in which there is a dialogue between the figures.⁶¹ This composition appears to conceptualize the desire of the devout to attain a meditative state that resulted in the visualization of the objects of her devotion.⁶²

The most important component in the conversation between the Virgin and Child and Margaret of Cleves is the scroll that physically connects them. Unlike the scroll on folio 518 in

the *Salisbury Breviary* (fig. 51), which extends from Anne of Burgundy toward the Virgin and Child, the scroll in Margaret of Cleves's manuscript comes from the Child and is directed toward Margaret. If this is indeed a dialogue, as Marrow has suggested,⁶³ then the Child is the one initiating the exchange. On the other hand, I believe, because the scroll terminates in Margaret's folded hands, the verbal exchange may be shared rather than one-sided.⁶⁴ Like the image of Anne of Burgundy in the *Salisbury Breviary*, the scroll may be a visualization of speech.⁶⁵ If so, then as the Child writes the text, Margaret recites it back to him. This interpretation is supported by the content of the text on the scroll, which is from the *Pater Noster*, a prayer composed by Christ during the *Sermon on the Mount*.⁶⁶ It is therefore appropriate that the Child is depicted writing the prayer because his gesture foreshadows his later authorship of the *Pater Noster*. Unlike the miniature of Anne of Burgundy, Margaret's mouth appears to be slightly open, perhaps indicating that the prayer is spoken out loud rather than with an inner voice. This image may have acted as a model for Margaret as she said the *Pater Noster*, as well as a reminder of the origin of the prayer itself. The scroll mediates between the sacred world and the profane, a world that Margaret would have tried to traverse as she recited her devotions.

6. Catherine of Cleves

The most complex example of a dialogue between a supplicant and holy figures in this study occurs in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Master of Catherine of Cleves, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 917 and 945).⁶⁷ In the *Crucifixion* on page 160 of M. 917, Catherine of Cleves, the Virgin and Catherine's patron saint appear at the base of the cross (fig. 53).⁶⁸ Catherine kneels to the right of the cross but does not look up at Christ. Instead she stares down at an open book that rests on a small stool. A plea to the Virgin is written on a scroll radiating out from her hands: "Pray for me, holy Mother of God."⁶⁹ Catherine does not

acknowledge the holy figures, suggesting that this is a vision she conceived while praying from her manuscript. In the vision, the Virgin hears Catherine's plea and asks her Son to intercede on her behalf. The Virgin looks up toward Christ and bares her breast as a reminder that she nourished him with her milk: "On account of the breast which suckled you, may you be gracious unto her."⁷⁰ Christ answers the Virgin with his own inscribed scroll that is directed toward God the Father, who appears in the top left corner. Christ uses his wounds as a negotiating factor for his request: "Father, on account of my wounds, pardon her."⁷¹ God answers with yet another scroll: "Son, your request is heard."⁷²

In this "double intercession," the chain of requests begins with Catherine's plea and ends with a favorable reply from God. The scrolls guide the conversation, which progresses in one direction. Each figure offers a plea to the next until God gives the final answer. This image is the manifestation of Catherine's greatest wish; to be acknowledged by God. The scrolls make the exchange between the participants concrete, thereby giving visible evidence of the intercessory capacities of the holy figures. The chain of communication is also established through the glances between the holy figures, which clarify the intended recipient of each inscribed scroll.⁷³ This illumination would have helped Catherine visualize this holy exchange, allowing her to be privy to a conversation that concerned her and her salvation.

The image of Catherine's patron saint, who appears behind her and to her right, has yet to be discussed.⁷⁴ His hand is on Catherine's shoulder, and he gazes down at her in a comforting manner. His appearance is not unusual in this miniature; in fact, devotees are often depicted with saints standing behind them or presenting them to the Virgin and Child. Hans Belting has argued that the purpose of such compositions is to establish a hierarchy that begins with a plea from the supplicant.⁷⁵ The saint acknowledges the worshipper's prayer and acts as a liaison. He or she

then “introduces” the supplicant to the holy figure or Virgin and reiterates the worshipper’s request, and the Virgin, in turn, relays the information to the Child.⁷⁶ In Catherine’s manuscript, her patron saint initiated the dialogue between the figures through his introduction of her to them. This dialogue therefore required a close relationship between the devout and the saint. By the late Middle Ages, saints had become so familiar that many Christians thought of them as friends and companions, so much so that they were sometimes depicted wearing contemporary dress so that the devout could forge a stronger relationship with them.⁷⁷ For the concrete-minded medieval worshipper, it was perhaps easier to ask a contemporary-looking figure for help than someone from another era. Familiarity was therefore integral to the exchange between the devout, saints, and the Virgin and Child.

7. Mary of Savoy

Saints acting as liaisons between the donor and the Virgin and Child also appear on folio 9 of *The Breviary of Mary of Savoy* (Master of the *Vitae imperatorium* and Belbello of Pavia, Chambéry, Bibliothèque publique de Chambéry, Ms. 4).⁷⁸ In this image, an entourage of saints, who are identified by inscriptions, present Mary of Savoy to the enthroned Virgin and Child (fig. 54). The two saints closest to Mary of Savoy are SS. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene. The remaining saints, who are the patron saints of the Visconti and Savoy families, are divided into two rows (fig. 54a).⁷⁹ Mary was married to Philippe Marie Visconti, which accounts for the inclusion of saints venerated by this family. St. Mary Magdalene, who stands directly behind Mary of Savoy, was her name saint as well as that of her mother, Mary of Burgundy. St. John the Evangelist may have been included because both Philippe’s brother and father were named John. SS. Mary Magdalene and John the Evangelist therefore allude to the immediate family of Mary of Savoy and Philippe Marie Visconti, and are appropriately closest to the figure of Mary. The

remaining saints are also commemorative, and represent the families in a more general sense. Because they are joined together in a group, perhaps they are intended to reflect the political union of Savoy and Visconti.

Of all the saints included in this miniature, SS. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene seem to be the most important to Mary of Savoy. St. Mary Magdalene's right arm extends toward Mary and disappears behind her headdress (fig. 54a). The Magdalene's left hand is gently pressed against Mary's back, as if guiding her toward the holy figures in front of her. St. John the Evangelist gestures toward the Virgin and Child, seemingly to introduce Mary to them. The Virgin and Child are not preoccupied with each other as in the image from the *Salisbury Breviary* (fig. 51). Instead, they look directly at Mary of Savoy, who returns their gaze (fig. 54a). The dialogue between the figures begins with Mary, who kneels in prayer. Rather than addressing the holy figures herself, she entrusts her plea to SS. John and Mary Magdalene. They in turn beseech the Virgin and Child, who respond by looking at Mary of Savoy and raising their right hands in blessing, signifying that Christ has heard Mary's prayers and finds them worthy. These gestures complete the exchange and presumably produce a favorable outcome for Mary.

The crowd of saints behind Mary appears to have been included for primarily political reasons. They are depicted in a rather generic fashion, each accompanied by an attribute relating to their lives or deaths. St. Peter, Martyr, for example, located to the far right in the top row, has a large knife jutting from his head (fig. 54b). This gruesome detail relates to the method of his martyrdom.⁸⁰ All of the saints in this group are rendered much as they appear in miniatures accompanying suffrages. They act as icons rather than participating in a narrative in which they interact with one another. The iconography of the majority of these saints was well known, so

this folio could have functioned in the same manner as the suffrages that occur later in the manuscript.

This folio displays saints who represent aspects of Mary of Savoy's self-definition. The large group behind her embodies the political nature of her manuscript, representing the union between the houses of Savoy and Visconti. They are depicted with their traditional attributes, like images of saints in suffrages. SS. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene, on the other hand, are identified only by their inscriptions and perhaps, in the case of St. Mary Magdalene, her long hair. They are animated compared to the group behind them, and are absorbed in their roles as sponsors of Mary of Savoy.

8. Anne of Brittany

Another example of a female patron accompanied by a number of saints occurs in the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Jean Bourdichon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9474).⁸¹ A portrait of Anne of Brittany appears on folio 3 of this manuscript, kneeling at a *prie-dieu* with her hands folded in prayer above an open book (fig. 55). Standing behind her, from left to right, are SS. Anne, Ursula and Helena. Their presence seems directly related to Anne of Brittany's roles as queen and devout Christian. As mentioned in chapter 1, she became queen twice, first when she married Charles VIII, and again when she married his successor, Louis XII.⁸² This manuscript was produced during her second tenure as queen and after the birth of her daughter, Claude of France. An examination of each saint reveals that they represented either a queenly or spiritual role, which Anne probably hoped to emulate.

Of the three saints, the presence of St. Anne is the most expected. She is Anne of Brittany's name saint and stands closer to her than the two other saints. She gently places her left hand on Anne's back and gestures toward her with her right hand, as though she is presenting her

to the image of Christ and the Virgin on the facing page. St. Anne appears as an old woman in this depiction, unlike her image in the *Bedford Hours* where she seems much younger (fig. 50), and is not accompanied by the Virgin. In this miniature, then, St. Anne functions as an intercessor rather than a teacher.⁸³

St. Ursula, who is centered between SS. Helena and Anne, wears a crown and carries an arrow and a banner bearing Anne of Brittany's coat of arms. These symbols are related to aspects of her vita. According to *The Golden Legend*, Ursula, known for her virtue and beauty, was the daughter of a Christian king from Britain.⁸⁴ In a political maneuver, she was betrothed to the son of a pagan king. She agreed to the arrangement, but with several conditions. She was to visit the pilgrimage churches in Rome accompanied by ten virgins, who would in turn have one thousand companions each. She was also to have one thousand companions of her own, for a total of eleven thousand and eleven. She also requested that her vow of celibacy be honored for three years after the marriage. Finally, sometime during those three years her husband had to convert to Christianity. These plans were thwarted, because two Romans heard of her itinerary and decided that the number of Christians congregating was too great and therefore dangerous to the Roman Empire. They decided to kill the virgins when they reached Cologne. When Ursula and her entourage arrived there, it was under attack by the Huns. They turned on the virgins and killed them, with the exception of Ursula. The chief of the Huns wanted her for his wife but had her shot with an arrow when she declined.

The vita of St. Ursula would have appealed to Anne of Brittany for a number of reasons. St. Ursula's noble background aligned her socially with Anne, who would have also admired her dedication to a virtuous life. Two of the most important traits that were required of a queen were virtue and dedication to serving others, outlined in *De eruditione principum*, a thirteenth-century

book that was popular among French noblewomen.⁸⁵ Christine de Pizan reiterated the appropriate behavior for women in her book of 1405, *Le Trésor de la cité des dames*.⁸⁶ These texts stressed that acts of piety similar to those performed by St. Ursula were important for noblewomen. St. Ursula therefore became the personification of a virtuous life, which Anne could emulate. Anne in turn became a model for her subjects by publicly participating in virtuous activities, such as giving alms to the poor.⁸⁷

St. Helena's inclusion in this manuscript is equally appropriate when one considers her legendary activities.⁸⁸ She was the mother of Emperor Constantine (c. 272-337) and was known for her strong faith. According to Rufinus of Aquileia's (340-410) account of her life, St. Helena received a vision instructing her to build a church on the site of Christ's Crucifixion.⁸⁹ During the excavation for this church, she found the three crosses that were used to crucify Christ and the two thieves. In order to identify which of these was used to crucify Christ, they were taken to the home of a sick woman to see which one would cure her. When the woman was touched with the third cross she was healed.⁹⁰ St. Helena is therefore credited with finding the true cross on which Christ was crucified.

The saintly life that St. Helena led became a model for subsequent queens.⁹¹ Queens were often the pious counterparts to their husbands, who were preoccupied with expansion through war. These women often concentrated on saintly pursuits, such as giving money to the poor, brokering peace between warring factions, or building churches or monasteries.⁹² St. Helena proved to be an appropriate model and her legacy was perpetuated by queens of the Middle Ages. Galla Placidia (388/390-450) was the first empress in the west to venerate her.⁹³ French queens continued the tradition, beginning with Clothild (475-545), the wife of Clovis (c. 466-511).⁹⁴ Because Helena's son, Constantine, was the first Christian emperor, he also acted as

a model for subsequent nobility. Many French kings attempted to link themselves with him and the grandeur of Rome by declaring that they were the “New Constantine.”⁹⁵

St. Helena’s presence in the *Grandes Heures d’Anne de Bretagne* suggests that Anne desired to continue the tradition of French queens who modeled their lives on St Helena’s. The manner in which she is depicted in this miniature supports this idea. Of the three saints depicted with Anne, St. Helena is the most prominent, because she is fully visible and stands directly behind Anne. St. Helena makes the same gesture of presentation as St. Anne, but does not touch the queen. Her presence addresses issues of tradition and character attributed to queenship rather than personal piety. St. Helena and St. Ursula therefore reflect Anne’s conventional role as queen of France, while St. Anne refers to her spiritual definition of self.

9. Mary of Burgundy

Other celestial beings who reveal a supplicant’s particular religious practices were occasionally included in devotional manuscripts. An example occurs in the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I* (Ghent Associates and Alexander Benning(?), Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 12),⁹⁶ which contains a prayer dedicated to guardian angels beginning on folio 355. On this page, Mary of Burgundy kneels at a *prie-dieu* in the presence of her own guardian angel (fig. 56). The text on this folio is an antiphon from a common prayer to guardian angels found in English manuscripts.⁹⁷ It begins, “Angel who are my guardian by divine mercy, keep me who has been entrusted to you, defend me and rule me.”⁹⁸ The cult of guardian angels had a long history in England, but prayers to angels in English books of hours were often relegated to the back of the manuscript.⁹⁹ Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs have suggested that although the Church recognized angels, the veneration of them was not systematized and was a matter of private devotion.¹⁰⁰

According to the *Golden Legend*, a good guardian angel was assigned to each Christian before birth. Once Christians reached a certain age, they received a second, bad angel, who would tempt them and conflict with the good angel.¹⁰¹ Guardian angels were known as protectors, and were responsible for taking one's soul to heaven.¹⁰² In the miniature in Mary of Burgundy's manuscript, the angel seems to be fulfilling his role as protector as he kneels in front of her and to her right. Unlike the saints discussed in previous manuscripts, he does not present Mary to a holy figure. His folded hands and kneeling posture suggest that he is watching Mary as she prays and in turn prays for her. Mary does not look at him, but the text below the miniature indicates that her prayer is directed to him. Mary's prayers have caused the angel to appear. Like other portraits discussed in this chapter, her portrait with her guardian angel was a model of devotion. However, the question that remains is why a Burgundian princess, whose husband was Austrian, included a prayer in her book of hours that occurred mostly in English manuscripts. An examination of Mary of Burgundy's early life may offer an answer.

As discussed in chapter 1, Mary of Burgundy was the daughter of Charles the Bold and Isabelle of Bourbon (see appendix 5).¹⁰³ Her mother died in 1465, and Charles married his third wife, Margaret of York, in 1468 (see appendix 5). Margaret was an English duchess and sister of Edward IV (1442-1483) and Richard III (1452-1485), both kings of England (see appendix 6). When she married Charles the Bold, she became responsible for the education of her stepdaughter, Mary of Burgundy (see appendix 5).¹⁰⁴ Margaret of York was fond of books and employed several illuminators, including an unknown artist called the Master of Mary of Burgundy. A follower of the Master of Mary of Burgundy may have been one of the illuminators of the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I*, the manuscript that contains the portrait of Mary of Burgundy with her guardian angel (fig, 56).¹⁰⁵

Margaret of York would have been exposed to the cult of the guardian angel, which flourished in her native England. She probably knew a text owned by her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Woodville (1437-1492), wife of Edward IV of England (see appendix 6), which contains the *Hours of the Guardian Angel* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, Liverpool Cathedral, Ms. Radcliffe 6, ca. 1475-1483).¹⁰⁶ This is one of the few extant examples of this prayer cycle. Margaret of York probably had access to it before she left England to marry Charles the Bold. When she became Mary of Burgundy's stepmother, Margaret could have passed this English tradition on to her. If so, Margaret would have been the inspiration for the prayer in Mary of Burgundy's book of hours, as well as the miniature that accompanies it.

Eric Inglis suggested that Margaret of York commissioned another manuscript for Mary of Burgundy, which also illustrates the transference of English traditions.¹⁰⁷ The *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Master of Mary of Burgundy and others, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 1857) has three references to the English Saint Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1162-1170.¹⁰⁸ His name appears twice in the calendar, once in January and again in December.¹⁰⁹ The third reference to him occurs in a prologue to a prayer to the *Seven Joys of the Virgin*, which explains that the prayer was written after Becket received a vision from the Virgin.¹¹⁰ This prayer was clearly important to Mary of Burgundy, as was Thomas Becket's vision, as demonstrated by the inclusion of these textual references.¹¹¹

In addition to the prayer authored by Thomas Becket, a miniature introducing the *Seven Joys of the Virgin* in this manuscript underscores its importance. On folio 14v., Mary of Burgundy sits next to an open window in the foreground with a small dog in her lap, reading from a book (fig. 57). There are several objects on the windowsill, including two carnations and

a vase with irises. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Flemish art, carnations symbolized betrothal.¹¹² Their inclusion in this miniature suggests that they allude to Mary's engagement to Maximilian I and/or that the manuscript was commissioned as a wedding gift. In Germany and the Netherlands, the carnation had a different symbolic meaning. It was known as the nail flower, called "nagelbloem" in German and Dutch.¹¹³ It therefore symbolized the nails used in Christ's Crucifixion, alluding to Christ's sacrifice.¹¹⁴

The irises, which were called gladiolus or sword-lily in antiquity, also have symbolic significance.¹¹⁵ Panofsky has suggested they stand for the metaphorical sword that pierced Mary's heart when she saw her son crucified.¹¹⁶ The inclusion of the irises is appropriate because the window behind Mary of Burgundy opens onto the interior of a church, which is occupied by the Virgin and Child. Northern European images of the Virgin and Child from the fifteenth and sixteenth century often included a pitcher of irises.¹¹⁷

Eric Inglis suggested that the kneeling male figure to the Virgin's left is Maximilian I.¹¹⁸ To the Virgin's right are four women, three of whom kneel. Some scholars argue that the female figure closest to the Virgin is Mary of Burgundy.¹¹⁹ If this interpretation is correct, then this miniature contains two portraits of the duchess. This reading of the miniature complicates the purpose of the image and its relationship to the viewer. Here, Mary seems deeply engaged in reading her book. She does not pause or look away from her text, as Joanna of Castile does in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* (fig. 34). Joanna seems to have stopped her reading in order to experience a vision of the Virgin and Child. Mary, on the other hand, seems grounded in the here and now, as demonstrated by her left hand, which wraps around the edge of the book, and her finger, which points toward the historiated initial at the top of the page. Both gestures acknowledge the book as a concrete object, which contributes to the naturalism of the scene.

In the second portrait of Mary of Burgundy on this folio, the environment changes from a secular to a sacred one. Here, she kneels in prayer without the aid of a book of hours. She looks in the direction of the Virgin and Child, but it is difficult to tell if she is focused on them. She and the other figures who venerate the Virgin and Child are in the sacred space of a church. This portrait seems to occupy a spiritual realm instead of the earthly space of the portrait in the foreground. We see Mary in the midst of a vision of the Virgin rather than in prayer with a book of hours. It appears that a transition has taken place between the portrait in the foreground and the one in the background. Perhaps Mary's activities as a devout reader have led to her vision. If so, her devotional practice in the profane space of the foreground portrait produced the vision of the Virgin in the background. Both images are naturalistically rendered, so the only clues as to the difference between a sacred space and a profane space are the image of the Virgin and Child and the ecclesiastical architecture. These portraits thereby reflect the duality of medieval devotional practice: the blurring of the sacred and the profane.¹²⁰

Since this folio is placed at the beginning of the *Seven Joys of the Virgin*, it would have been the first page that Mary saw as she began this prayer. Her portrait in the foreground would have been a useful model for her as she read her prayers, demonstrating the appropriate behavior of someone engaged in reading and thereby preparing Mary for her own devotions. The second image represents the goal of Mary's devotion, which has been realized by her surrogate in the miniature. Together, the portraits demonstrate the idea that images can be used to attain a higher level of spirituality. They are two models engaged in different aspects of devotional practice, both of which Mary would have wanted to emulate.

B. Portraits within a Narrative

1. Anne of France

Devotional portraits of female supplicants appear in the majority of the manuscripts discussed in this study. In every case discussed thus far, the portraits venerate a holy figure or figures acting as models for the supplicants to emulate. In many cases, however, devotional portraits break from this *topos*, appearing within a narrative scene. One example occurs on folio 42v.-43 of the *Hours of Anne of France* (Jean Colombe, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 677).¹²¹ Anne of France appears in the left foreground of the miniature, facing right (fig. 58). To her left is the angel Gabriel, who has just come into the room. Both he and Anne are turned toward the Virgin, who is depicted in the adjacent folio, kneeling at a *prie-dieu*. The two folios are continuous and together form an interior space in which the *Annunciation* takes place. Anne therefore appears within the *Annunciation*, along with the Virgin and Gabriel. Although Anne's presence during this private moment is unexpected, it does not seem intrusive. The Virgin and Anne look toward each other, and are aware of each other's presence. Anne is not separated psychologically or physically from the scene and does not interfere with Gabriel's mission. She seems to be an observer, but the Virgin acknowledges her presence through her gaze.

As previously discussed in this chapter, the Virgin filled several roles in medieval devotion.¹²² In addition to her function as an intercessor and teacher, she could be called upon for help with fertility issues. This power probably explains Anne's presence in this miniature. Her mother, Charlotte of Savoy, most likely commissioned this manuscript for her on the occasion of her marriage to Peter of Bourbon.¹²³ Charlotte may well have requested that Anne's portrait be included in this scene, with the hope that the Virgin could help her to conceive as

soon as possible after her marriage. The composition of these two folios attests to the importance of Anne of France's fertility. She appears alone, without a patron saint to act as a liaison. Her figure is a mirror image of the Virgin, who is about to receive Gabriel's message that she will bear a son. Anne's pose emulates that of the Virgin and may symbolically indicate Anne's desire to conceive.

In this case, Anne's portrait can be identified, but portraits sometimes appear in illuminations amid groups of people participating in an activity or event. Often the devotee is presented in the guise of an anonymous participant. In other examples, they can take on the identity of religious or literary figures. Dagmar Eichberger labeled these "crypto-portraits," which were especially popular among male donors in the fourteenth century.¹²⁴ Identification of such portraits is more difficult and is often based on other extant images of the individual. In instances where the figures are identifiable, their portraits can reveal aspects of their identity that transcend the realm of religious devotion.

An example of a crypto-portrait appears in the *Hours of Anne of France* on folio 252v. As in figures 21 and 21a, Anne is again part of a procession about to enter a church portal (fig. 59).¹²⁵ She appears at the front of the procession of women, one of whom holds her train. This portrait is almost identical to the one in the *Annunciation* miniature (fig. 58). Her coif and dress are similar as is her gold necklace. She appears in the center of the composition and the fact that her lady-in-waiting holds her train establishes her as a noblewoman.

This portrait appears at the end of the prayers for Vespers in the *Office of the Dead*. In books of hours, the text for this prayer was the same as the *Office of the Dead* read by the clergy.¹²⁶ The medieval preoccupation with death was the impetus for the recitation of this *Office*, every day if possible.¹²⁷ These prayers were recited not only for the soul of the recently

deceased, but also for the souls of ancestors. It was believed that the recitation of this *Office* aided the dead by shortening their stay in Purgatory.¹²⁸ When performed for the newly dead, it was divided into two parts. The laity and clergy recited the first portion at Vespers on the night before the burial. The second section was said during Matins and Lauds on the day of the funeral.¹²⁹ Of all the prayer cycles in books of hours, this one contains the most diverse illuminations.¹³⁰ As discussed in chapter 2, the artist of this manuscript, John Colombe, was known for his inventive illuminations.¹³¹ His inclusion of Anne and her entourage entering a church in the *Office of the Dead* suggests that Charlotte wanted Anne to be aware of the importance of praying for her parents' souls after they died.

2. Catherine of Cleves

Portraits of female patrons also appear in narratives of other devotional activities. Because noblewomen were required to participate in public works, such as converting new Christians or almsgiving, images of women engaging in such activities were used as models for modes of behavior in the same way that other portraits were used as prototypes for proper devotional practice.¹³² In a miniature from the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Ms. 917, page 65; fig. 29), for instance, a woman gives alms to three beggars in front of a portal. She is dressed in the same manner as the woman on folio 1v. (fig. 1) and page 160 in the same manuscript (fig. 53) and therefore has been identified as Catherine of Cleves.¹³³ In this image, Catherine is larger in scale than the beggars and seems barely able to fit through the entrance behind her. This size difference may allude to her status as duchess and link her with figures that are pious by nature, such as saints. Hierarchy of scale was used throughout the Middle Ages to distinguish between figures of varying ranks. Supplicants were therefore often depicted smaller than the holy

figures.¹³⁴ In this image, Catherine's size sets her apart from the beggars who are the receivers of her charity, thereby linking her to saints known for their charitable acts.

Catherine's image is also linked iconographically to holy figures by the depiction of the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering over her head. I believe this dove acts as a link between Catherine and the Virgin. A dove also appears above the heads of figures in the other seven miniatures of this cycle, but it is only in the image of Catherine giving alms that hierarchy of scale is utilized. In miniatures that contain Old Testament figures such as Solomon (Ms. 917, page 53; fig. 28) and Jacob (Ms. 917, page 73; fig. 60) the scale of the figures is equal. In the miniature of *Pentecost* introducing Matins of the *Hours of the Holy Spirit* (Ms. 917, page 52; fig. 61), however, the Virgin is slightly larger than the Apostles, who surround her. Hierarchy of scale is used in the traditional way here as a means to establish levels of sanctity. The similar use of scale in these images of the Virgin and Catherine may be another attempt to link the two women together. In these examples, Catherine does not replace the Virgin, but retains her own identity as a noblewoman participating in an act of charity.

3. Margaret of Austria

In some devotional manuscripts, female patrons take on the roles of religious figures and participate in biblical narratives. The *Sforza Hours* (Giovanni Pietro Birago and Gerard Horenbout, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 34294) contains examples of this type of portrait.¹³⁵ Margaret of Austria, the second owner of this manuscript, commissioned sixteen of its full-page miniatures, two of which contain her portrait. The first appears in the miniature of the *Visitation* on folio 61, in which she replaces Elizabeth (fig. 62).¹³⁶ The resemblance of this figure to one of several portraits of Margaret by Bernard van Orley is the basis for this

identification (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, ca. 1525; fig. 63).¹³⁷ In this manuscript, Margaret wears a widow's wimple, as in Van Orley's portrait.

This portrait relates to Margaret's desire to give the manuscript away as a gift as well as to the political climate of the time. In the first place, the *Sforza Hours* was unfinished when Margaret inherited from her second husband, Philibert, and she commissioned Gerard Horenbout to complete it.¹³⁸ She intended to give it to her nephew, Charles V, on the occasion of his coronation as Emperor.¹³⁹ As previously mentioned, the nobility often gave books as gifts.¹⁴⁰ In many cases, such transactions were documented on dedication pages, as on folio 437 of the *Breviary of Isabelle of Castile*, discussed in chapter 2 (figs. 37 and 37a).¹⁴¹ Margaret did not include a dedication page in the *Sforza Hours*, but I believe her portraits served in its place. She gave portraits as gifts more than any other noblewoman of her day.¹⁴² This tradition stemmed from the patronage of her grandfather, Charles the Bold, and her great-grandfather, Philip the Good (see appendices 4 and 5), who had given painted panel portraits as gifts. Margaret continued this type of patronage when she became regent of the Netherlands.¹⁴³ Andrea Pearson has argued that she may have done so to communicate her public identity and to establish her role as sovereign.¹⁴⁴

The portraits of Margaret of Austria in the *Sforza Hours* probably served the same purpose. The way in which she is portrayed in this manuscript suggests that she had a message for Charles V concerning her place in the court and her power. In her portrait as Elizabeth in the *Visitation*, she appears as an older woman in a widow's habit (fig. 62). Her age is appropriate to the iconography, because Elizabeth was an old woman when she became pregnant with St. John the Baptist. The widow's habit is befitting an image of Margaret, because her husband, Philibert, died in 1504, approximately thirteen years before the *Sforza Hours* was completed. Imitating

Elizabeth's gesture in *Visitation* scenes, Margaret places her hands on the Virgin's stomach. This gesture establishes an intimate relationship between the two women. Margaret is placed in a position of power as the confidant of the Virgin. Her role as Elizabeth also establishes a familial link between the two women. Elizabeth was Mary's cousin, so this miniature refers to the importance of family ties. By having her portrait painted in such a manner, Margaret perhaps sought to establish herself as an influential woman from a powerful family. If so, then her message to Charles V may have been a reminder of her power and legacy.

Margaret was twenty years old when her nephew was born, and she acted as godmother at his baptism.¹⁴⁵ She was Regent of the Netherlands from 1509 until 1515, when Charles became old enough to take control.¹⁴⁶ Charles became Emperor in 1519 and reappointed Margaret as Regent of the Netherlands a year later.¹⁴⁷ She was an experienced ruler and one whom Charles V respected. Her portrait as Elizabeth alludes to her experience and the wisdom that comes with age. Perhaps she meant to remind Charles, who was only nineteen when he became Emperor, that he should respect the wisdom of his elders. Dagmar Eichberger has made a similar argument in regard to another portrait in the *Sforza Hours*. On folio 213 there is a medallion with a profile portrait of Charles V, which faces an image of *King David Repenting* on folio 212v. (fig. 64). Eichberger argues that Margaret intended this juxtaposition as a message to the inexperienced Charles V not to be "swayed by power and beauty as David was."¹⁴⁸

Family ties were also important to Margaret, who collected manuscripts on Burgundian history and family genealogies.¹⁴⁹ Her ties to the great Burgundian dukes may have been another message implied in her portrait in the *Visitation*. Margaret chose to be depicted as Elizabeth, who, as mentioned above, was Mary's cousin. Margaret was also a member of a powerful family, ruled mostly by males. She may have been alluding to her relationship to important men,

which parallels Elizabeth's lineage to Christ. For Margaret, this was crucial, because as Regent she was constantly being compared to her male ancestors. As a woman, she had to compete in the same political arena as men and needed to assert herself. Portraits were one way she could construct a public identity that established her authority.¹⁵⁰

4. Louise of Savoy

Another crypto-portrait occurs in a book of hours associated with Louise of Savoy (Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, Ms. 10).¹⁵¹ This manuscript contains sixteen full-page miniatures, most of which are found in the *Hours of the Virgin*. Some of these face texts framed by elaborate borders in the Ghent-Bruges style, while others are done in an Italianate manner.¹⁵² Louise probably commissioned the manuscript for an Italian dignitary who could help her son Francis, who was being held captive in Italy.¹⁵³ Her portrait appears three times in the guise of religious figures.¹⁵⁴ These portraits may seem unusual when examined on their own, but the practice of comparing or replacing biblical figures with contemporary people was not uncommon in manuscripts produced for Louise of Savoy.¹⁵⁵ I suggest that, like Margaret of Austria, Louise was trying to send a message to the recipient of this book of hours by means of these portraits.

The first portrait occurs on folio 30v. at the beginning of Lauds for the *Hours of the Virgin*. Here the illuminator strayed from the usual iconography of the *Visitation* and instead depicted *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* (fig. 65). In this legend, Augustus was about to be recognized as a mortal god by the Roman Senate, which would have allowed him to be deified after his death.¹⁵⁶ Augustus pondered the decision and sought the advice of the Tiburtine Sibyl, who told him that there would be a god born that would be greater than all the Roman gods, and showed him a vision of the Virgin and Child in the sky.

In this legend, the Tiburtine Sibyl, who here has the face of Louise of Savoy, acted as an advisor to Emperor Augustus. It was perhaps this role that inspired Louise to have her portrait painted as the sibyl. She was familiar with miraculous prophecies, having received a prediction from François de Paule that she would give birth to a future king.¹⁵⁷ Louise's son, Francis I, relied on his mother on several occasions, the first of which occurred during a military sojourn to Italy in 1516. While Francis was away, Louise acted as regent.¹⁵⁸ His second campaign to Italy resulted in his capture and imprisonment from 1524 to 1526. Louise again took on the role of regent and several years after his release, in 1529, she negotiated the Treaty of Cambrai with Margaret of Austria to allow Habsburg rule in Italy.¹⁵⁹ Louise was clearly familiar with Italian politics and must have had contact with Italian dignitaries. The fact that this manuscript was completed around 1524, during Francis's captivity in Italy, suggests that she gave it to an Italian who could help Francis. Her portrait on the face of the Tiburtine Sibyl perhaps served as a reminder that she was an advisor to her son and was acting as his regent. If so, this depiction would have justified her power.

The Italianate motifs in this manuscript would have appealed to an Italian. The classically-inspired, illusionistic frame of the miniature on folio 30v. is composed of engaged columns anchored on a base with a faux marble panel (fig. 65). These motifs suggest that Louise was trying to cater to Italian taste. She would have been familiar with Renaissance traditions both in the visual arts and in literature.¹⁶⁰

The complexities of the iconography and style in this miniature reflect the intricacies involved in gift-giving in the courts. Gifts were not just niceties exchanged between friends. They could be powerful political weapons that revealed complex messages about both parties.¹⁶¹ In this case, Louise chose a style that would appeal to the aesthetic preferences of the individual

for whom the manuscript was intended. She also addressed political issues by aligning herself with the Tiburtine Sibyl; as the latter advised Augustus, so Louise advised her son. By having her portrait painted in this way, she presented herself as a woman who was politically and artistically savvy. Her gift was perhaps meant both to flatter and alert the recipient to her position within the court.

Louise of Savoy's second portrait occurs on folio 46v., at the beginning of *None of the Hours of the Virgin*. Here, the standard iconography of the *Presentation in the Temple* is followed, with Louise depicted as the prophetess, Anna, placing a basket on the altar (figs. 10 and 10a). She kneels and gazes up at the Child, who is held by the high priest. The Virgin stands to Louise's left and shares in her adoration. Louise's alignment with the Virgin is visually expressed, because both women are equidistant from the Child.

This portrait may also address Louise's role as advisor to Francis and regent during his captivity in Italy. Louise's dedication to her son was well known and celebrated in texts commissioned for her. For example, Étienne le Blanc wrote a manuscript in which he compared Louise to Blanche of Castile (1188-1252), the mother of Louis IX (1214-1270; *Les Gestes de Blanche de Castille*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 5715).¹⁶² Blanche, like Louise, served as her son's regent before he was old enough to assume power.¹⁶³ In this manuscript, Le Blanc also aligned Louise with Esther and Judith from the Old Testament, both of whom were champions of their people.¹⁶⁴ These comparisons established Louise as a strong woman, who was integral to the political and social structure of France.

Louise was also admired for her piety and, like other noblewomen, she was required to exhibit appropriate Christian behavior. The best model for a noblewoman to emulate was the Virgin Mary. For Louise, the Virgin was an appropriate exemplar, because of her dual roles as

mother and intercessor. That she was associated with the Virgin is demonstrated in a celebration in Amiens in 1517. During this event, Louise was given a manuscript that contained poems and songs comparing her to the Virgin (*Chants royaux en l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge prononcés au Puy d'Amiens*), in which Louise was said to rule on earth as Mary did in heaven.¹⁶⁵ Louise's intercessory role during Francis's captivity paralleled the Virgin's role as liaison between the worshipper and Christ.

Louise's final portrait appears on folio 60 at the beginning of the *Short Hours of the Cross*. The miniature depicts *Christ Carrying the Cross*, which is an appropriate motif for this prayer cycle.¹⁶⁶ A portrait of Louise of Savoy appears in the foreground, to the left, in the guise of St. Veronica (fig. 66). Like St. Veronica, she offers a cloth to Christ so that he may wipe his face. Louise is dressed in contemporary clothing, as opposed to all of the other figures in the miniature. A palatial city gate and city walls in the background seem more appropriate to the sixteenth century than the first. This portrait reiterates many of the issues raised in the first two examples, the most important of which is Louise's role as advisor and regent. St. Veronica was said to have wiped the face of Christ as he carried the cross to Calvary.¹⁶⁷ The image of his face was imprinted on the cloth as a token of his gratitude. In some versions of the legend, St. Veronica took the relic to Rome to cure Emperor Tiberius, who lay dying.¹⁶⁸ She acted as a liaison between Christ and the ailing emperor, much as Louise acted as a negotiator on behalf of France in her dealings with the Italians. Her portrait as St. Veronica would have underscored this part of the legend, once again to remind an Italian dignitary of her strength and power as a ruler.

On one level, these portraits linked Louise with pious and insightful women. On another, they underscored important political and social roles to which she aspired. These portraits visually expressed messages allegorically, in order to establish a protocol before negotiations

took place. As a woman, Louise had to prove herself a worthy adversary to the Italians in order to be taken seriously as regent for her son. Through these portraits, Louise was able to establish her legitimacy.

Women in positions of power were not unknown in the late Middle Ages. Their success as rulers was often scrutinized and compared to their male counterparts. They had the difficult task of balancing their ability to rule with their traditional roles as women. Louise of Savoy tried to legitimize her own power by aligning herself with powerful women of the past: St. Veronica, the Tiburtine Sibyl and the Virgin.

5. Mary of Burgundy

In some cases, noblewomen chose to excel at traditionally male activities in order to prove their abilities. Hunting, for example, was one sport that was predominately a male pastime. However, a few female sovereigns took up the hobby. Some, like Queen Isabelle of Castile, became known for their expertise at hunting with hounds.¹⁶⁹ Hunting and riding were activities associated with sovereignty from the time of Marcus Aurelius. Many male rulers had their portraits painted on horseback and equestrian depictions were often the inspiration for royal seals.¹⁷⁰ Since such riders were dressed in their military regalia armed with a sword or lance, these depictions related to military prowess rather than hunting ability. Female sovereigns who wanted the same imagery for their own emblems often feminized their equestrian portraits. Mary of Burgundy, for example, had a seal designed in which she held a falcon while riding sidesaddle on a horse. (*Wax impression of the Seal for Mary of Burgundy for Brabant*, Antwerp, Stadarchief Chart C. m 300, ca. 1480; fig. 67).¹⁷¹ Like Isabelle of Castile, Mary was an avid rider and excelled at hunting. Her choice of this depiction for her official seal did not just reflect this

interest. It was clearly meant to associate her with traditional male iconography, thereby legitimizing her power as duchess.

Another portrait of Mary of Burgundy on horseback occurs in the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I*, discussed above.¹⁷² The image appears on folio 220v. of the manuscript at the beginning of the *Office of the Dead* (fig. 68). In this image, Mary again holds a falcon. Three corpses brandishing spears are in close pursuit behind her. Two other riders have turned to the left toward the receding landscape. The iconography for this miniature comes from a popular legend from the Middle Ages of the Three Living and the Three Dead. According to this legend, three nobles who were out hawking came upon three corpses in various stages of decomposition. The corpses entered into a dialogue with the nobles and told them, “We were once as you are and what we are now you soon shall be.”¹⁷³ This warning applied to all people regardless of their social status. The facing folio contains the incipit for the *Office of the Dead*, with a half-page miniature of a spear-bearing corpse carrying a coffin (fig. 68).

The spear-bearing corpse and the Three Living and the Three Dead were appropriate choices for the beginning of the *Office of the Dead*,¹⁷⁴ but Mary’s portrait on horseback is a unique addition that, according to Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, probably refers to her unexpected death.¹⁷⁵ Mary died in March, 1482, when *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I* was still unfinished. She was killed during a hunting expedition near Bruges, when she was thrown from her horse.¹⁷⁶ Since this portrait of Mary was inserted after the manuscript was finished, it was probably posthumous. Representations of Mary on horseback were common, so it is appropriate that she would be depicted this way in this manuscript. Because she died unexpectedly, her persona continued to be developed by others after her death to a point that she became almost mythical.¹⁷⁷ Maximilian contributed to the continuation of her memory by

commissioning portraits of her after she died.¹⁷⁸ In this manuscript, a representation of Mary in one of her favorite pastimes was combined with a narrative that concerned the frailty of life and the fear of unexpected death. This miniature linked Mary's earthly persona to the afterlife, thereby elevating her to legendary status.

II. Coats of Arms and Mottos

The portrait likeness reveals aspects of an individual that encompass religious, political and social issues. Other types of illuminations in devotional manuscripts are more specific in their meaning and purpose. This is especially true of coats of arms, which are political and generational in nature. Coats of arms are graphic symbols that display the political power and connections of an individual. Arms were usually connected to a region and were acquired by securing that area for one's own. Because lands often changed hands quickly, arms were modified over time to reflect the shift in power, as exemplified in the evolution of the arms of René of Anjou.¹⁷⁹ When René was born, he inherited a coat of arms with the symbols for Anjou and Bar from his father, Louis II, Duke of Anjou (see appendix 3; fig. 69). It is quartered with the arms of Anjou in the first and fourth quarters (azure, semy-del-lis or a bordure gules) and the arms of Bar in the second and third quarters (azure, crusily and two barbels or). When René married Isabelle of Lorraine in 1420, he acquired her arms (or a bend gules with three allerions argent), which were placed on an escutcheon of pretence on his existing coat of arms (fig. 70),¹⁸⁰ implying that as her husband he "pretended" to be the head of her family line.¹⁸¹ In 1434, René's brother died and he acquired the regions of Hungary (barry of eight argent and gules), Naples (azure, semy-de-lis or, a label gules) and Jerusalem (argent, a cross potent or with four crosslets or). The arms for these areas were added to his arms and Isabelle's symbol was incorporated into the shield (fig. 71). When Isabelle died in 1453, he lost the duchy of Lorraine and removed its

arms from his shield (fig. 72).¹⁸² This example shows that arms changed based on political upheaval, marriage and inheritance. The composition of a coat of arms can therefore help date a manuscript if the history of the patron is known.

At birth, male and female heirs of the nobility acquired the coat of arms of their fathers. As discussed above, male heirs could then add to their arms by inheriting or conquering other lands. Women's arms also changed over time due to marriage and, in some cases, their own political activism. Noblewomen were given the arms of their fathers and used that symbol until they were married. If widowed, they could change their heraldry by reverting back to their family arms. For example, when René of Anjou died in 1480, his second wife, Jeanne of Laval, reverted back to her family arms of Laval (gules, a lion passant guardant or).¹⁸³ This version of her coat of arms appears on folio 22 of the *Psalter of Jeanne of Laval* (Bedford Master, Rohan Master, Jean Fouquet and others, Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 41; fig. 73).¹⁸⁴ The Psalter may have been completed during René's lifetime; if so the arms must have been added or changed later. Jeanne may have added them because she intended to give the Psalter as a gift to her successors.¹⁸⁵ The arms that Jeanne adopted as a widow are unique within the group of manuscripts used for this study. The remaining examples are coats of arms that were adopted after the woman associated with the manuscript was married, when they were combined with the arms of her husband.

A. Charlotte of Savoy

Coats of arms were sometimes added to manuscripts that were commissioned by others, acquired, or bought. The *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* (Bedford Master or his workshop, Guise Master and others, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 1004), for instance, was commissioned by an unknown patron but somehow entered the library of Charlotte of

Savoy.¹⁸⁶ After Charlotte acquired this manuscript, the arms of Savoy, France impaling Savoy and Savoy impaling France, were added to the borders of eleven of the folios.¹⁸⁷ One example occurs on folio 54 from the *Hours of the Virgin* (fig. 74). Here the arms of Savoy (gules, a cross quartered argent) and France (azure, semy-de lis or) appear in the left border on separate shields. The arms in the right border are those of France impaling Savoy (fig. 74a) and Savoy impaling France (fig. 74b). This implies that both regions were given equal importance in the manuscript rather than one dominating the other. These are the arms of Charlotte of Savoy and Louis, the Dauphin, who would later become king of France. The arms are displayed as shields; since they lack crowns, they must have been added to the manuscript after Charlotte's marriage to Louis in 1451, but before he became king of France in 1461. They were probably added in 1451 or 1452 to celebrate the marriage of Charlotte and Louis or that of Charlotte's brother, Amédée to Louis's sister, Yolande (see appendix 4).¹⁸⁸

In this example, Charlotte of Savoy added a symbol of ownership to her manuscript that represented her identity as noblewomen and a queen. Although these coats of arms were acquired because of her relationship with men, they were signs of personal status. A woman's status was important because with power came privilege. These symbols enabled her to establish her own identity within the construct of her title. For women like Charlotte, entitlement was crucial because her personal life was lonely and unpleasant. Philippe de Commynes, advisor and historian of the court of Louis XI, described her as a loving but unattractive woman, who was married to an inconsiderate husband.¹⁸⁹ She was not involved in politics but was known for her work educating disinherited children,¹⁹⁰ which she did with her own money that she was allotted because of her station. Without her title and the coat of arms to symbolize her status, she would have been unable to pursue these charitable endeavors.

B. Anne of Burgundy

While Charlotte of Savoy had her coat of arms added to a manuscript commissioned by another person, sometimes the original patron of a manuscript manipulated the coats of arms in a manuscript to reflect a profound event, such as the death of a spouse. In the *Salisbury Breviary*, for instance, the *bas-de-page* on folio 106 depicts the heraldic symbol of John, Duke of Bedford (quarterly, azure, three fleurs-de-lis or, label ermine; gules, three lions passant guardant or, label azure with three fleurs-de-lis or) impaling the arms of his second wife, Jacquetta of Luxembourg (argent, a lion rampant queue fourchy gules, coroneted or; figs. 75 and 75a; see appendix 6).¹⁹¹ These arms were added to the manuscript after John's first wife, Anne of Burgundy, died in 1432. This is the only place in the manuscript where the arms have been changed. John appears to have lost interest in the project and refused to pay for or accept this breviary. It remained unfinished when he died in 1435, and it eventually came into the possession of the de Morvilliers family.¹⁹² The production may have come to an end after the manipulation of the single armorial, which shows Jacquetta's coat of arms. Eleanor Spencer suggests that at this point, the book maker found another buyer for the breviary.¹⁹³ This notion is strengthened when one considers the amount of time spent on the manuscript. It was begun around 1423, and work continued on it for ten years. Four different hands with varying degrees of competency have been identified. According to Spencer, the length of the commission may be the result of delinquent payments by the duke and the optimism of the workshop that he would eventually pay.¹⁹⁴

Another possible reason that John abandoned the breviary was because of the overwhelming presence of images of his late wife, Anne, throughout the manuscript. Her portrait appears eight times, either in prayer in front of a holy figure or in an historiated initial.¹⁹⁵ Among these is a full-page miniature on folio 518, discussed earlier in this chapter, which contains an

image of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child (fig. 51).¹⁹⁶ Anne appears in the letter A that begins the text. I suggest that the iconography and multiple portraits caused John, or perhaps Jacquetta, to forego payment of the manuscript. If John died without claiming the work, it would seem unlikely that Jacquetta would have paid for it. The illuminator was therefore faced with recouping some of his losses from ten years of work by finding a willing buyer for this extravagant breviary.

A manuscript that was completed for the Duke of Bedford and Anne of Burgundy is the *Bedford Hours Hours* (Bedford Master, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18850), which was in their library.¹⁹⁷ The coats of arms in this manuscript were also manipulated, but not until it was given to a subsequent owner. On Christmas Eve of 1430, Anne of Burgundy gave it to her nephew, Henry VI, King of England, as a gift (see appendix 6).¹⁹⁸ After Henry VI's death in 1471, his wife, Margaret of Anjou, may have taken the manuscript to France. It eventually came into the possession of Henry II, King of France (1519-1559), and his wife, Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589).¹⁹⁹ Their ownership is documented in the manuscript on folio 15 (fig. 76). This full-page miniature is the Bedford armorial tree, but the coats of arms have been repainted with the arms of Henry II (azure, three fleur-de-lis or) and Catherine de' Medici (azure, semy-de-lis or impaling quarterly or, a roundel azure with three fleurs-de-lis or above five roundels gules; quarterly, azure, semy-de-lis or, a tower argent; or, a label gules; escutcheon or, three roundels gules).²⁰⁰ The shields hang from a yew tree, which was the symbol used by Anne of Burgundy.²⁰¹ Golden roots scattered over a white field appear behind the tree, which was the device used by John of Bedford.²⁰² In this case, Catherine and Henry did not feel the need to obliterate the entire armorial tree and left evidence of the original owners of the manuscript.

The references to Anne of Burgundy and John of Bedford on folio 15 reveal more about their identity than the now covered coats of arms. The nobility used symbols or devices as concise messages that often had hidden meanings.²⁰³ Anne may have adopted the yew tree, which symbolized death, to reflect her sorrow over the death of her father, John the Fearless.²⁰⁴ John of Bedford's golden root may be a reference to his great uncle, Edward of Woodstock, the future Edward the Black Prince (1330-1376), who used a similar enigmatic device (see appendix 6),²⁰⁵ or his great-grandfather, Edward III, King of England (1312-1377).²⁰⁶

Devices were often accompanied by mottos that were embraced by the patron. A motto could be a pun on a person's name or devised so that it evoked surprise or admiration in the reader.²⁰⁷ In the *Bedford Hours*, the mottos used by Anne and John shed light into their relationship. John's motto, "To you completely." appears on folio 256v., encircling his coat of arms (fig. 77).²⁰⁸ Anne's motto, which is a response to John's, is "I am content," and is included on folio 257v., winding through the branches of a yew tree (fig. 78).²⁰⁹ The dialogue suggests that the marriage between John and Anne was something more than a political union. Anne was a formidable partner for John, and often acted as a liaison between him and her brother, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (see appendix 5).²¹⁰ When she died in 1432, John lost both a wife and a political ally.

C. Isabelle of Castile

Coats of arms also documented other life-changing events. Marriages, for instance, were recorded through the inclusion of the arms of each family, which were often painstakingly displayed in devotional books. An elaborate example occurs on folio 436v. of the *Breviary of Isabelle of Castile* (Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, Master of James IV of Scotland and others, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18851).²¹¹ This entire page is dedicated to the

heraldry of Isabelle and her two children, Joanna and John of Castile (fig. 79). Isabelle's coat of arms is the largest of the three on this page and was created by combining her arms (quarterly, gules a castle triple-towered or; argent a lion rampant purpure, crowned or) with those of her husband, Ferdinand II (or, four pallets gules impaling per saltire, or, four pallets gules, argent, a dragon displayed sable). The combined arms are quartered and her arms occupy the dominant first and fourth quarters of the shield. The arms are also crowned, reflecting Isabelle's reign as queen of Castile, Sicily and Naples.²¹² Below and to the left are the arms of John of Castile (quarterly, quarterly, gules a castle triple-towered or; argent, a lion rampant purpure, crowned or; or, four pallets gules impaling per saltire, or, four pallets gules, argent, a dragon displayed sable), which impale those of his betrothed, Margaret of Austria (quarterly, gules, fess argent; azure, three fleurs-de-lis or; bendy of four or and azure bordure gules; sable, lion rampant or; escutcheon or, lion rampant sable). Below, and to the right, are the arms of Joanna of Castile (quarterly, quarterly, gules a castle triple-towered or; argent a lion rampant purpure, crowned or; or, four pallets gules impaling per saltire, or, four pallets gules, argent, a dragon displayed sable), which are impaled by those of her fiancé, Philip the Handsome (quarterly, gules, fess argent; azure, three fleurs-de-lis or; bendy of four or and azure bordure gules; sable, lion rampant or; escutcheon or, lion rampant sable). The crown of an Austrian archduke surmounts the arms of Joanna and Philip, which reflects Philip's title.²¹³ John and Joanna of Castile have identical coats of arms as do Margaret and Philip of Austria, because both sets of siblings inherited them from their parents.

Accompanying the armorials are scrolls with excerpts from the Psalms. Above Isabelle's arms is a quote from Psalm 16:8: "Protect me under the shadow of thy wings."²¹⁴ The text on the two scrolls flanking John of Castile's arms is from Psalm 44:17: "Instead of thy fathers, sons are

born to thee: thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.”²¹⁵ Finally, the scroll to the right of Joanna’s arms contains a passage from Psalm 111:2: “His seed shall be mighty upon the earth: the generation of the righteous shall be blessed.”²¹⁶ I suggest that these scrolls reflect the different roles each of the family members was required to play. The way they are presented implies that they are addressed to Isabelle, who is reminded that her son will be a prince and her daughter will bear the children of the next generation, which were the appropriate gendered roles of the nobility.

Clearly, the arms and scrolls were combined together to symbolize the union of the two families and to outline the terms of the contract. The donor of the manuscript, Francisco de Rojas, placed extreme importance on these terms, perhaps due to his involvement in the negotiations. As discussed in chapter 2, Rojas commissioned this manuscript for Isabelle in commemoration of the marriages of her two children.²¹⁷ His involvement is documented on folio 437 in the form of an inscription and his family arms (or, with five mullets of eight points, bordure chequy argent and azure), which were painted over the existing border (fig. 37 and 37a).²¹⁸ The addition of his arms suggests that he wished to commemorate his relationship with Isabelle, thereby legitimizing his own status.

The heraldry on folio 436v. and the inscription on folio 437 represent Isabelle’s political and familial identity. Francisco de Rojas was careful to acknowledge these two aspects of Isabelle’s personality, which pertained to his relationship with her. By presenting her with this manuscript, Rojas alerted Isabelle of her conventional roles in the life of her children and the rewards that come from playing those roles. His gesture gives insight into the relationship between members of the court and how people of lesser rank viewed those they served. In addition, the armorials and text on folios 436v and 437 addressed the importance Rojas placed on

his relationship with Isabelle and his desire to remind her of the part he played in the marriages of her two children.

D. Catherine of Cleves

Coats of arms could also be used to catalogue members of one's own family in order to preserve the family line. An elaborate example occurs in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* on folio 1v., which contains the introductory illumination to Matins of the *Hours of the Virgin* (figs. 1 and 80).²¹⁹ The Virgin holding the Child is depicted with Catherine of Cleves, who kneels to their right and holds a manuscript. Below the Virgin are Catherine's arms as Duchess of Guelders, in which the arms of Guelders (azure, a lion rampant sinister or coronet gules impaling or, a lion rampant sable) impale those of Cleves and Mark (gules, an escarbuncle or; or, fess chequy argent and gules). The four corners of the folio contain the arms of four of Catherine's great-great-grandfathers, two from her maternal side and two from her paternal side. They are, beginning at the top left and continuing clockwise; Count Diderik of Cleves (1310-1347; gules, escutcheon argent, an escarbuncle or), Count Engelbert II of Mark (1308-1328; or, fess chequy argent and gules), Duke Ludwig of Liegnitz (1311-1342; or, eagle displayed wings inverted sable, a crescent and cross argent) and Duke Ludwig of Bavaria (1282-1347; paly bendy argent and azure), who became Ludwig IV, Holy Roman Emperor.²²⁰ The adjacent folio contains the beginning of the text for Matins of the *Hours of the Virgin* and an image of the *Annunciation to Joachim*. The arms of Catherine's four remaining great-great-grandfathers appear in the four corners of this folio. From the top left clockwise are the arms of John the Good, King of France (1319-1364; azure, semy-de-lis or), Count Louis of Flanders (1322-1346; or, a lion rampant sable), Duke Otto IV of Ravensburg (1307-1334; argent, a lion rampant queue fourchy gules) and Duke Wilhelm V of Jülich (1299-1361; or, a lion rampant sinister sable).²²¹

The *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* dates between 1442 and 1443, about twelve years after Catherine's marriage to Arnold, Duke of Guelders, whose presence is minimal in the manuscript. He is depicted only once, kneeling in front of the Judge of the World on page 68 of M. 917 (fig. 81).²²² In the suffrage to St. Gregory the Great on page 240 of M. 917 (fig. 81a), the border is filled with coins, some of which are inscribed "DUX: ARNOLD': GLE."²²³ The arms on the first two folios of the manuscript (fig. 80) are from Catherine's family alone with the exception of Duke Wilhelm V of Jürich, who was also Arnold's great-great-grandfather. The male relatives whose arms appear in this manuscript therefore apply to Catherine's family tree and not her husband's. Further evidence suggests that Catherine was intensely concerned with her lineage. Her coat of arms, centered in the *bas-de-page* of folio 1v., is surmounted by a crest that belonged to her father rather than her husband.²²⁴ Bert Thissen argued that Catherine deliberately requested this addendum in order to emphasize the superiority of her lineage, which included a king of France and a Holy Roman Emperor, over that of Arnold's.²²⁵

The coats of arms included on folio 1v. and 2 of the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* were part of the original program of the manuscript and established a link between Catherine and her ancestors, some of whom had immense power and prestige. In this example, Catherine chose to link herself with her father instead of her husband. This bold statement was reflected in an iconic symbol that represented her association to the men in her family. She was still integral to her ancestral chain, but the contributions she gave to the construction of her coat of arms were taken from her father and grandfathers.

E. Margaret of York

One of the most powerful couples of the fifteenth-century was Charles the Bold and his third wife, Margaret of York (see appendix 5). Margaret, like Anne of Burgundy, was a valuable

ally to her husband. He would often send her in his stead to Brussels or Bruges to intervene in political matters.²²⁶ They were rarely together, and Margaret was left alone for long periods of time with only her stepdaughter, Mary of Burgundy, as company (see appendix 5).²²⁷ Margaret was an avid book collector and many of her manuscripts contain her motto, “May good come of it”²²⁸ Most of her books were commissioned while she was married to Charles and contain the couple’s initials C and M. Those without Charles’s initials were commissioned after his death in 1477. These marks of ownership are important because there was no comprehensive inventory of Margaret’s manuscripts taken during her lifetime.²²⁹ They can therefore be used to identify manuscripts that Margaret owned and to approximate when a book was commissioned.

One manuscript that was commissioned around the time that Charles the Bold was killed at the battle of Nancy is the *Breviary of Margaret of York* (Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, Cambridge, St. John’s College, Ms. H. 13).²³⁰ The existing manuscript is incomplete and only six small illuminations remain.²³¹ The miniature on folio 57v. depicts the Last Supper and accompanies the text for the feast of Corpus Christi (fig. 82). A scroll with Margaret’s motto winds through a flower and bird mélange on the *bas-de-page* (fig. 82a). I suggest that her motto relates to her concerns as a duchess, since most of her books mentioned in surviving inventories were commissioned during her nine-year reign as Duchess of Burgundy.²³² One of her most pressing issues during that time was legacy, due to Charles the Bold’s desire for a male heir. Perhaps because of this, she dedicated herself to two female saints known for their intercessory abilities in childbirth: St. Anne and St. Colette, who was responsible for the reformation of the Poor Clares and could assist in miraculous childbirth.²³³ These devotions were in vain, since Margaret never had children of her own. She did become intimately involved with the children of other noblewomen, however, especially Mary of Burgundy.²³⁴

I suggest that Margaret's motto derived from her desire to produce a male heir. Eight of the manuscripts she commissioned or owned contain this motto. Since seven of these are devotional texts, "May good come of it" may well function as a prayer that she would conceive a son. Once Charles the Bold died, Margaret changed the focus of her interests. As a widow, she was able to live a chaste life and dedicate herself to God. Margaret's creation of her motto during her tenure as Duchess of Burgundy therefore relates to her goals at that time in her life.²³⁵

F. Claude of France

On rare occasions, mottos were passed from one generation to the next as a symbol of admiration. Such was the case with one of the mottos used by Claude of France. Her mother, Anne of Brittany (see appendix 5), used the motto, "She will not change," as did Claude when she was a child.²³⁶ Anne died in 1514, the same year that Claude married Francis, duke of Angoulême, and Claude continued to use this motto in manuscripts made for her. In the *Hours of Claude of France* (Master of Claude of France, Paris, Private Collection),²³⁷ for instance, an elaborate border surrounding a block of text appears in the Litany on folio 88 (fig. 83). The border consists of scrolls inscribed with two mottos. Her mother's motto, "She will not change," is repeated twice in the right margin. Above the text block and continuing down the left margin is a second motto, "The firmness (of faith) doubly increases the hope of eternal life."²³⁸

Claude probably adopted these two mottos for different reasons. That she retained the first motto in honor of her recently deceased mother is suggested by her inclusion of other devices used by Anne in this manuscript, such as the knotted cord. On folio 88, the cord acts as a framing device around the entire page. Anne of Brittany developed this device when she founded the Tertiaries of St. Francis in 1498.²³⁹ The cord symbolized St. Francis, who wore a belt that had three knots representing the three vows taken by the Franciscans: poverty, chastity and

obedience.²⁴⁰ Anne used this motif in several of her manuscripts, including folio 1v. of the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Jean Bourdichon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9474).²⁴¹ Here, the cord surrounds Anne's coat of arms (fig. 84). The letter S was also one of Anne's emblems, which she adopted after her marriage to her first husband, Charles VIII.²⁴² Sterling suggested that this emblem, which was also used by Charles, is an abbreviation of the French word, *fermesse*, a translation of the first word of the second motto.²⁴³ The *Hours of Claude of France* contains this motif on folio 88 in the bottom right corner in the form of a sinuous scroll (fig. 83).

If Claude adopted the motto "She will not change" in homage to her mother, the phrase functioned in a different way than it did for Anne of Brittany. Anne probably developed this motto as a reflection of part of her persona. After the death of her first husband, she asserted her individuality very clearly by taking control of her inheritance and moving to Rennes, the capital of Brittany.²⁴⁴ "She will not change" suited Anne's independent spirit. Sterling suggested that Claude was a less aggressive personality, and used this motto because it was a symbol of her mother rather than because of its meaning.²⁴⁵ Anne had opposed Claude's marriage to Francis, and perhaps this tribute to her mother was a way to express her loyalty.²⁴⁶

Claude perhaps devised the second motto, "The firmness (of faith) doubly increases the hope of eternal life," herself, since it seems more suited to what is known about her personality. She was devoted to her husband, although he was neglectful and often absent. She was also extremely pious and well loved by her subjects.²⁴⁷ Claude was also close with her mother-in-law, Louise of Savoy, even though her mother, Anne, had exhibited extreme dislike for the Duchess.²⁴⁸ Claude adopted one of Louise's emblems, an unknotted cord, which appears on folio 18 of the *Hours of Claude of France* (fig. 85).²⁴⁹ Other emblems used by Claude reflect her

devotion to her family and religion. The armillary sphere, for example, located in the *bas-de-page* of folio 88 (fig. 83), was an object that symbolized the contemplative life, or the theory behind an activity rather than its application.²⁵⁰ In Claude's manuscript, it perhaps symbolized the quiet life she led and her dedication to her faith. Since her short life was filled with pregnancies and loneliness, her piety relates to the medieval belief that through great suffering came salvation. For Claude, her motto and the emblem of the armillary sphere may have been a summation of this belief system.

In conclusion, coats of arms served as political emblems that described unions formed between families. These symbols were highly structured, as demonstrated by the standardized method in which they are described. Mottos, on the other hand, reflected individual aspects of a woman's life, such as religious concerns, feelings about a spouse or loyalty to one's ancestors. They could be adopted or discarded when the circumstances changed in a woman's life. Mottos were not limited by heraldic rules like coats of arms, but could be combined with them to reflect the dual roles of a noblewoman: her place in the chain of her ancestors and her personal life as a mother, wife, and Christian.

III. Marginalia

The final visual expressions of identity to be discussed in this chapter are oftentimes unrelated to the devotional aspects of a manuscript. Since these miniatures occur in the margins of books, they are called marginalia. These could be both sacred and profane. They demonstrate the desire of the medieval worshipper to visualize abstract ideas in order to understand them.²⁵¹ As discussed above, other miniatures, such as images of saints, were used in this manner in order to give divine figures substance.²⁵² This enabled medieval worshippers to see the objects of their devotion. These images served as aids in the meditative process in order to reach higher levels of

devotion. The notion of making the unknown concrete also applied to the profane. The natural world was documented and imagery was produced to categorize animals and plant life. Texts such as Pliny's *Natural History*,²⁵³ from the first century, and the *Wonders of the East*,²⁵⁴ written in England in the tenth century, were the basis for much of this information. These encyclopedic texts also included creatures that were thought to exist beyond the known boundaries of the world. According to medieval mapmakers, the lands of the monstrous races were beyond these parameters. These creatures came from the Bible or mythology and were often created by combining known animals with hybrid forms.²⁵⁵ Images of these beings were incorporated into the sculptural programs of cathedrals as well as in the margins of devotional manuscripts, sometimes next to images of the Virgin, Christ or the patrons of the book. In addition to these fantastic creatures, other seemingly inappropriate beings, such as monkeys, wild men and characters from secular narratives, occur in the margins of religious texts. The inclusion of these images in manuscripts established a dialogue between the sacred and profane, placing the reader between the two boundaries.²⁵⁶ This artificial construct established the place of the reader within the universe. The mixing of sacred and profane images was therefore not unusual to the medieval reader. For modern scholars, however, the interpretation of such imagery can be challenging. In some cases, the meaning of the marginalia is lost because it was so personal to the original owner: the equivalent of an inside joke. When the meaning can be deciphered, an analysis of the imagery can reveal interests of the patron that extend beyond the religious or political.²⁵⁷

A. The *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg*

The earliest example of marginalia in devotional manuscripts in this study occurs in the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg*.²⁵⁸ This manuscript has fourteen large miniatures, all of which

are surrounded by borders of vines and birds. On folio 331, for instance, a wide variety of birds perch on the vines outside the border of the main miniature of the *Wound in Christ's Side* (fig. 47). They are rendered naturalistically and the majority of species can be identified.²⁵⁹ The birds do not relate directly to the main miniature, but were chosen because they are symbolically appropriate for a devotional text.

This is especially true of the goldfinch, which appears frequently throughout this manuscript, more than any other species of bird (fig. 47a).²⁶⁰ Goldfinches were popular as domesticated birds in Europe and were often kept in cages as pets.²⁶¹ The goldfinch was associated with Christ's Passion, because of the legend of how it received its red spot.²⁶² According to the story, a goldfinch flew over Christ and plucked a thorn from his head while he was hanging on the cross. The thorn injured the bird, causing some of its feathers to be stained red.²⁶³ The goldfinch was also thought to prevent the plague, which was widespread throughout Europe, and Bonne herself died from it in 1349.²⁶⁴ Perhaps Bonne requested that the goldfinch be repeated numerous times in her manuscript to act as a talisman against this pestilence. Other motifs in this manuscript, such as the image of the *Three Living and the Three Dead* on folios 321v.-322, underscore the fourteenth-century concern with death (fig. 86).²⁶⁵

The goldfinch's association with the Passion may have also appealed to Bonne. Her devotion to Christ's sacrifice is evident throughout the manuscript, especially in the aforementioned folios that depict the *Wound in Christ's Side* and the *Crucifixion* (figs. 47 and 2).²⁶⁶ The repetition of the goldfinch may have contributed to this theme in a symbolic manner. On one level, the goldfinch may have functioned as part of a thematic program dedicated to the remembrance of the Passion of Christ. Its image came from the secular world, but it became an abbreviated version of a complex ideology that is more clearly explained in the main miniatures

of the manuscript. In one sense, the juxtaposing of the goldfinch with the *Crucifixion* parallels the ideas put forth by Gerson concerning meditation. He believed that images should be used only as a means to a higher level of meditative practice.²⁶⁷ The ultimate goal was to achieve this same state without the use of any imagery, a notion that had also been championed by St. Bernard.²⁶⁸ In Bonne's manuscript, the *Crucifixion* is the overt image and required the least amount of spiritual effort. The goldfinch, on the other hand, is a more abstract, sophisticated image that required knowledge of its symbolism. Unlike the main miniature, it is a symbolic rather than literal representation of the Passion. If Gerson's theories are applied, meditation on the goldfinch goes one step beyond meditation on the image of the *Crucifixion*. This devotional practice may have brought Bonne closer to the point where she could eliminate all imagery from her prayers. If so, then the goldfinch and other birds with symbolic meaning in Bonne's *Psalter* were more than just decorative marginal designs. They were a means by which Bonne could attain a higher level of devotion.

The *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg* contains another type of marginalia that is more physically linked to the main miniatures. These are hybrid figures that have the upper body of a human and the lower extremities of an animal. The bodies of these grotesques are attached to the vines that frame the main miniatures. One of these creatures appears in the upper left corner of folio 331 (figs. 47 and 47a). Here the hybrid has the torso of a man and the legs of a dragon, the wings and tail of which peek out from under its robe. It carries a ladder in an awkward manner that requires it to poke its head between two of the rungs. Although this is an imaginary creature, its actions relate to the main miniature, which is dominated by a large image of the wound in Christ's side. Flanking it are items associated with Christ's Passion, such as the nails with which he was crucified, the post to which he was tied and flogged, and the cross. They are depicted in a

formal way as if on display. The ladder carried by the grotesque was also an implement of the Passion, because it was used to take Christ down from the cross. However, the ladder is not presented to the viewer in the same manner as the objects in the main miniature. Instead, it is held in a relatively humorous way by the grotesque, who may have just stolen it from its position next to the other implements of the Passion. I suggest that the grotesque is drawn in such a way that it breaks the barrier between the border design and the main miniature, thereby breaching the wall between the sacred and the profane. The use of this marginalia differs from that of the aforementioned goldfinch, which also appears on this folio, because it is concrete rather than symbolic. In other words, the ladder is an object that is directly related to the Christ's Crucifixion, while the goldfinch is a symbol of the Crucifixion. When this folio is examined as a whole, its imagery falls into two groups that progress from the profane in the outer marginalia (birds and vines), to the sacred (the wound and instruments of the Passion). The grotesque therefore acts as a liaison between the two.

This example from Bonne's *Psalter* underscores the fluid nature of medieval thought, which is exhibited in manuscripts where images of the secular and religious coexist without any conflict of interest. In some cases, the two interact with one another, like the grotesques in Bonne's *Psalter* and the portraits discussed earlier in this chapter. Both types of illumination are intimately tied to the main miniatures and are therefore thematically appropriate.

B. The *Breviary of Mary of Savoy*

In addition to birds, other animals were often included in the margins. One of the most common was the ape.²⁶⁹ In some cases, they were not painted in a naturalistic way, but instead resembled humans in their posture and manner. According to Michael Camille, the word ape, or *le singe*, in French, was an anagram for *le signe*.²⁷⁰ An ape or a monkey in a marginal painting

could therefore be a sign or symbol of something else. Its symbolism could also be sinister because it was associated with the devil.²⁷¹ Monkeys and apes were also known for their ability to copy the actions of humans.²⁷² In some examples, they represented a human being such as a priest or nobleman, wearing human clothes and participating in human activities. Marginal scenes with monkeys often mimicked the action of the characters in the main scene or text of the manuscript. Such images seem inappropriate at first glance, but may be intimately linked to the way medieval worshippers used devotional books.

A monkey appears in the *bas-de-page* of folio 319 of the *Breviary of Mary of Savoy* (fig. 36).²⁷³ The text is the hymn, *First of All Days*, which may have been written by Gregory the Great, and is a preface for the Psalter that begins on the following folio.²⁷⁴ The hymn is introduced with the historiated initial P, which depicts the enthroned Christ. The monkey sits on an elaborate *rinceaux* of flowers and vines in the *bas-de-page* (fig. 36b). It is in a crouched position, resting its right arm on its right knee, with its chin in the palm of its right hand. Its eyes are slightly closed, which gives it an expression of contemplation. The monkey's posture suggests that it is reflecting on the text above in preparation for the reading of the Psalms. This attitude of reflection would also be required of the devout reader, such as Mary of Savoy, or her husband, Phillippe, the owners of this manuscript. The monkey seems to act as a model, but this is not the case. According to Camille, monkeys depicted in this manner do not actually perform the devotional practice but merely mimic the appropriate postures and therefore do not actually pray.²⁷⁵ The monkey is a warning to the viewer not simply to go through the motions of meditations but truly to participate.

The *Breviary of Mary of Savoy* also depicts other animals in the margins. Although their meanings are often unclear, it is sometimes possible to interpret them symbolically. For example,

folio 429v. contains the litany for St. Sebastian (fig. 87). A small image of the saint appears at the beginning of the prayer, next to a large letter I (fig. 87a). In the top margin, there is a brown locust (fig. 87b). Below, in the *bas-de-page*, a partridge sits on a leaf holding a worm in its beak. The phrase, “I nourish those who are hungry,” appears on the body of the worm (fig. 87c).²⁷⁶ This is the device of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Mary of Savoy’s father-in-law.²⁷⁷ At first glance, these three miniatures do not seem to relate to one another, but a closer reading reveals a possible connection between them.

The image of St. Sebastian is most directly related to the text. He is pictured holding a martyr’s palm in one hand and two arrows in the other. According to the *Golden Legend*, Sebastian was a Roman soldier during the time of Diocletian.²⁷⁸ He was one of the emperor’s most trusted soldiers, but he was also secretly a Christian. His secret was revealed when he came to the aid of his Christian friends, Marcus and Marcellinus, who were to be killed. As a consequence, Sebastian was sentenced to death and shot with arrows. He survived only to be beaten with clubs until dead, and his body was thrown into the sewer. The method of his torture became intertwined with the antique belief that disease was caused by the arrows of Apollo.²⁷⁹ Rome and Pavia were afflicted with a particularly bad bout of disease in the fourth century. A divine revelation stated that the disease would not subside until an altar dedicated to St. Sebastian was built. One was erected in the church of St. Sebastiano in Rome, and the cities were saved. St. Sebastian became known as a protector against the plague and his cult began to grow. By the fourteenth century, it was widespread.²⁸⁰

The brown locust in the margin above St. Sebastian’s image is perched on a decorative leaf, but is painted in a highly naturalistic manner (fig. 87b). Locusts are mentioned in the Bible in Exodus 10:12-15 as one of the plagues God bestowed on the Egyptians when Pharaoh would

not release the Israelites.²⁸¹ According to this account, the locusts were so numerous that they covered all of Egypt and ate everything in sight, stripping the land of all vegetation.

The images of St. Sebastian and the brown locust come from two separate modalities. St. Sebastian is associated with the sacred tradition in which saints are represented as companions to the accompanying texts. The locust, on the other hand, comes from the natural world, at least in its appearance, and therefore represents the profane. I suggest that the locust is linked symbolically to St. Sebastian, because both have connections to incidences of plague and disease. The devastation caused by the Biblical plague of locusts resembles the devastation that came from the Black Death that swept through Europe in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Since the brown locust does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript, its placement on the folio dedicated to St. Sebastian must be deliberate.

An analysis of the patronage of this manuscript supports this argument. As discussed in chapter 2, Mary of Savoy, wife of Philippe Marie Visconti and daughter of Mary of Burgundy and Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy, commissioned this manuscript sometime between 1431 and 1447 (see appendix 4).²⁸² Philippe was Duke of Milan and ruler of Pavia. Before he was born, Milan suffered a wave of the plague in 1374, which caused Duke Bernabò Visconti to devise the first quarantine laws in Europe.²⁸³ Philippe's father, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, also enforced these laws, which consisted of notification of causes of death in the city, the creation of an official health organization, and the organization of hospitals.²⁸⁴ Philippe continued these policies, and appointed a health commissioner in 1419 and 1424.²⁸⁵ Clearly, the avoidance of the plague was a matter of serious concern for the Visconti family. But there were also the devotional ways to avoid it. Perhaps it was this concern that Mary was addressing in the *Breviary of Mary of Savoy*, one shared by her husband, Philippe.

The importance Mary placed on the folio dedicated to St. Sebastian is further underscored by the inclusion of Philippe's father's device and motto in the *bas-de-page* (fig. 87c). The partridge, like the brown locust, is an object from the natural world that had symbolic meaning. In this case, the image can be interpreted as a symbol of Philippe's family rather than of St. Sebastian, because it was Gian Galeazzo's device. The partridge and motto mark this passage so that the reader of the manuscript would be alerted to its significance. This is not to say that the avoidance of the plague was unique to Milan or that the veneration of St. Sebastian was exclusive to the Visconti family. What is significant is the repetition of visual symbols on this folio that underscore the importance of St. Sebastian and his ability to ward off the plague above all other saints in the manuscript.

The only other prayer to a saint accompanied by a miniature of that saint, symbolic references to him, and personal emblems of the Visconti in the *Breviary of Mary of Savoy* occurs on folio 470 (fig. 88). This page contains the prayer in the Litany dedicated to St. Peter Martyr, who appears in an historiated initial near the bottom right of the page (fig. 88a).²⁸⁶ His head is split open by a machete and he holds the martyr's palm in his hand. According to the *Golden Legend*, St. Peter was appointed inquisitor by Pope Gregory IX in order to drive the heretics out of Milan.²⁸⁷ St. Peter was martyred in 1252 and was made a saint by Pope Innocent IV in 1253. The Pope exhumed his body in order to move it to a more honorable location. When St. Peter's remains were exposed, they were intact and had not decayed.²⁸⁸ This phenomenon is reflected in the images of two peacocks in the *bas-de-page* (figs. 88 and 88b). The peacock was a symbol of martyrs because of the belief that its flesh never decayed.²⁸⁹ This would have been an appropriate attribute for St. Peter, because this aspect of martyrdom is specifically mentioned in his legend.

The presence of the Visconti family is also indicated on this folio. The ducal crown is repeated twice in the gutter between the two columns of text: the first next to the initial D and the second next to the image of St. Peter Martyr (fig. 88). The inclusion of a symbol of the duke suggests that Philippe especially revered St. Peter, as he did St. Sebastian. St. Peter's connection to Milan may have been the impetus for this veneration. Because Mary commissioned this manuscript, she may have emphasized these two saints deliberately as a way of preserving the traditions of the Visconti family. St. Peter was directly linked to the religious history of Milan, and St. Sebastian symbolized the dedication of the Visconti family to plague-related causes. Through these symbolic and overt visual illuminations, Mary may have been paying homage to the history of her husband's family, of which she was now a member.

C. The *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*

Other examples of marginalia directly linked to the female patron or owner of the manuscript occur in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*.²⁹⁰ In the suffrage to the *Adoration of the Magi* on page 237 of M. 917, the main miniature depicts the three kings as they arrive to adore the Christ Child (fig. 89). The oldest of the three kneels and offers him a box filled with gold. A rosary, constructed from red beads, frames the miniature on three sides. A small blue bag attached to one end of the rosary appears in the *bas-de-page*. The letters E or C and D are painted on the bag in gold. John Plummer suggested that these letters stand for *Catherina Duxissa*, which refers to Duchess Catherine of Guelders.²⁹¹ The same rosary appears on page 160, hanging from Catherine's arm as she kneels before the crucified Christ (fig. 53). Because this rosary is depicted in two miniatures, it is probably one that Catherine owned. It is depicted in such specific detail on page 237 that the artist presumably used an actual rosary as a model. Its

placement in the margin of this page suggests that the *Adoration of the Magi* was especially important to her.

The prayers for the rosary, which originated in the twelfth century, were addressed to Mary.²⁹² These early prayers combined two salutations from the Gospel of St. Luke.²⁹³ The first was the angel Gabriel's greeting to the Virgin: "Hail [Mary], full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women" (Luke 1:28). The other is Elizabeth's greeting at the Visitation, "Blessed is the fruit of thy womb" (Luke 1:42). These salutations were repeated over and over while the beads of the rosary were used to count the number of recitations. The cult of the rosary became one of the most common devotions among the laity in the Middle Ages.²⁹⁴ In the early fifteenth century, the salutations, or "Ave Maria's" were combined with meditations related to the life of Christ.²⁹⁵ Anne Winston has argued that this turned the focus of the prayers from Mary to Christ, which was a reflection of the *Devotio Moderna* movement.²⁹⁶ The impetus for meditation was scenes from the life of Christ, rather than the life of Mary, as advocated by the *Imitatio Christi*. The cult of the rosary was especially popular in Germany, where a confraternity devoted to it was established in Cologne in 1475.²⁹⁷ The earliest prayers for the rosary may have been composed in German.²⁹⁸

The placement of the rosary on this folio suggests that Catherine of Cleves was devoted to the cult of the rosary. The placement of the folio itself supports this notion. Page 237 is located in the middle of a large group of suffrages dedicated to the saints. This is the only miniature that depicts an image from the life of Christ in this part of the manuscript. The specific imagery is of the Magi greeting the Child, who appears eager to receive them. The early form of the rosary was also a salutation: Gabriel's greeting to Mary, which was abbreviated to "Ave Maria." This greeting became a common way to address images of the Virgin.²⁹⁹ Catherine's

rosary in the margins of this main miniature may have acted as a symbolic “Ave Maria” as she began this particular suffrage. The imagery complies with the meditative component of the rosary that was added later to the cycle, because it is a scene from the life of Christ. This image may have also helped Catherine meditate in the way prescribed by the *Devotio Moderna* movement. If so, the image of the rosary functioned in several ways. First, it was a devotional tool that helped Catherine address the image of the *Adoration of the Magi*. It allowed her to greet the Virgin and Child in a symbolic manner akin to the Magi’s own greeting. Secondly, the rosary on this folio alerted Catherine to a scene from Christ’s life, which would have caused her to stop and consider the image. Finally, if the rosary depicted in the manuscript was modeled after one Catherine owned, it functioned as a personal marker that she would see every time she looked at this folio, acting as a symbol of her identity and the means by which she practiced her devotions.

Another example of marginalia that may demonstrate Catherine of Cleves’s definition of self occurs on page 296 of Ms. 917. This is the suffrage to her name saint, St. Catherine, who appears in a large miniature reading from a book (fig. 90). Next to her is the wheel with large spikes on which she was tortured before her martyrdom.³⁰⁰ She stands on a small figure of a man with a sword, who was responsible for her death by beheading. The tiles on the floor contain patterns that alternate between a sword and a wheel, repeating the two objects that were associated with her torture and martyrdom. This iconography is typical for a suffrage to St. Catherine and relates directly to her vita as described in *The Golden Legend*.³⁰¹

The *bas-de-page* contains marginalia that do not address St. Catherine’s martyrdom, but may instead refer to the name Catherine. A small animal appears directly below the main miniature and seems disconnected from the other marginalia, which consist of abstract leaf-like patterns. The animal is a young bear or cub, which in Latin translates as *catulus*. John Plummer

has suggested that this may be a play-on-words referring to the name Catherine.³⁰² This theory is further supported by the fact that the cub plays with a small red ball. St. Catherine was the patron saint of those involved in professions that used wheels or spheres, such as spinners and potters,³⁰³ so the cub's ball may derive from this association.³⁰⁴

If the cub is indeed a witticism then it not only applies to St. Catherine, but also to Catherine of Cleves. Visual puns were another way for medieval readers to make the text of a manuscript personal and concrete.³⁰⁵ Michael Camille has argued that words were not just elements of a text but were thought of as things.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, the same visual representation could be used for words that looked or sounded similar.³⁰⁷ In this case, perhaps, *catulus* and Catherine functioned in the same manner; meaning that the image of the cub and the figure of St. Catherine both represented the same thing. Catherine of Cleves may well have recognized both as symbols of St. Catherine, her patron and name saint. If so, the cub was emblematic of the most basic element of her identity, her name.

This exploration of the marginalia found in books of hours owned by noblewomen in the late Middle Ages merely scratches the surface of marginal illumination. As discussed above, marginalia could represent interests of the patron that were devotional, personal or secular, and related to areas of a patron's personality that existed outside of standardized devotional practice. Because marginalia spanned the boundaries of the sacred and profane, they reveal aspects of a noblewoman's life that may not be documented elsewhere.

IV. Conclusion

Like a diary or daily journal, devotional manuscripts preserved multifaceted components of their owners' identities. Because noblewomen were concerned with issues both sacred and profane, it is understandable that their manuscripts reflected these two seemingly disparate

realms. Marginalia contributed to the non-religious aspects of a person's character, while portraits documented aspects of a noblewomen's life, most often dealing with religious devotion. Coats of arms reflected the political and familial components of self-definition by demonstrating ancestral connections. These three visual markers of self-definition transformed devotional manuscripts from strictly religious objects to carriers of personal identity.

¹ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 94. For English translations of these prayers, see Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 86-87.

² For Mary as Co-Redeemer, see, for example, David Baier, "Mary at the Foot of the Cross," *Franciscan Studies* 23, no. 1 (March, 1942): 3-11; Otto von Simson, "Compassio and Co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," *The Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 9-16; and Amy Neff, "The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross," *The Art Bulletin* 80 (June, 1998): 254-273.

³ Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 73 (1969): 160. For the history of miracle-performing images, see, for example, Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence, A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 310-329. The Cambrai Madonna is an example of a miracle-working image, which was brought from Rome to Cambrai in 1440. The count of Étampes, a city near Paris, commissioned Petrus Christus to make fifteen copies of this image, none of which survive; see *ibid.*, 438-441 and Maryan W. Ainsworth and Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 15-16. For the origin of Marian miracles, see, for example, Johann Herolt, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. C.C. Swinton Bland (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928); Alexander de Laborde, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1929); Gautier de Coincy, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, 4 vols., ed. V.F. Koenig (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966); and Michel Tarayre, trans., *La Vierge et le miracle: Le Speculum historiale de Vincent of Beauvais* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1999).

⁴ Thomas à Kempis, *Sermons to the Novices Regular*, trans. Vincent Scully (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, 1907), 194.

⁵ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1999), 160. For the *Devotio Moderna*, see note 110 in chapter 2. For a previous discussion of it, see section II.A.2 in chapter 2.

⁶ For this manuscript, see note 4 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section I in chapter 1 and section III.A in this chapter.

⁷ Flora Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response," in *Women and the Book, Assessing the Visual Evidence*. eds. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor, 204.

⁸ For devotion to the wounds of Christ, see, for example, *ibid.*, 204-229; Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, 138-143; and David Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 211-238.

⁹ Lewis, “The Wound in Christ’s Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response,” 222.

¹⁰ See Hamburger, “The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotion,” in *The Visual and the Visionary, Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, especially chapter 2; and Bynum, “The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg,” 79-117.

¹¹ Deuchler, “Looking at Bonne of Luxembourg’s Prayer Book,” 277.

¹² *Ibid.*, 274.

¹³ Land, *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg*, 24.

¹⁴ Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,” 758.

¹⁵ Naughton, “A Minimally-intrusive Presence: Portraits in Illustrations for Prayers to the Virgin,” 113.

¹⁶ See St. Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. Isa Ragusa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 317-347.

¹⁷ Lewis, “The Wound in Christ’s Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response,” 209.

¹⁸ For a previous discussion of this manuscript, see section VI in chapter 1 and section I.D in chapter 2.

¹⁹ For previous discussions of Geert Grote and the *Devotio Moderna* movement, see sections II.A.2 and II.B.2 in chapter 2.

²⁰ Jean Gerson, “Le Miroir de l’âme,” in *Jean Gerson, Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VII, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1966), 196; and Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 188.

²¹ For visions and meditation, see, for example, Ringbom, “Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions,” 159-170; Harbison, “Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting,” 87-118; Rothstein, “Vision and Devotion in Jan van Eyck’s *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*,” 262-271; and Pearson, “Personal Worship, Gender, and the Devotional Portrait Diptych,” 99-122.

²² Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 188; and Rothstein, “Vision and Devotion in Jan van Eyck’s *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*,” 265.

²³ Andrea Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1530* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), 31.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Pearson, "Personal Worship, Gender, and the Devotional Portrait Diptych," 111.

²⁶ Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 101-104. Georgette Epiney-Burgard, *Gerard Grote et les débuts de la dévotion moderne* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970), 259; and Rothstein, "Vision and Devotion in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*," 266.

²⁷ Porcher, *Les Belles heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, 34.

²⁸ For this manuscript, see note 158 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XV in chapter 1, section II.A.3 in chapter 2, and section I in chapter 4.

²⁹ For a previous discussion of Joanna's portraits in this manuscript, see section II.A.3 in chapter 2.

³⁰ "Oratio devota de b[ea]ta virgine maria vers. (A prayer dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.)" And "Dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata da michi. (Grant that I may praise you sacred Virgin. Give me...)" My translation.

³¹ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 385.

³² For this painting, see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans. Heinz Norden, vol. I, 42-43.

³³ Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," 163; Harbison, "Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," 100-101; and Rothstein, "Vision and Devotion in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*," 262.

³⁴ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 149.

³⁵ For portraits used as surrogates in Northern panel painting and manuscripts, see note 142 in chapter 2.

³⁶ Naughton, "A Minimally-intrusive Presence: Portraits in Illustrations for Prayers to the Virgin," 116. For a discussion of the nursing Madonna as intercessor, see Barbara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 5-11.

³⁷ For this painting, see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. II, #106; Carol Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden: St. Luke Drawing the Virgin, Selected Essays in Context*

(Turnhout: Brepols, 1997); and Dirk De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 200-206, #8.

³⁸ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 270.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 271.

⁴¹ Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece*, 13.

⁴² For this manuscript, see note 54 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section II.A.1 in chapter 2, section II.B in this chapter and section II in chapter 4.

⁴³ Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 37.

⁴⁴ Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 53.

⁴⁵ Virginia Reinburg, "Praying to Saints in the Late Middle Ages," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), 272.

⁴⁶ For St. Stephen, see note 193 in chapter 2.

⁴⁷ Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 283.

⁴⁸ Driver, "Mirrors of the Collective Past: Re-considering Images of Medieval Women," 86.

⁴⁹ Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 74.

⁵⁰ Driver, "Mirrors of the Collective Past: Re-considering Images of Medieval Women," 86.

⁵¹ For the education of medieval children, see chapter 4.

⁵² Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," 73.

⁵³ For a previous discussion of Anne of Burgundy, her sisters and their marriages, see section V in chapter 1 and section II.A.1 in chapter 2.

⁵⁴ Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 37.

⁵⁵ For this manuscript, see Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires*, 271-348; and Eleanor Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary,” *Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 765 (Dec., 1966): 606-612. For further discussions of it, see section II.B in this chapter.

⁵⁶ “Ave, mater Anna, plena melle, canna cui marem...” My translation.

⁵⁷ Lucy Freedman Sandler, “The Wilton Diptych and Images of Devotion in Illuminated Manuscripts,” in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, eds. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (Coventry: Harvey Miller, 1997), 138.

⁵⁸ For images used to aid in memory, see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory, a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 221-257.

⁵⁹ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 196.

⁶⁰ For this manuscript, see note 159 in chapter 2. For a previous discussion of it, see sections II.B.2 and III.D in chapter 2.

⁶¹ Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, 29.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁴ A discussion of the active participation of the donor portrait occurs in Alison R. Flett, “The Significance of Text Scrolls: Towards a Descriptive Terminology,” in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret Manion and Bernard Muir (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991): 51.

⁶⁵ Michael Camille, “The Book of Signs: Writing and Visual Difference in Gothic Manuscript Illumination,” *Word and Image* 1 (1985): 143, discusses the visualization of speech in Gothic manuscripts.

⁶⁶ Matthew 6:9-13. “Thus therefore shall you pray: Our Father who art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our supersubstantial bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.”

⁶⁷ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For further discussions of it, see the Introduction, sections II.A.2 and III.A in chapter 2, sections I.B.2, II.D and III.C in this chapter, and section II in chapter 4.

⁶⁸ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plate 96, and Dücker and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, # 103.

⁶⁹ “Ora pro me sancta dei genitrix.” Transcriptions of the Latin inscriptions appear in Pieper, “Das Studienbuch der Katharina von Lochorst und der Meister der Katherina von Kleve,” 141; and Barbara G. Lane, “The ‘Symbolic Crucifixion’ in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*,” *Oud Holland* 86 (1973): 4. Translation by Lane.

⁷⁰ “Propter uber q[uae] te lactaverunt, sis sibi propicius.”

⁷¹ “Pater, per vulnera mea parce ei.”

⁷² “Fili, exaudita est oracio tuua [sic].”

⁷³ For a discussion of the dialogue between the figures in this folio, see Lane, “The ‘Symbolic Crucifixion,’” 4-6.

⁷⁴ The saint has not been identified, although Barbara G. Lane argued that he may be St. Bernard; see “The ‘Symbolic Crucifixion’ in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*,” 11-13. According to Eberhard König, based on the figure’s costume, he is an abbot; see Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, commentary to catalogue #103.

⁷⁵ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 418.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ See Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 150; and Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 50.

⁷⁸ For this manuscript, see note 174 in chapter 2. For further discussions of it, see section II.C.1 in chapter 2, section III.B in this chapter, and section I in chapter 4.

⁷⁹ Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Maison de Savoie*, 49.

⁸⁰ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 258; see also Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1104-1107. For a further discussion of St. Peter Martyr, see section III.B in this chapter.

⁸¹ For this manuscript, see note 105 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section X in chapter 1 and sections I and II in chapter 4.

⁸² See section X in chapter 1.

⁸³ For further discussion of St. Anne, see section II in chapter 4.

⁸⁴ For St. Ursula, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 256-260; Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1296-1301; Gatnor Nitz, “Ursula,” in *Lexikon der*

christlichen Ikonographie, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 521-527; and Frank Günter Zehnder, *Sankt Ursula: Legende, Verehrung, Bildwelt* (Cologne: Wienand, 1987).

⁸⁵ Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters,” 601-602. Guillaume Perrault (c. 1200-1271 (?) wrote *De eruditione principum* around 1265; see A. Steiner, “Guillaume Perrault and Vincent of Beavais,” *Speculum* 8, no. 1 (Jan., 1933): 51-58.

⁸⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le Trésor de la cité des dames*, trans. Sarah Lawson (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 3-24.

⁸⁷ Jo Anne McNamara, “Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship,” in *Saints, Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca, 51.

⁸⁸ For St. Helena, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 168-173; Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/II, 633-636; Friederike Werner, “Helena,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 6, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 486-490; and Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta, the Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

⁸⁹ E. Gordon Whatley, ed. and trans. “Constantine the Great, the Empress Helena, and the Relics of the Holy Cross: *Rufinus of Aquileia*, Church History, book 9, chapter 9, sections 1-11,” in *Medieval Hagiography, An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 84.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹¹ McNamara, “Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship,” 52.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹⁶ For this manuscript, see note 122 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XII in chapter 1 and section I.B.5 in this chapter.

⁹⁷ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, “The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth-Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville,” 249.

⁹⁸ “Angele qui meus es custos pietate superna, me tibi commissum...” The text continues on the following folio, “...serva, defende, gubernata.” Trans. Sutton and Visser-Fuchs in *ibid.*, 249.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 232. For guardian angels, see also Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, 161-164.

¹⁰⁰ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth-Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville," 230.

¹⁰¹ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 207.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ See section X in chapter 1.

¹⁰⁴ Wim Blockmans, "Margaret of York: The Subtle Influence of a Duchess," in *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York/Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 43; and Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1550*, 42.

¹⁰⁵ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 184.

¹⁰⁶ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth-Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville," 230. For a previous discussion of guardian angels, see section II.A.3 in chapter 2.

¹⁰⁷ Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, 16.

¹⁰⁸ For this manuscript, see note 121 in chapter 1. For a previous discussion of it, see section XII in chapter 1. Devotion to Thomas Becket was traditional for the English royal family. In 1468, Margaret visited his shrine in Canterbury on her way to Bruges to marry Charles the Bold; see Schnitker, "Margaret of York on Pilgrimage," 116-120.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 16.

¹¹⁰ Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, 16; and Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1550*, 53.

¹¹¹ Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, 16.

¹¹² For the symbolism of the carnation, see F. Mercier, "La valeur symbolique de l'oeillet dans la peinture du moyen-âge," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 81 (1937): 233-236; and Robert Koch, "Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 46, no. 1 (March, 1964): 73.

¹¹³ Koch, "Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece," 73.

¹¹⁴ Susan Foister, *Dürer and the Virgin in the Garden* (London: National Gallery and Yale University Press, 2004), 9-10; and Koch, “Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece,” 73.

¹¹⁵ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Its Origin and Character*, vol. I (New York: Harper and Row, 1953), 141.

¹¹⁶ Because the iris is known as the sword-lily or *Schwertlilie*, it was associated with Simeon’s prophecy that a sword would pierce Mary’s soul (Luke 2:34-35); see Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1943] 2005), 94-95; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. I, 141, 333; and Koch, “Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece,” 75.

¹¹⁷ See, for example, the center panel of the *Portinari Altarpiece* by Hugo van der Goes. For this painting, see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. IV, 11-19; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 330-338; Koch, “Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece,” 70-77; and Margaret Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation* (London: Harvey Miller, 2008).

¹¹⁸ Inglis, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, 20.

¹¹⁹ For example, *ibid.*, 16.

¹²⁰ As suggested by Laura Gelfand, “Bruges as Jerusalem, Jerusalem as Bruges: Actual, Performative and Imagined Pilgrimage in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminations and Paintings,” *Annales d’histoire de l’art et d’archéologie* 29 (2007): 18-22.

¹²¹ For this manuscript, see note 81 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section VIII in chapter 1, and sections I.B and III.C in chapter 2.

¹²² See sections I.A.3, I.A.5, I.A.6, and I.A.8.

¹²³ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 53.

¹²⁴ Eichberger, “The Culture of Gifts, A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective,” 291.

¹²⁵ *Hours of Anne of France*, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS. M. 677, curatorial file, 2. For figures 21 and 21a, see section I.B in chapter 2.

¹²⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 124.

¹²⁷ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117.

¹²⁸ Ibid. For Purgatory, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 280-290; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1358-1360.

¹²⁹ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117; and Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 108-113.

¹³⁰ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 124. For the Mass of the Dead, see Rutherford, *The Death of a Christian: The Rite of Funerals, Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church VII*, 56-59; Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*; and Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, 107-113.

¹³¹ See section I.B in chapter 2.

¹³² McNamara, "Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship," 51.

¹³³ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, plates 1 and 57, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #42 and #76. For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For further discussions of it, see section I of the Introduction, sections II.A.2 and III.A in chapter 2, sections I.A.6, II.D, and III.C in this chapter and section II in chapter 4.

¹³⁴ See, for example, Hugo van der Goes's *Portinari Altarpiece* (Florence, Uffizi, 1476). For the *Portinari Altarpiece*, see note 117 above.

¹³⁵ For this manuscript, see note 137 in chapter 1. For previous discussions it, see section XIII in chapter 1 and section I.A in chapter 2.

¹³⁶ For a discussion of this portrait, see Bovey, "Renaissance Bibliomania," 124-126.

¹³⁷ Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 37.

¹³⁸ See note 137 in chapter 1.

¹³⁹ Eichberger, "The Culture of Gifts, A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective," 291. For a previous discussion of Gerard Horenbout's contribution to the *Sforza Hours*, see section I.A. in chapter 2.

¹⁴⁰ See the introduction to chapter 1.

¹⁴¹ See section II.C.2 in chapter 2.

¹⁴² For Margaret of Austria and gift-giving, see Eichberger, "The Culture of Gifts, A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective," 287-295.

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- ¹⁴³ Andrea Pearson, "Margaret of Austria's Devotional Portrait Diptychs," 20.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ Dagmar Eichberger, ed., "Time-line," 26.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸ Eichberger, "The Culture of Gifts, a Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective," 291.
- ¹⁴⁹ Legaré, "'La librairie de Madame' Two Princesses and their Libraries," 210.
- ¹⁵⁰ Pearson, "Margaret of Austria's Devotional Portrait Diptychs," 21.
- ¹⁵¹ For this manuscript, see note 86 in chapter 1 and the accompanying text. For further discussions of it, see section I.C in chapter 2 and section II in chapter 4.
- ¹⁵² Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress*, vol. I, 321.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 323.
- ¹⁵⁴ As identified in *ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁵ Both Louise and Francis are depicted as allegorical figures in the *Traité des vertus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr. 12247). Louise is depicted as Prudence on folio 4 and as Temperance on folio 12. Francis appears in an allegorical scene on folio 1v. For a discussion of Louise of Savoy and Francis I as allegorical figures, see Jean Michel Massing, *Erasmian Wit and Proverbial Wisdom, An Illustrated Moral Compendium for François I* (London: The Warburg Institute of the University of London, 1995).
- ¹⁵⁶ For the legend of *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. II/I, 421-424; and Oskar Holl, "Augustus u. die Sibylle v. Tibur (Ara coeli)," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 226-227.
- ¹⁵⁷ John Freeman, "Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism," 83.
- ¹⁵⁸ Winn, "Louise De Savoie, 'Bibliophile'," 230.
- ¹⁵⁹ Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 290.

¹⁶⁰ Among the writers hired by Louise of Savoy were François Demoulins, a humanist who knew Erasmus. Louise appointed him as Francis's tutor. See Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 201. In addition to Demoulins, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Victor Brodeau and other noted humanists admired her, as demonstrated by the epitaphs they wrote after her death; see Winn, "Louise de Savoie, 'Bibliophile'," 231.

¹⁶¹ Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," 598.

¹⁶² Winn, "Louise De Savoie, 'Bibliophile'," 240. For this manuscript, see Léopold Delisle, *Traductions d'auteurs grecs et latins offertes à François Ier et à Anne de Montmorency par Étienne le Blanc et Antoine Macault* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 7-8.

¹⁶³ Winn, "Louise De Savoie, 'Bibliophile'," 240.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. For Judith and Esther see Réau, *Iconographie l'art chrétien*, vol. II/I, 329-341. For Judith see also the Book of Judith: 8-16; and Jutta Seibert, "Judith," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 2, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 454-458. For Esther, see the Book of Esther; and Ingrid Weber, "Esther," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 684-687.

¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth McCartney, "The King's Mother and Royal Prerogative in Early-Sixteenth-Century France," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 129.

¹⁶⁶ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 90.

¹⁶⁷ For a previous discussion of St. Veronica, see section III.B in chapter 2.

¹⁶⁸ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 212.

¹⁶⁹ Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 29.

¹⁷⁰ Ann M. Roberts, "The Horse and the Hawk: Representations of Mary of Burgundy as Sovereign," in *Excavating the Medieval Image, Manuscripts: Artists, Audiences: Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, eds. David S. Areford and Nina A. Rowe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 136.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 137.

¹⁷² See section XII in chapter 1 and I.A.9 in this chapter.

¹⁷³ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 133. The legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead originated in France. Several versions exist; the latest, which is from the fifteenth century, describes the three nobles on horseback. For this legend, see Eleanor Prescott Hammond, "Latin Texts of the Dance of Death," *Modern Philology* 8, no. 3 (Jan., 1911): 402-403, 407-410; James

Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1950), 95-99; and Larry Silver, "Danse Macabre," in *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1984), 93.

¹⁷⁴ Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 133. For another illustration of this legend, see fig. 86.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Kren, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, commentary to catalogue entry 38, 186, note 1.

¹⁷⁶ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 286; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, 199; and Marti, Borchert and Keck, eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, 33.

¹⁷⁷ As suggested by Roberts, "The Horse and the Hawk: Representations of Mary of Burgundy as Sovereign," 140.

¹⁷⁸ Marti, Borchert and Keck, eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, 354.

¹⁷⁹ For the coats of arms of René of Anjou, see Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, "Les Armoiries du bon roi René," *Comptes rendus de séances: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1908): 102-114.

¹⁸⁰ Christian Mérindol, *Le Roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou* (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1987), 81.

¹⁸¹ J.P. Brooke-Little, *An Heraldic Alphabet* (New York: Arco Publishing, 1963), 122.

¹⁸² Mérindol, *Le Roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou*, 82.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 163. A lion passant guardant is one with its face looking outwards and its right front paw raised. See Brooke-Little, *An Heraldic Alphabet*, 156.

¹⁸⁴ For this manuscript, see note 264 in chapter 2. For a previous discussion it, see section III.E in chapter 2.

¹⁸⁵ Legaré, "Reassessing Women's Libraries in Late Medieval France: The Case of Jeanne de Laval," 214.

¹⁸⁶ How it came to Charlotte's library is unknown. For this manuscript, see note 74 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section VII in chapter 1 and section II in chapter 4.

¹⁸⁷ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 2.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Samuel Kinser, ed., *The Memoirs of Philippe de Comynes*, trans. Isabelle Cazeaux (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1969-1973), 425.

¹⁹⁰ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 36.

¹⁹¹ For this manuscript, see note 55 in this chapter.

¹⁹² Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires*, vol. III, 347.

¹⁹³ Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary,” 611.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Folios 66v., 72v., 241v., 256v., 259, 283v., 518 and 521.

¹⁹⁶ See section I.A.4 in this chapter.

¹⁹⁷ For this manuscript, see note 54 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section V in chapter 1, section II.A.1 in chapter 2, section I.A.4 in this chapter, and section II in chapter 4.

¹⁹⁸ Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 59.

¹⁹⁹ Walther and Wolf, *Masterpieces of Illumination*, 301.

²⁰⁰ Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 16. Backhouse incorrectly identifies the arms as those of Henry II and Marie d’Medici. The arms are of Henry II and Catherine d’Medici. König unconvincingly suggests that Anne and John requested that the arms be painted over when they gave the manuscript as a gift to Henry VI in 1430. He argues that both Henry VI and Henry II married women from the Medici family and therefore the arms would be the same; see König, *The Bedford Hours*, 83.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Daniel Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France* (Lexington, Kentucky: French Forum, 1985) 32-33.

²⁰⁴ Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 16.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* König argues that the Duke of Bedford adopted the root device from his uncle, Thomas Woodstock, and not Edward; see König, *The Bedford Hours*, 81.

²⁰⁶ Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories, the Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France* (London: The Society of Antiquarians of London, 1993), 100.

²⁰⁷ Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France*, 57.

²⁰⁸ “À vous entier.” My translation.

²⁰⁹ Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories*, 98. “Jen suis contente.” My translation.

²¹⁰ Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 147.

²¹¹ For this manuscript, see note 157 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section II.C.2 in chapter 2 and section II in chapter 4.

²¹² See a discussion of this issue in Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, Treasures from the British Library*, 40.

²¹³ Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary*, 21.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* “Sub umbra alarum tuaru[m] protege nos.”

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* “Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii: constituisti eos pri[n]cipes super om[nem] terra[m].”

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22. “Potens in terra erit semen ei[us] genera[tio] rectorum benedicet[ur].”

²¹⁷ See section II.C.2 in chapter 2.

²¹⁸ Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary*, 22.

²¹⁹ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For further discussions of it, see the section I in the Introduction, sections II.A.2 and III.A in chapter 2, sections I.A.6, I.B.2 and III.C in this chapter and section II in chapter 4.

²²⁰ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Plate 1, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #42.

²²¹ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Plate 2, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, #43.

²²² As identified by König; see *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Dückers and Priem, 296, # 77.

²²³ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Plate 117, and Dückers and Priem, eds., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century* #3a and #115. For a complete description of all the coins on this folio, see *ibid.*, 140-141, # 3a.

²²⁴ Bert Thissen, “Catherine of Cleves (1417-1476), Duchess of Guelders and Countess of Zutphen. A Biographical Sketch,” in *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Dückers and Priem, 122.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ Hughes, “Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy: Diplomat, Patroness, Bibliophile and Benefactress,” 4.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ “Bien en aviegne.” Translation from Binski and Panayotova, eds., *The Cambridge Illuminations, Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, 134. For a previous discussion of the translation of Margaret of York’s motto, see section XIV in chapter 1.

²²⁹ Legaré, “‘La librairy de Madame,’ Two Princesses and their Libraries,” 207.

²³⁰ For this manuscript, see note 149 in chapter 1. For a previous discussion of it, see section XIV in chapter 1.

²³¹ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 149.

²³² Thomas Kren, “Introduction,” in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren, 16.

²³³ For St. Colette, see Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 326-328. For St. Anne, see Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 90-96; and Martin Lechner, “Anna,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 5, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 168-184. For Margaret’s devotion to these two saints, see Kathryn Rudy, “Women’s Devotions at Court,” in *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York/Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, 232.

²³⁴ Rudy, “Women’s Devotions at Court,” 231.

²³⁵ Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France*, 32.

²³⁶ “Non mudera;” translation by Charles Sterling in Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, A Newly Defined Miniaturist*, 8. The motto is in Spanish, which was the language favored by Anne of Brittany’s mother, Margueritte de Foix (c. 1453-1486). See Wieck, *The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, 37.

²³⁷ For this manuscript, see note 110 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XI in chapter 1 and section I in chapter 4.

²³⁸ “Firmitas Eternitatis Spem Duplicat;” translation by Charles Sterling, in Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, A Newly Defined Miniaturist*, 10.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8. Tertiaries were groups of men or women who did not take religious vows, but who strived to be pious within the constraints of the real world. See Aeby Gervais, *Call to Commitment in the School of St. Francis: A Manual of Instruction for Franciscan Tertiaries* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1964); and Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1621.

²⁴⁰ Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 519; and Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 638-639.

²⁴¹ For this manuscript, see note 105 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section X in chapter 1, section I.A.8 in this chapter and section II in chapter 4.

²⁴² Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, A Newly Defined Miniaturist*, 10.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* According to Sterling, the Latin, “firmitas” was sometimes translated into French as “fermesse” or, “S fermé;” such word-puzzles were common in the sixteenth century.

²⁴⁴ Robert Scheller, “Ensigns of Authority: French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XII,” *Simiolus* 13, no. 2 (1983): 85-86.

²⁴⁵ Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, A Newly Defined Miniaturist*, 7.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁵⁰ Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, eds., *Saturn and Melancholy* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1979), 330.

²⁵¹ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 136.

²⁵² For a previous discussion of images of saints in devotional manuscripts, see I.A.4 in this chapter.

²⁵³ For the Latin text and English translation of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, see Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962-1971).

²⁵⁴ The *Wonders of the East* is a collection of stories written by travelers to the Orient. It describes monstrous beasts that resided there. It comes from a collection of Latin texts of *Mirabilia* that were translated in the tenth century in England. For the history of the *Wonders of the East*, see Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 72-96; and C.L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), 253-254. For the Latin and Old English text with English translation, see Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf Manuscript* (Suffolk, United Kingdom: D.S. Brewer, 1995), 173-203.

²⁵⁵ Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 6.

²⁵⁶ See Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge, The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 12.

²⁵⁷ It is beyond the scope of this study to examine all types of marginalia. For a more detailed discussion of the subject, see, for example, *ibid*; Lilian Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); and Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts*.

²⁵⁸ For this manuscript, see note 4 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section I in chapter 1 and section I.A.1 in this chapter.

²⁵⁹ Charles Vaurie, "Birds in the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 6 (Feb., 1971): 279.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 280.

²⁶¹ Brunsdon Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1981), 58.

²⁶² For the iconography of the goldfinch, see Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch: Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art* (Washington, D.C.: The Bollingen Foundation, 1946), 9; and Herbert Friedmann, *A Bestiary for Saint Jerome: Animal Symbolism in European Religious Art* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), 220-221.

²⁶³ Vaurie, "Birds in the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg," 281.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

²⁶⁵ For the legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, see section I.B.5 in this chapter.

²⁶⁶ For these two folios in the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg*, see section I.A.1 in this chapter.

²⁶⁷ Gerson, “Le Miroir de l’âme,” in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VII, 196; Ringbom, “Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions,” 165; and Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 188.

²⁶⁸ Ringbom, “Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions,” 165; and Bernard of Clairvaux, *Selected Works*, trans. Gillian R. Evans (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1978), 204.

²⁶⁹ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 13.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. I, 112; and T.H. White, ed., *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth-Century* (Mineola, New York: Dover, [1954] 1984), 34-35.

²⁷² Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 12.

²⁷³ For this manuscript, see note 174 in chapter 2. For further discussions of it, see section II.C.1 in chapter 2, section I.A.7 in this chapter and section I in chapter 4.

²⁷⁴ The hymn is the *Primo dierum omnium*; this is part of a series of hymns that became the core of the music performed by the schola cantorum (school of singers), which was founded by Gregory the Great. See Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1475.

²⁷⁵ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 30.

²⁷⁶ “Foveu inpastos ego” My translation.

²⁷⁷ Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la maison de Savoie*, 63.

²⁷⁸ For the legend of St. Sebastian, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 97-101; Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1190-1199; and Peter Assion, “Sebastian,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, eds. Kirschbaum, et al., 318-324.

²⁷⁹ Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/III, 1191.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 1192.

²⁸¹ “And the Lord said to Moses: Stretch forth thy hand upon the land of Egypt, unto the locust, that it come upon it, and devour every herb that is left after the hail. And Moses stretched forth his rod upon the land of Egypt: and the Lord brought a burning wind all that day, and night. And when it was morning, the burning wind raised the locusts: And they came up over the whole land of Egypt: and rested in all the coasts of the Egyptians innumerable, the like as had not been before that time, nor shall be hereafter. And they covered the whole face of the earth, wasting all things. And the grass of the earth was devoured, and what fruits so ever were on the trees, which the hail had left. And there remained not any thing that was green on the trees, or in the herbs of the earth in all Egypt.”

²⁸² Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la maison de Savoie*, 29. See note 174 and the accompanying text in section II.C.1 in chapter 2.

²⁸³ Ann Carmichael, “Contagion Theory and Contagion Practice in Fifteenth-Century Milan,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (Summer, 1991): 215.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ For a previous discussion of St. Peter Martyr, see section I.A.7 in this chapter.

²⁸⁷ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, 257.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 260.

²⁸⁹ White, *The Book of Beasts*, 149.

²⁹⁰ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For further discussions of it, see the section I in the Introduction, sections II.A.2 and III.A in chapter 2, sections I.A.6, I.B.2 and II.D in this chapter, and section II in chapter 4.

²⁹¹ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Plate 116. These letters also appear on page 308 in this manuscript (fig. 39); see section III.A in chapter 2.

²⁹² For the history of the rosary, see, for example, Anne Winston, “Tracing the Origins of the Rosary: German Vernacular Texts,” *Speculum* 68, no., 3 (July, 1993): 619-636; Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); and John Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (London: Burns and Oates, 2002).

²⁹³ Winston, “Tracing the Origins of the Rosary: German Vernacular Texts,” 620.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 619.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 622.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 632. For the *Devotio Moderna*, see note 110 in chapter 2. For a previous discussion of it, see section II.A.2 in chapter 2.

²⁹⁷ Winston, “Tracing the Origins of the Rosary: German Vernacular Texts,” 619.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 623.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 620.

³⁰⁰ For a previous discussion of St. Catherine, see the Introduction and the introduction to chapter 2.

³⁰¹ For St. Catherine, see note 16 in the Introduction.

³⁰² Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Plate 145.

³⁰³ Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 265.

³⁰⁴ Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Plate 145.

³⁰⁵ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 36.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 40.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 4: Women and Legacy: The Generational Transference of Self

Sometime between 1497 and 1503, Anne of France wrote a small book for her daughter, Suzanne of Bourbon, which contained lessons to prepare her for life as a noblewoman (*Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, formerly in St. Petersburg, The Hermitage, MS. Fr. Q.v. III. 2, current location unknown).¹ In this manuscript, Anne considered a variety of issues, including Christian values such as piety, virtue and modesty. Addressing Suzanne, she wrote, “Devote yourself completely to acquiring virtue. Behave so that your reputation may be worthy of perpetual memory: whatever you do. Above all, be truly honest, humble, courageous and loyal.”² She also explained correct modes of behavior when dealing with members of the court, including ladies in waiting,

And so, my daughter, if your women do not behave as they ought to, show them their faults sweetly, using few words. As the proverb says, great substance often resides in a few words-or, a few short words to the wise and even fewer to those who stubbornly persist in their perverse and accursed views and are thus incorrigible.³

The lessons in this manuscript can be grouped into two categories: those dealing with piety and those pertaining to marriage and family. These were considered the two realms in which a noblewoman was expected to function, and Anne’s gift to her daughter underscored the importance of the mastery of both worlds. Her attempt to educate Suzanne in these areas demonstrates that late medieval noblewomen acted as teachers for their young children, a duty for which they were responsible until tutors and confessors took over their educational needs.⁴

These needs depended on the future occupation of the children and their gender. Girls and boys began their education in much the same way, but after the age of seven they were separated by their sex and status.⁵ The educational system of the medieval nobility was influenced by the philosophies of the Doctors of the Church, such as St. Jerome, theologians like

Jean Gerson and Vincent of Beauvais, and eventually individuals like Christine de Pizan.⁶ Books were important in this process, but not every noblewoman wrote a book of lessons as Anne of France did. Instead, other books were used to educate children in the home, such as books of hours and short prayer books or primers that introduced the child to the alphabet and the basic Christian prayers: the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*. Once the child learned his or her letters, these prayers were memorized in Latin and sometimes the vernacular.⁷ This system resulted in the continuation of religious traditions and ensured a very basic understanding of Latin.

As with most aspects of medieval life, education was closely linked to religious practice. It is not surprising, then, that noblewomen turned to a religious figure as a model for their own roles as teachers. This model was St. Anne, who was responsible for the early education of the Virgin.⁸ The cult of St. Anne grew during the thirteenth century and proliferated in the fourteenth, when images of her teaching the Virgin began to appear in devotional manuscripts.⁹ These images may have inspired mothers in their own pursuits as teachers and served as models for them.¹⁰

This chapter examines the roles of some of the noblewomen discussed in previous chapters as educators of their children. The use of devotional manuscripts as teaching tools is at the center of this examination. The limitations and obstacles that women faced both as teachers and students are key to this discussion, demonstrating the educational theories of the late Middle Ages. It is within this environment that women were able to perpetuate the religious and societal traditions of their native countries and of the Valois courts. By doing so, they conveyed their own definition of self to their children.

I. The Use of Manuscripts in the Early Education of Children in the Courts

When Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124) was a child, his mother began looking for an appropriate tutor who could continue his education.¹¹ Guibert was at the stage where he “had learnt the alphabet, but [was] hardly yet [able] to join letters into syllables.”¹² In his words, his mother was “eager for my instruction, [and] arranged to pass me on to grammar.”¹³ Although he lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the teaching of the alphabet as the basis for early education continued to be the *modus operandi* of educating children well into the sixteenth century.

The teaching methods and materials used in education in the Middle Ages were gleaned from a variety of sources, the earliest of which is the book of Ecclesiasticus, which was used as an instructional manual for the young in the early Church.¹⁴ Medieval scholars, like Vincent of Beauvais, based their educational ideas on this source, which is divided into sections dedicated to important aspects of a Christian’s life, such as “Lesson concerning the honour of parents, and humility, and avoiding curiosity (Ecclesiasticus 3).”¹⁵

One of the earliest writers who championed education for young children was St. Jerome (347-420). He stated his opinions in a series of letters that outlined his beliefs, one of which dealt specifically with the education of girls. Here he described how girls should learn their letters, advising parents as follows:

Have a set of letters made for her, of boxwood or of ivory, and tell her their names. Let her play with them, making play a road to learning, and let her not only grasp the right order of the letters and remember their names in a simple song, but also frequently upset their order and mix the last letters with the middle ones, the middle with the first. Thus she will know them by sight as well as sound.¹⁶

St. Jerome’s comments clearly delegate parents as the first teachers of their children, whether they were male or female. He also underscored the learning of letters as a fundamental part of an

early education, which had to be mastered before one moved on to grammar. This practice seems to have been the way in which children in England began their education in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to Nicholas Orme, they would learn the shape and sound of individual letters and would then join those letters together to form words.¹⁷

In the Middle Ages, the learning of the alphabet was not merely a matter of memorization. The letters were directly tied to aspects of religious practice and were treated almost like prayers. Part of this association stemmed from the way in which the alphabet was presented to the student. In some cases, the letters were displayed on thin, vertical boards, called hornbooks.¹⁸ A scribe wrote the alphabet on a separate piece of parchment and adhered it to a board with nails (figs. 91 and 91a). This arrangement of board and parchment was equated with the *Crucifixion* by Odo of Cheriton (d. 1247), who compared the nails in the hornbook to the way Christ's body was attached to the cross.¹⁹ Odo also associated the five vowels of the alphabet with the five wounds Christ received at the Crucifixion.²⁰ Using this method, students connected each letter to a specific wound, thereby turning the memorization of the letters into a type of meditation. By doing so, the letters gained another association besides their physical form.²¹ The wounds of Christ were used as a mnemonic device for the memorization of the five vowels. Conversely, the learning of letters allowed a student to contemplate the Passion of Christ.

Children were also taught in a more conventional manner through the use of books such as primers or books of hours. In England, books of hours were called primers, because often a person's first and only book was a book of hours. This therefore served as both a devotional text and a book used to teach elementary reading. In January of 1403, Isabeau of Bavaria gave such a book to her daughter, Michele, who was eight at the time.²² This book contained the alphabet

and various prayers, which were presumably used for Michele's early education. It is difficult to know exactly the content of this primer, because the only evidence of its existence is in Isabeau's accounts; these document its commission from Guillemette de Tours, who was a book dealer in Paris.²³

Anne of Brittany commissioned a primer containing an alphabet for Claude of France, one of her daughters from her marriage to her second husband, Louis XII (Guido Mazzoni of Modena, *Primer of Claude of France*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159; see appendix 5).²⁴ This is one of three manuscripts made for Anne of Brittany's children. Anne kneels at a *prie-dieu* on folio 1v., presented to St. Claude by St. Anne and the Virgin (fig. 92).²⁵ The letters of the alphabet appear on the facing page, followed by the *Pater Noster*. In the margin directly above the beginning of the alphabet are the instruments of the Passion: the cross, the branches used to flog Christ, the crown of thorns, the spikes used to anchor his hands and feet to the cross, and the pillar at which he was flogged (fig. 92a).

The inclusion of the instruments of the Passion on this folio perhaps refers to Odo of Cheriton's association of the alphabet with Christ's wounds, mentioned above, which may have transferred to primers as a mnemonic device. The instruments of the Passion were also used in this manner to remember more complex prayers that were sometimes written as poems or songs.²⁶ An example of such a prayer, written in English as a poem in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, ties the letters of the alphabet to Christ's Passion.²⁷ The poem begins "When a child is put to school, a book called an ABC is given him, nailed on a slab of wood."²⁸ In the fourth stanza, this poem describes the wounds Christ received: "Look in his body maid and wife, when nails were driven through his feet and hands."²⁹ The poet begins to use the alphabet as a mnemonic device in the eighth stanza by linking it to moments in Christ's Passion. The letter A,

for example, begins the sentence, “A madful moan may men make...,” which introduces the portion of the Passion when Christ is taken before Caiaphas.³⁰ The letter B begins the subsequent stanza that describes Christ bound and beaten before Pilate, “Bound he was for our bounty.”³¹ The poem progresses through the alphabet and ends with the final word, Amen.³²

The word Amen transforms the poet’s words from a poem to a prayer-like text. The meditative cadence of the poem, which forces the reader to concentrate on minute details of the Passion, also contributes to the meditative quality of the text. The poem may have been said in the same manner as a prayer, with the alphabet used as a mnemonic device. The reader could better remember the poem by reciting the alphabet and linking the appropriate letter to the event in Christ’s Passion.

Manuscripts used by children in England, France and Burgundy also reveal this transformation or reevaluation of the way the alphabet was recited or memorized. In these cases, the alphabet became prayer-like by the way it was presented in primers and hornbooks. Scribes would often place a small cross at the beginning of the rows of letters; Orme suggested that this acted as a reminder to the student to say a prayer before beginning the recitation.³³ The letters of the alphabet followed and concluded with the word Amen, just as in the aforementioned poem.³⁴ This arrangement of the cross and letters became known in the early sixteenth century as “Christ-cross row.”³⁵

In the *Primer of Claude of France*, the cross appears in the margin above the alphabet and extends into the text (fig. 92 and 92a). Although it does not contain the word Amen, the alphabet functioned much like a rubric would in a prayer cycle, such as the *Hours of the Virgin*. The reader was alerted to the text of the coming passage due to the rubric’s placement and content. The meaning of the rubric was therefore essential to the reader’s understanding of the

text. Similarly, in a primer, the alphabet appears before the *Pater Noster*. It therefore acts as an introduction to this prayer. Therefore, the alphabet on this folio does not end with Amen, because it appears in an area reserved for a rubric.

After the alphabet, the *Pater Noster* was the first prayer a child educated in Europe in the Middle Ages would memorize, followed by the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo*.³⁶ The *Pater Noster* was important because it came directly from Christ, who recited it to his disciples during the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 6:9-13). It was a response to their request concerning the appropriate way to pray. Christ was therefore acting in his capacity as teacher when he composed this prayer.³⁷

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) championed the learning of the *Pater Noster* as soon as a child mastered the alphabet.³⁸ His views differed from the ideas of St. Jerome, who thought that the Psalter should be learned first.³⁹ Erasmus believed that a child should learn the alphabet, *Pater Noster* and other fundamental tenets of faith at an early age, before his or her parents hired a tutor.⁴⁰ He insisted that children learn the prayers in Latin, which should also be spoken at home in lieu of the vernacular.⁴¹ Erasmus's ideas were consistent with the religious culture of the late medieval period, which promoted the use of Latin in Church services.⁴² This practice required that children memorize a text in Latin, which was used by the clergy and for prayer. The result was the ability to recite the *Pater Noster*, perhaps without understanding the meaning of the Latin text.⁴³

In some cases, such as the *Primer of Claude of France* (fig. 92), the *Pater Noster* is written out in its entirety.⁴⁴ This method is reasonable, since the reader would have been learning the prayer and needed every word in order to memorize it correctly. There are exceptions to this construction, however, as in the text of the *Pater Noster* in the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*

(Jean Poyet, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. 50).⁴⁵ Anne of Brittany commissioned this manuscript around 1494 for her son, Charles-Orland, who was her first child and the only surviving offspring from her first marriage to Charles VIII (see appendix 4).⁴⁶ The beginning of the *Pater Noster* appears on folio 1 of the manuscript, under an illumination of a three-person Trinity. The text reads: “Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name...”⁴⁷ (fig. 94). The passage ends with the abbreviation for *et cetera* and does not continue on the next page. This abrupt ending to the prayer seems unusual in a manuscript used for instruction. Roger Wieck suggested that the text ends in this manner because Charles-Orland was not meant to use the manuscript unaided; his mother, Anne, employed the book as a teaching tool and the abbreviated text was a prompt for her, rather than a model for her son.⁴⁸ Since Anne knew the *Pater Noster*, it was unnecessary to display the entire text of the prayer. As Anne read the prayer to her young son, he would have focused on the image of the Trinity. It would have functioned as a mnemonic device,⁴⁹ in the same manner as the nails in the hornbook aided in the memorization of the vowels mentioned above.

In this manuscript, the image of the *Trinity* adds a visual component to the *Pater Noster*, which relates to its content. In contrast, on folio 2 of the *Primer of Claude of France*, the beginning of the *Pater Noster* is accompanied by marginal scenes from the Book of Genesis that seem extraneous to the text (fig. 92). At the top right, the enthroned figure of God creates the heavens and the earth.⁵⁰ He appears again in the bottom right of the folio, where he creates the angels,⁵¹ and below the text, where he creates the animals.⁵² These images tell the beginning of the creation story from Genesis 1: 1-25, which is unrelated to the *Pater Noster*. This combination of texts and images continues throughout the primer. As one progresses through the manuscript, the images are based on texts other than the Bible and are therefore more obscure. This

sophistication is lacking in Charles-Orland's manuscript, which progresses slowly in its complexity. In contrast, the imagery in the *Primer of Claude of France* is complex from the beginning.

The sophistication of the images in Claude's manuscript relates to how she used her primer. It was completed between 1505 and 1510, when she was between six and eleven years old.⁵³ She was several years older than her half-brother was when he received his primer. The text in the *Primer of Claude of France* also differs from that in the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* in that it is written out in its entirety rather than abbreviated. Roger Wieck suggested that unlike Charles-Orland, Claude was meant to use her manuscript as a learning tool in which she could progress from the memorization of letters to the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and beyond, without the constant assistance of her mother.⁵⁴ Perhaps the images did not act as mnemonic devices, as they did in Charles-Orland's manuscript. Instead, they told a separate story that emphasized the theme of human salvation, a theme of major concern to everyone living in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁵ Conversely, in Charles-Orland's book, the images complement the text they accompany, but the prayers and imagery become more complex as the book progresses. This may indicate that his primer was to be used over a long period of time, as his reading and comprehension improved.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, Charles-Orland did not advance very far in his education. He succumbed to the measles at the age of three, around the time this manuscript was completed.⁵⁷

Immediately following the abbreviated *Pater Noster* in the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* is the *Ave Maria*, also in a truncated form.⁵⁸ It appears on folio 1v., and is accompanied by an image of the *Annunciation* (fig. 95). As in the center panel of the *Mérode Triptych* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, ca. 1425; fig. 96),⁵⁹ the

miniature depicts the Christ Child sliding down the rays of the Holy Spirit. In the miniature, however, God the Father appears in the upper left, from where he sends down the dove along with the Christ Child. The sound of the *Ave Maria* was said to have pleased the Virgin, which resulted in its repeated recitation. It was therefore thought to be a necessary prayer for children to memorize.⁶⁰

The *Ave Maria* appears on folio 3 of a manuscript commissioned for another daughter of Anne of Brittany and Louis XII (Master of Claude of France, *Les Petites prières de Renée de France*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS lat. 614=a.U.2.28; fig. 97).⁶¹ It belonged to Claude's younger sister, Renée of France, who was born in 1510 (see appendix 5). It was executed between 1515 and 1520, after the death of Anne and Louis XII, who were therefore not responsible for its commission. Roger Wieck suggested Claude as one of several possible patrons of the manuscript,⁶² raising the possibility that she gave it to Renée in homage to Charles-Orland, her dead half-brother, whom Renée had never known.⁶³ This argument is strengthened by the similarity between Renée's prayer book and the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, which was made for Charles-Orland.⁶⁴ Furthermore, at the time Renée's book was produced, Claude commissioned a book of hours for herself from the same artist (Master of Claude of France, *Prayer Book of Claude of France*, New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M. 1166).⁶⁵ Perhaps she commissioned the book of prayers for Renée when she ordered her own prayer book.

On folio 3 of *Les Petites prières de Renée de France*, Renée kneels in prayer at a *prie-dieu* with an open prayer book, facing the *Annunciation* on the preceding folio (fig. 97). Her posture mirrors that of the Virgin, who also kneels at a *prie-dieu* with an open book and her hands in prayer. Renée has paused in her reading and looks up, perhaps to gaze at the Virgin in

prayer. As Renée learned the *Ave Maria*, she would have regarded her image in this miniature as a model for appropriate behavior. Her proximity to the Virgin, who is also in an attitude of prayer, intimately linked the two and would have given Renée visual inspiration for her lesson.

The third prayer found at the beginning of most primers is the *Credo*, which is a text that consists of a list of the primary Christian beliefs.⁶⁶ It comes from the Old Roman Creed, which was based on God's request to the Apostles to go and baptize believers in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost (Matthew 28:19).⁶⁷ By the fourth century, a legend had been established crediting the composition of the *Credo* to the Apostles, each of whom was responsible for coining one of the tenets of faith.⁶⁸ St. Peter is credited with the first article, which states: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth..."⁶⁹ The duty of memorizing the *Credo* was established partially as a result of a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which stated that everyone should confess their sins to their local priest once a year.⁷⁰ Parish priests would test the knowledge of each individual by how well they knew the twelve articles of faith that together composed the *Credo*.⁷¹

The *Credo* appears in all three prayer books made for Anne of Brittany's children. In the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, it is written in its entirety, although the scribe added the abbreviation for *et cetera* in several places within the text. The words for the first article of faith appear on folio 2 (fig. 98), where images of St. Peter and the prophet Jeremiah accompany the text. The tenet ends with the abbreviation for *et cetera* and the complete passage of the second tenet of faith continues on folio 2v. This renders the *et cetera* on folio 2 unnecessary. The reason for its inclusion is unclear, but it perhaps reinforces the idea that the manuscript was for Anne's use as a teaching tool for her son, Charles-Orland. The *etceteras* were perhaps cues for Anne of Brittany to stop the verbal recitation of the prayer in order to allow Charles-Orland to complete

it. This method is similar to the versicle and response format of prayer cycles, in which the priest recites the first portion of the text and the congregation responds with the second. If Anne used this method, she could test Charles-Orland's knowledge from his responses to her prompts.

The *Credo* in the *Primer of Claude of France* spans three pages, from folios 3-5. The middle of the prayer appears on folio 4v., accompanied by miniatures illustrating the life of Adam and Eve: Adam and Eve toiling after they were expelled from the Garden of Eden, Adam on his deathbed sending his son Seth on a journey to find the oil of forgiveness, and Seth's arrival (fig. 99).⁷² Like the example on folio 2 of the *Prayer Book of Anne of Bretagne* (fig. 98), Claude's manuscript includes imagery from the Old Testament. In the former, each Apostle is linked visually to his counterpart from the Old Testament. In the latter, the imagery is taken from *The Books of Adam and Eve*, an apocryphal text of the Old Testament that creates an unrelated narrative, adding another element of Christian historiography that Claude could learn.⁷³ In both cases, the images accompanying the *Credo* are more complex than those at the beginning of the manuscripts. This is perhaps an indication that both books were to be used over several years, first as a teaching tool for the mother and then as a reader as the children grew and were able to grasp subtler aspects of their religion.

The third manuscript belonging to one of Anne of Brittany's children that contains the *Credo* is *Les Petites prières de Renée de France*. It appears twice in this manuscript, once after the *Ave Maria* and again at the end of the book. The first *Credo*, on folio 4, like all the examples mentioned thus far, is in Latin (fig. 100). The later version of the prayer, on folio 18 (fig. 101), is in French, as are the *Ten Commandments* and the *Five Commandments of the Church*; these are also at the end of the manuscript. The *Credo* in Latin appears at the beginning of the manuscript, thereby adhering to the educational practice championed by Erasmus that children should learn

their letters, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* in Latin. The vernacular prayers at the end of the manuscript are also appropriately placed. Renée's manuscript, like those made for Claude and Charles-Orland, was probably meant to be used over a long period of time, as she became more sophisticated in her reading. After Renée mastered the prayers in Latin, she could then graduate to the vernacular texts. As she advanced in her studies, she could choose whether to read or recite her devotions in Latin or French.

The examples given thus far have been manuscripts that fall under the category of primers or prayer books. In some cases, a few of the fundamental texts that children learned appear in books of hours that were used by women discussed previously in this study. One example is the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* (The Master of the David Scenes in the *Grimani Breviary*, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18852), which contains a number of catechismal texts directly after the calendar.⁷⁴ These prayers are discussed in chapter 2, where I suggest that Joanna of Castile used them as reminders of her Christian responsibilities.⁷⁵ Another reason for the inclusion of these basic texts, which are usually found in books made for children, may be that this portion of Joanna's manuscript was meant for the instruction of her children. This assumption is plausible for a number of reasons. First of all, this manuscript was finished between 1496 and 1506.⁷⁶ The most plausible date for its completion is 1496, when, at the age of seventeen, Joanna married Philip. In 1496, she would have already been schooled in the basic Christian prayers. She and Philip had their first child, Eleanor, in 1498, and their second, Charles, who would become Charles V, in 1500 (see appendices 4 and 6). Joanna probably intended these prayers to be used as teaching tools for her young daughter and son. Secondly, the texts in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* are in a rounded Italian Gothic script that is rather difficult to read. A comparison between folio 184 of the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* and folio 2

from the *Primer of Claude of France* reveals the difference in the legibility of the texts (figs. 102 and 92). This suggests that Joanna's children were not meant to use the book of hours on their own.

Roger Wieck made a similar argument about the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* and two books of hours in the Walters Museum that he believed were used to teach children to pray (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 261 and Ms. W. 268).⁷⁷ All three manuscripts were made for adults but contain texts used in a child's early education. As discussed in chapter 2, women added a variety of texts to their manuscripts that reflected their religious preferences and traditions.⁷⁸ Joanna's desire to include these texts was therefore not out of the ordinary, but her book of hours also assumed the function of a teaching tool because of these additions. Wieck suggested that these hybrid books comprise a new type, one that should be considered apart from traditional books of hours.⁷⁹

The *Breviary of Mary of Savoy* (Master of the *Vitae imperatorium* and Belbello of Pavia, Chambéry, Bibliothèque publique de Chambéry, Ms. 4) is an example of this hybrid type.⁸⁰ It also contains fundamental texts like the *Credo* on folio 731v. (fig. 103). Mary of Savoy commissioned this manuscript sometime between 1431 and 1447.⁸¹ At the time the manuscript was completed, Mary was at least twenty and had been married to Philippe Marie Visconti for more than three years (see appendix 4). She would have been old enough to have already learned the *Credo* and other fundamental prayers, so perhaps she intended to use them to teach her children. She had probably learned in the same manner.⁸² Unfortunately, Mary and Philippe Marie did not have any children that survived. Mary died in 1469 and the manuscript remained in the library of the Visconti family.⁸³

The final example of the *Credo* included in a book of hours considered in this study appears in the *Hours of Louis of Laval* (Master of the Yale Missal, Jean Colombe, “artiste fouquettien,” and others, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 920).⁸⁴ Louis commissioned this manuscript and gave it to Anne of France around 1473, when she was twelve years old, perhaps as a wedding gift.⁸⁵ It went through two stages of production, the first in the early 1470s and the second between 1486 and 1489.⁸⁶ The *Credo* is now located at the end of the manuscript on folios 325-327v. Claude Schaefer suggests that Louis requested that this prayer as well as the *Ten Commandments* and other catechismal texts be included in his manuscript to ensure his salvation.⁸⁷ According to the codicological examination made by Schaefer, the folios in this section of the manuscript were part of the first campaign of its production, which included images and texts mostly found in psalters.⁸⁸ The present state of this book of hours places the folios out of order, thereby confusing the iconography and textual integrity of the manuscript.

Anne perhaps utilized the catechismal texts in the *Hours of Louis de Laval* herself before using them as teaching tools for her daughter, Suzanne of Bourbon (1491-1521; see appendix 4). Anne’s interest in Suzanne’s education is demonstrated by the book of lessons that she wrote for her; *Les Enseignements d’Anne de France*, discussed in the introduction to this chapter.⁸⁹ She was also responsible for the education of Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566), who was one of her ladies in waiting, and was close to Louise of Savoy’s daughter, Margaret of Navarre (1492-1549), to whom she dedicated an edition of her lessons.⁹⁰ Louise herself was sent to live with Anne in 1482, when she was only six.⁹¹ Any of these young women could have benefited from Anne’s instruction and the catechismal texts in the *Hours of Louis de Laval*.

Once children learned the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*, they were sometimes introduced to other prayers that were recited daily by the laity, two of which were *Grace before*

Meals and *Grace after Meals*. These appear in all three manuscripts produced for Anne of Brittany's children. In addition to these prayers, the *Confiteor* or *Act of Confession*, originally a prayer said by the priest before the beginning of mass, was sometimes included.⁹² The laity also learned this prayer and recited it in tandem with the priest. According to Herbert Thurston, children probably learned the *Confiteor* in order to participate in this portion of the mass, and so they could recite it at confession.⁹³

Because the text for the *Confiteor* was not standardized, it appears in various forms in manuscripts.⁹⁴ In the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, the reading of this prayer is complicated further by the use of many abbreviations, which again suggests that the manuscript was to be used by Anne as a teaching tool. An image of Anne of Brittany in the act of confessing to her priest accompanies the text for the *Confiteor* on folio 10v. (fig. 104). He leans over in order to hear her sins more clearly (or perhaps because he has fallen asleep). The image of Anne participating in one of the seven sacraments would have been a powerful model for her young son, Charles-Orland, if he had lived long enough to understand the importance of her act. As a teaching device, this miniature and the text it accompanies would have exposed Charles-Orland to both the visual and verbal protocol of confession.

Patrons sometimes specifically requested additional prayers to be added to primers and books of hours used for educating children. In some cases, they commissioned or wrote their own prayers to be included. In other examples, the prayers reflected traditions unique to the patrons' family or place of birth. Two of the manuscripts belonging to Anne of Brittany's children, the *Les Petites prières de Renée de France* and the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, contain prayers important to her family. A prayer for wisdom is included in both manuscripts. The beginning of this prayer appears under a miniature of Renée kneeling at a *prie-dieu* in front

of an image of Christ on folio 6v. of the former manuscript (fig. 105).⁹⁵ In the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, the text appears on folio 31 under an image of a kneeling Charles-Orland, who gazes up at a vision of Christ (fig. 106).⁹⁶

Anne's inclusion of this prayer in manuscripts for Renée and Charles-Orland probably derived from the hopes she had for them. The prayer is a plea for divine wisdom, written in the first person. It was particularly appropriate for her son, who was destined to succeed his father as king. One of the most important characteristics of a king was his ability to rule wisely. To this end, Erasmus listed *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Book of Wisdom* as texts that princes should read after they had mastered their letters and grammar.⁹⁷ He believed these texts were important because they were written by the wisest of kings (Solomon), and therefore should be studied and used as models for wisdom.⁹⁸

The attainment of wisdom was also important for Renée, and a key part of her education. The mastering of moral behavior through wisdom was at the core of many medieval educational theories. Vincent of Beauvais (1194-c. 1264), for example, extolled the importance of intellectual training for girls as a way to attain morality.⁹⁹ Similarly, Christine de Pizan (1365-1429) believed that aristocratic girls should be educated for the purpose of attaining moral wisdom.¹⁰⁰ According to Erasmus, girls should be taught so that they could better educate their own children.¹⁰¹ Moreover, wisdom was one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and Christians should accept and embrace it through education.¹⁰² Noblewomen were aware of the writings of these and other authors and encouraged their children to follow their guidelines. In *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, for instance, Anne quoted many philosophers in order to educate her daughter, Suzanne of Bourbon (see appendix 4). Anne suggested a variety of texts for Suzanne, including *Wisdom's Watch upon the Hours*, which is a dialogue written by Henry Suso (c. 1300-

1366) between himself and Divine Wisdom.¹⁰³ Clearly, the attainment of wisdom was not only for the male offspring of the nobility but was also important for girls, who would eventually be called upon to educate their own children.

Prayers that reflected specific family interests were also sometimes requested for a prayer book or primer. The *Prayer Book of Claude of France*, for example, contains several prayers that demonstrated Claude's desires during a specific time in her life. This manuscript was commissioned for her in 1517, the year she was crowned queen of France at the age of eighteen. Its contents indicate that Claude was too old to benefit from fundamental prayers such as the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and the *Credo*, which she had already learned from her primer. The prayers in this manuscript are geared toward a woman who had graduated to more complex Christian doctrine. On folio 51v., for instance, an image of an angel holding the crown of thorns appears in the margin (fig. 107). The rubric near the bottom of the folio indicates that a suffrage to the crown of thorns follows. This prayer may have had some significance to Claude's family beyond the adoration of one of the *arma Christi*. The true crown of thorns was said to be located in Paris, at the Sainte-Chapelle. Louis IX, King of France, received this relic in 1238 from Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and built the Sainte-Chapelle to house it. Afterwards, French kings gave away thorns from the crown as gifts.¹⁰⁴ The adoration of the crown of thorns was therefore part of the devotional traditions of the kings of France. Since Claude's father, Louis XII, and her husband, Francis I, were both French kings, she perhaps included this specialized prayer in homage to them.

There is additional evidence that suggests Claude wished to remember her ancestors, specifically her mother, in this manuscript, who died three years before it was completed. A knotted rope frames the miniatures on many of the folios, as in fig. 107. As discussed in chapter

3, Anne of Brittany used this device in her own manuscripts.¹⁰⁵ It is a reference to the *Ordre de la Cordelière*, which she founded for women who wished to live a pious life. Claude adopted this device and it also appears on folios 18 and 88 in the *Hours of Claude of France* (Master of Claude of France, Paris, Private Collection; figs. 85 and 83),¹⁰⁶ and on folio 1v. in the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Jean Bourdichon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9474; fig. 84).¹⁰⁷

Claude's manuscript represents her personal concerns as a young queen and her desire to honor her family. In some cases, the fundamental texts included in a manuscript reflect a broader theme such as the religious traditions of a region or patron. The *Hours of Joanna of Castile*, for example, contains a passage dedicated to the five senses on folios 18 and 18v., among the catechismal prayers.¹⁰⁸ Jean Gerson, in his writings about education, believed that confessors could use the five senses as a base from which to examine the sins that children committed.¹⁰⁹ According to Gerson, children under the age of ten could not confess in the same manner as adults, because they were unable to understand the meaning of sin.¹¹⁰ He advocated a system that linked sin to the senses, which children as young as eight could comprehend. For example, rather than asking if a child had impure thoughts, he could inquire if he had touched anyone or had been touched inappropriately.¹¹¹ The confessor would then ask whether the child felt ashamed by the incident and prescribe the appropriate penance.¹¹²

The passage on the five senses in the *Hours of Joanna of Castile* demonstrates that the manuscript could have been used to teach a child the five senses at a young age, perhaps before he or she started to confess on a regular basis. If so, the text could not have been useful to Joanna herself, who, as stated above, was at least seventeen when the manuscript was completed. Yet her children could also have learned this text, which would have prepared them for their first

audience with their confessor. If Joanna did indeed follow the advice of Gerson, her children would have benefited in another way. Joanna's library contained a teaching manual for girls, *Llibre de les dones* by Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1340-c. 1409).¹¹³ Eiximenis advocated the subservience of girls and beating as a punishment for bad behavior.¹¹⁴ Gerson, on the other hand, suggested that children should be treated humanely because they would more willingly confess their sins to someone whom they neither feared nor hated.¹¹⁵ If Joanna was partial to Gerson's teaching method, perhaps she used a gentler hand with her own children, which contrasted with Eiximenis's view that to spare the rod is to spoil the child.

From this examination of primers and books of hours produced for nobles associated with the Valois courts, it is clear that the education of aristocratic children was based on a system of gradual learning. Children were taught the letters of the alphabet and slowly progressed to the learning of basic prayers. In some cases, more advanced texts were introduced. These may have represented the desires of the parents concerning the child's future, or prepared the child for his or her role as an adult. All of the foregoing examples contain evidence of late medieval educational theories and how they were administered via devotional manuscripts. This function reinforces the premise of this study, which argues that devotional manuscripts were vehicles of self-definition. When used as educational tools, these books perpetuated the educational practice and devotional traditions of the parents.

II. Noblewomen as Teachers: The Virgin and St. Anne as Models

As discussed above, children were educated in the home by their parents until the age of seven. Mothers taught their children the letters of the alphabet and the prayers that were the foundation of their moral education. According to Erasmus, women were capable of the early schooling of their children in matters of religious piety and health.¹¹⁶ Juan Luis Vives (1492-

1540) believed that a mother would be inspired to continue her own education by educating her children.¹¹⁷ Although such writers extolled the virtues of education for women, the general consensus was that after the age of seven, a tutor would continue educating male aristocratic children to prepare them for their future roles as knights, princes or kings.¹¹⁸ In some cases, girls continued their education, but for them the desired result was the attainment of morality so that they would be suitable companions for their husbands. The tradition that permitted women to be the early educators of their children was therefore perpetuated within the female line.

Daughters may have looked to their mothers as models for the education of their own children, but another female figure also became an exemplar for women. It is necessary to go beyond the realm of the physical into the spiritual to find this model, which not only gave women reassurance and aid in their educational pursuits, but also legitimized their roles as teachers in the late medieval world. This model was St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, whose cult grew in the fourteenth century due in part to her role as her daughter's teacher.

The authors of the four Gospels omit information about the early life of Mary, such as her childhood and the identity of her parents. This lack concerned scholars in the early Church, who made an attempt to fill in the gaps in the history of the holy family.¹¹⁹ One of the most influential of these texts came from the Apocryphal New Testament, written in the second half of the second century: the so-called *Protevangelium of St. James*, a narrative of the life of St. Anne and her husband Joachim.¹²⁰ This was a popular text, especially in the Eastern Church, as demonstrated by the fact that over one hundred examples written in Greek survive.¹²¹ It begins with the expulsion of Joachim from the Temple for being childless and concludes with the murder of Zacharias, who refused to hand over his infant son, John the Baptist, to Herod.¹²² The author claims to be the stepbrother of Jesus from Joseph's first marriage.¹²³

The *Protevangelium of St. James* was widely read in the Middle Ages and was translated into Greek, Syriac and Ethiopian, among other languages.¹²⁴ However, no early Latin translations are extant, presumably due to the rejection of the text by the Church fathers because it referred to Joseph's first marriage.¹²⁵ Visual representations of Mary's early life do exist, however, such as Giotto's frescoes of about 1305-1308 in the Arena Chapel in Padua. The first fresco in this series is the *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple*, which coincides with the beginning of the *Protevangelium of St. James* (fig. 108).¹²⁶

The *Protevangelium of St. James* continues with the conception of Mary and St. Anne's promise that her child will be given as a gift to the Lord.¹²⁷ When Mary is two years old, Joachim suggests that she be taken to the Temple to fulfill this promise. St. Anne pleads with him to wait another year so that she will not miss her parents and be more willing to stay with the priests who reside there.¹²⁸ According to the text, Joachim agrees, but Mary's activities during that last year with her parents are not described. She is presented in the Temple the following year and the only mention of her education in the *Protevangelium of St. James* is that she could weave and was asked to help in the creation of a veil for the Temple of the Lord.¹²⁹ This description of Mary's weaving abilities was inspirational to visual artists, as demonstrated by the images of her weaving, which were commonplace in *Annunciation* scenes made before the eleventh century.¹³⁰ This motif continued into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but with less frequency.¹³¹

Sometime in the eighth or ninth century, another text, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, was compiled from portions of the *Protevangelium of St. James* and another apocryphal text, the *Gospel of St. Thomas*.¹³² The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* restated the narratives of St. Anne, Joachim and Mary, which resulted in renewed interest in the two apocryphal sources discussed

above.¹³³ In one version of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, Mary's unequalled wisdom and knowledge of the scriptures are described in detail.¹³⁴ Her weaving abilities are again mentioned and it is this activity that Gabriel interrupts when he comes to announce the news of her conception.¹³⁵

An example of the weaving Virgin at the *Annunciation* occurs on folio 17 of the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* (Bedford Master or his workshop, Guise Master and others, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 1004, ca. 1420-1425).¹³⁶ The *Annunciation* appears in the main miniature, where Mary kneels in front of a *prie-dieu* that holds a book (fig. 109). This *topos* is typical for *Annunciation* imagery in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and will be discussed below.¹³⁷ The marginal scenes adhere to the earlier versions of the *Annunciation*. An angel appears in the right margin carrying a vessel filled with food in his right hand (fig. 109a). The source for this imagery can be traced back to the *Protevangelium of St. James*, which describes Mary's experience once she entered into the Temple, "And Mary was in the Temple of the Lord nurtured like a dove and received food from the hand of an angel."¹³⁸ The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* also contains this description, but states that Mary received the angel a day after hearing his voice at the fountain.¹³⁹ A scene in the lower margin on folio 17 of this manuscript depicts Mary seated next to a loom and holding a spindle of thread (fig. 109b). The source for this image is the older tradition of Marian iconography, found in the *Protevangelium of St. James*, which was less common in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. In this example, the reading Virgin occupies the main miniature and the weaving Virgin is delegated to the marginal imagery (fig. 109 and 109b). This indicates that the illuminator was aware of the apocryphal descriptions, which he acknowledged in the margins. The main miniature adheres to

the description of the *Annunciation* in Luke 1:28, which does not mention what the Virgin was doing when Gabriel came to her but states that he “came in” and announced his message.

A similar composition occurs in a contemporary manuscript from the atelier of the Bedford Master. The *Bedford Hours* (London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18850, ca. 1423) depicts a large image of the *Annunciation* on folio 32 (fig. 110).¹⁴⁰ The marginal scenes are from the life of St. Anne, Joachim and the Virgin, all of which are mentioned in the *Protevangelium of St. James*. They are not chronologically arranged and begin at the top left with the sacrifice of St. Anne and Joachim in the Temple. The next scene in the series, the *Annunciation to Joachim*, appears in the top right margin. Below is the *Annunciation to St. Anne*. The sequence continues in the left margin with the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, followed by the *Birth of the Virgin* directly across the page. Below the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, St. Anne and Joachim take Mary to the Temple. Her audience with the priest is depicted in the right margin. The *bas-de-page* portrays the remainder of the narrative, beginning at the far left with *Mary Praying in the Temple*. Following this scene is an image of Mary weaving, accompanied by an angel (fig. 110a). The subsequent miniature shows the *Handing Over of the Rods* and finally, in the last image, the *Marriage of the Virgin*.

The marginal decorations in the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* and the *Bedford Hours* depict scenes of the Virgin weaving and other subjects relating to her early life. They also portray a separate image of the *Annunciation*, in which the Virgin is shown with a book.¹⁴¹ The older iconography of Mary’s life, specifically her time in the Temple, is combined here with a late medieval view of the Virgin as an educated woman. This inconsistency in the Virgin’s educational background occurred as a result of the changes in Marian devotion in the thirteenth century and the proliferation of the cult of St. Anne.¹⁴²

Both the *Protevangelium of St. James* and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* describe Mary's time in the Temple, from the ages of three to fourteen, and it is here where she presumably received her education. According to St. Albertus Magnus (c. 1206-1280), Mary was educated in the liberal arts.¹⁴³ Jacobus de Voragine, who reiterates the life of St. Anne, Joachim and Mary in the *Golden Legend*, using the aforementioned texts as source material, also describes Mary's activities while in the Temple. He claims that St. Jerome wrote, "The Blessed Virgin had made a rule for herself: the time from dawn to the third hour she devoted to prayer, from the third to the ninth hour she worked at weaving, and from the ninth hour on she prayed without stopping until the angel appeared and brought her food."¹⁴⁴ The mention of the Virgin as a learned person, who was able to read and/or recite her devotions, resulted in a change in Marian imagery. Beginning in the late fourteenth century and continuing into the sixteenth, Mary was depicted in the *Annunciation* reading a book rather than weaving at the moment Gabriel brings her his news.¹⁴⁵

The earliest example of this *topos* included in this study occurs in the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* (fig. 109). In this image, Mary appears to have been reading a book when Gabriel comes into the room, and she turns from the manuscript to greet him. Another example from the middle of the fifteenth century occurs on folio 21 in the *Hours of Louis of Savoy* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9473).¹⁴⁶ The main miniature depicts the Virgin in the doorway of an elaborate Gothic cathedral. She turns toward Gabriel as if he has interrupted her reading (fig. 111). As in the *Annunciation* in the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy*, a secondary image occurs on this folio; here it appears in an historiated initial D, which begins the text for the *Hours of the Virgin*. It shows Mary kneeling in front of a church accompanied by angels, one of whom holds a jar (fig. 111a). This motif derives from a moment in Mary's life mentioned in the

Protevangelium of St. James, in which angels nourish her as she prays in the Temple.¹⁴⁷ In this miniature, the role of Mary as a learned woman is combined with her early life as a student in the Temple. It differs from folio 17 in the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* in that it contains two images that refer to Mary's scholarly education rather than alluding to her weaving. This iconography may be intentional, because it focuses on Mary as an educated woman who learned to read and write, rather than a woman who could simply weave. It may also reflect the late medieval education of girls, who were taught reading and writing as well as other traditionally female activities such as weaving and sewing. This argument is strengthened when one considers other *Annunciation* imagery in manuscripts from the fifteenth century and later included in this study. None of these examples contain references to Mary's early life and instead depict Mary reading from a book as illustrated in figures 20, 23, 58, 95, and 97. This became the standard iconography for *Annunciations* by the fifteenth century.

Mary's literary abilities are also referenced in images other than the *Annunciation*. In the fifteenth century, she is sometimes depicted holding a book or reading with the twelve Apostles during Pentecost.¹⁴⁸ This event is described in Acts 2:1-4, which states that the Holy Spirit came to the Apostles and gave them the ability to speak in other languages.¹⁴⁹ Mary's presence with the Apostles is acknowledged in Acts 1:14, as is her devotion to prayer.¹⁵⁰ One example of this imagery occurs on page 52 in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 917, ca. 1442-1443; fig. 61),¹⁵¹ in which the Virgin is surrounded by the twelve Apostles gazing at the dove of the Holy Spirit, which has landed upon her head. She seems unaware of their excitement, because of her preoccupation with the book she holds in her hands. Another example of this subject occurs in the *Breviary of Isabelle of Castile* on folio 234 (Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, Master of James IV of Scotland, and others, London, The

British Library, Add. Ms. 18851, ca. 1497),¹⁵² in which Mary and one of the Apostles are engrossed in their devotions while the others look up as the dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above them (fig. 112).

The sources for the depiction of Mary as a literate woman occur in the literature mentioned above, such as the *Protevangelium of St. James*, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and the *Gospel of St. Thomas*. The majority of these texts were reiterated in the *Golden Legend*, which aided in the proliferation of Marian imagery in the later Middle Ages. These texts point to the Temple as the place of Mary's education. However, in visual representations of her early life, the Temple is not where Mary becomes literate. In the early fourteenth century, images that show St. Anne teaching Mary how to read began to appear in England.¹⁵³ This contradiction between pictures and texts implies that other sources or traditions were considered when the iconography was being developed. Wendy Scase has suggested another textual source for these images: a history of Mary composed by Epiphanius (d. c. 800), an eighth-century monk.¹⁵⁴ According to Epiphanius, Mary went to the Temple when she was three years old to be blessed by the priests.¹⁵⁵ She then returned home with her parents and stayed with them until she reached the age of seven, which, as mentioned above, was considered the appropriate time for children to be educated outside the home.¹⁵⁶ At that time, Mary returned to the Temple, where she remained until she was twelve. By then, Joachim had died, and St. Anne went to live in Jerusalem. Between the time Mary left the Temple and married Joseph two years later, she lived with her mother.¹⁵⁷

Epiphanius's account places Mary with her mother for the first six years of her life. Mary's prowess as a student when she did enter the Temple school indicates that she had received a substantial education from her mother. It could therefore be argued that St. Anne was

responsible for teaching Mary the alphabet and how to read. If Epiphanius's text was known in the fourteenth century, as Scase suggests, then it may have inspired images of St. Anne teaching Mary.¹⁵⁸

Other factors contributed to the proliferation of images of St. Anne in England and western Europe in the fourteenth century. A variety of feast days were dedicated to St. Anne and Mary, such as the feast of the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, which was first celebrated in the west in 1372.¹⁵⁹ When Pope Urban VI issued a decree commemorating the marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia in 1382, he made St. Anne's day an obligatory feast day.¹⁶⁰ St. Anne was also highly regarded in France, partially due to the translation of some of her relics during the crusades.¹⁶¹ In 1205, after his return from the Fourth Crusade, Louis I, Count of Blois and grandson of King Louis VII of France, sent the head of St. Anne to Chartres Cathedral.¹⁶² Monarchs from the late Middle Ages were also dedicated to St. Anne. Anne of Brittany, for example, was devoted to her cult, which was popular in Brittany due to her status as patron saint there.¹⁶³ The cult was also prolific in Burgundy, as a result of a decrease in the population after the Ghent War.¹⁶⁴ Because St. Anne had married three times, widows looked to her as a model for second marriages.¹⁶⁵

Once St. Anne's feast day was added to the Church calendar, images of her began to appear in greater numbers in liturgical manuscripts.¹⁶⁶ The textual sources discussed above may have contributed to the manner in which she was depicted, specifically as the teacher of Mary. The proliferation of her cult and her role as mother and teacher of the Virgin would have been attractive to noblewomen. Moreover, the shift in the iconography of Marian images from the Virgin weaving to reading also reflects the educational practice of mothers teaching their

children to read. St. Anne was therefore delegated as the teacher of the Virgin before she went to the Temple.¹⁶⁷

An example that corroborates St. Anne's role as teacher of the Virgin appears on folio 230v. of the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*.¹⁶⁸ The main miniature portrays St. Anne holding the hand of the young Virgin (fig. 113). They look at one another in a manner that implies they are saying goodbye. Marcel Thomas describes this scene as the moment St. Anne leaves Mary at the Temple so that she may continue her education.¹⁶⁹ Mary holds a book in her right hand, which suggests that she is already literate. If so, then she must have learned to read before she was taken to the Temple, and St. Anne was presumably her teacher. This image omits any reference to Mary's skills as a weaver and alludes to her role as a student vis-à-vis the book that she holds.

According to Marcel Thomas, images of the Virgin taking leave of St. Anne like the one in the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* are relatively rare.¹⁷⁰ A more common composition consists of St. Anne holding a book and instructing the Virgin, as on folio 110 of a book of hours commissioned by Louise of Savoy (Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, Ms. 10).¹⁷¹ This small miniature appears in a suffrage dedicated to St. Anne (figs. 114 and 114a). She holds an open book in her lap, which is turned so that it faces Mary, at St. Anne's left. Mary holds the book with her left hand and points to the text with her right. St. Anne echoes Mary's gesture and points to a specific portion of the text. St. Anne is therefore either teaching Mary the words in the manuscript or guiding her reading. In either case, she acts as a facilitator by helping her daughter in her devotions.

A similar composition occurs on folio 42 of the *Prayer Book of Claude of France*.¹⁷² This image is also placed in a suffrage to St. Anne and shows her holding a book (fig. 115). She points to a section of the text with her left hand and turns it toward Mary. The Virgin is depicted

with her hands folded, suggesting that the text is a prayer rather than the letters of the alphabet. This would further imply that Mary had already learned her letters and was now memorizing or reciting a devotion. A miniature of the *Annunciation to St. Anne* appears in the right margin of this folio.¹⁷³ This iconography parallels that found in scenes of the *Annunciation to the Virgin*. St. Anne kneels at a *prie-dieu* and appears to have been reading from an open book when she receives her vision. This imagery establishes her as a literate woman, who was therefore qualified to teach her daughter to read.

The image of St. Anne educating the Virgin acted as a visual justification of late medieval ideas on education. It also functioned as a model for women to continue the educational traditions presumably initiated by St. Anne, as exemplified in the households of many of the women considered for this study. In the court of Anne of France, for example, several aristocratic children gained their early education under Anne's tutelage.¹⁷⁴ Anne's mother, Charlotte of Savoy, had amassed a large library from which Anne learned as a child. She inherited this collection after her mother's death in 1483.¹⁷⁵ She then used her knowledge to teach her brother, Charles, the dauphin and future king of France. Her father, Louis XI, named her as Charles's guardian, along with her husband, Peter of Bourbon, rather than entrusting Charles to his own mother, Charlotte of Savoy (see appendix 4).¹⁷⁶ Anne also acted as regent and, although she lacked the title, ruled France by proxy until Charles turned twenty-one.¹⁷⁷

In 1491, after Charles became King, Anne of France gave birth to her daughter Suzanne. Anne's experience as a girl in her mother's court at Amboise and as Charles's teacher had fully prepared her to take on the education of her daughter. Sometime after 1497, she wrote *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, which she used as a teaching tool for Suzanne.¹⁷⁸ In this manuscript, Anne suggested appropriate texts for her to read, and justified much of her advice by

quoting a variety of authors. Some of the texts she recommended are also tutorial in nature, such as *Les Enseignements de saint Louis à son fils*, written by Louis IX, King of France (1215-1270), and *The Book of Virtues and Vices*, a book of religious instruction written for Louis's son, Philip III, King of France (1245-1285), by Brother Laurent, who was a Dominican friar.¹⁷⁹

Anne's book was a rarity in the late medieval period, because a woman was its author, but it did have a precedent. Nearly one hundred years earlier, Christine de Pizan had written a short book of proverbs dedicated to her son, Jean de Castel, in which she prescribed the proper behavior for a good Christian. This book, *Les Proverbes moraux*, was constructed in a similar manner to Anne's lessons and listed bits of common sense and Christian virtues.¹⁸⁰ For example, Christine wrote, "Happy is he that can dispose his life justly in truth without ennui or strife."¹⁸¹ Some of her proverbs are more specific and apply to the nobility. For young princes she warns, "A prince's court without a governor is unable to maintain its honor."¹⁸²

Anne's library contained three texts by Christine de Pizan, whose views on appropriate behavior she must therefore have known.¹⁸³ Anne's own upbringing and her ideas on education equipped her with the ability to teach children lessons important to any aristocratic Christian. She was called upon to do just that when in 1482, her niece by marriage, the six-year-old Louise of Savoy, was sent to live with her (see appendix 4). Anne was already in charge of the education of her brother, Charles, and would have also taken over Louise's education.¹⁸⁴ Her *Enseignements* had yet to be written, but she probably instilled the principles of this text on her young charges.

Louise's early life in Anne's court and her method of education clearly shaped the way in which she educated her own children, specifically her son, Francis, who would become king of France. The way in which Francis rose to the throne was an unlikely one. Louis XII, the reigning

king of France, had no male heirs and Francis was his closest male relative (see appendix 2). Louis's wife, Anne of Brittany, would give birth to two daughters, thus sealing Francis's fate, much to Louise's delight. When Francis was eleven, Louis XII declared him to be the next in line to the throne as long as he married Claude of France, Louis's daughter. He also stipulated that if Francis was younger than fourteen at the time of the king's death, Anne of Brittany and Louise of Savoy would share the regency of the kingdom until Francis was old enough to rule.¹⁸⁵

The role of guardian was not new to Louise. After her husband, Charles of Angoulême, died in 1496, she was appointed as tutor to their children.¹⁸⁶ Louise shared this appointment with Louis d'Orléans, the future Louis XII, until Francis was fifteen when he moved to the court to be educated.¹⁸⁷ The reason for the shared responsibility stemmed from local law, which specified that minors could not take full control of the education of children.¹⁸⁸ Because Louise was only nineteen, her son's future father-in-law, Louis XII, shared in the upbringing of Francis and Margaret (see appendix 5). Once Louise's role as regent to Francis was reinstated in 1505, the appointment was celebrated in a manuscript that was presented to Louise.¹⁸⁹ In this work, *Le Compas du Dauphin*, the appropriate method of educating a future king was described for Louise.¹⁹⁰

Louise was not the only young girl educated in the court of Anne of France. As mentioned in chapter 1, Margaret of Austria came to the court of Charlotte of Savoy and Louis XI at Amboise on June 22, 1483, at the age of three. Anne of France presided over Margaret's early education. Jeanne de Courraudon later became her tutor and presumably utilized the books in Anne's library.¹⁹¹ Margaret's education may have influenced her further interest in books. Before she left Amboise in 1493, she would have had access to over one hundred manuscripts.¹⁹²

The educational traditions of the court at Amboise continued when Charles VIII, King of France and brother of Anne of France, married Anne of Brittany in 1492 (see appendix 4). Anne was fifteen at the time and moved to the court. Her marriage to Charles only lasted until 1498, when he died without an heir. In those years at Amboise, Anne of Brittany must have had access to Anne of France's library. This experience probably guided her when she became a patron herself. As discussed previously in this chapter, Anne of Brittany commissioned two manuscripts for her children, both of which were primers. Her observations of Anne of France and her little "school" at Amboise probably inspired her own desires to educate her children.

The court at Amboise was a hub for the education of a number of aristocratic children, including girls who would go on to be tutors of their own offspring. Anne of France presided over their education, thereby expanding her role as an educator beyond the instruction of just her daughter. The education of several children by one woman has precedence in the life of St. Anne and can be traced to textual sources. According to St. Jerome, Jesus had several brothers who were the sons of Mary's sisters.¹⁹³ This conclusion came from the use of the word brother in the Bible in a description of Jesus's close male relatives. Because Mary was believed to have remained a virgin after the birth of Christ, the existence of Jesus's brothers was problematic for the early Doctors of the Church.¹⁹⁴ In order to justify the Biblical reference, Jerome argued that the Jews used the term brother to indicate affection for another human being rather than a kinship.¹⁹⁵ The brothers of Christ, according to the genealogy, were actually cousins: the children of Mary's sisters from her mother's two other marriages.¹⁹⁶ This complex family tree began after Joachim's death, when St. Anne married Cleophas and bore another daughter named Mary. This Mary in turn bore the apostles, James the Less, Simon and Jude.¹⁹⁷ After Cleophas

died, St. Anne married Salome and bore another daughter named Mary, who gave birth to two more of the apostles: James the Greater and John the Evangelist.¹⁹⁸

St. Anne presumably educated her two daughters by her second and third husbands in the same way she had educated the Virgin Mary. There are visual references to St. Anne teaching a group of girls in two manuscripts in this study, both of which were connected to Anne of Brittany. The earliest of those occurs in the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* (New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 50), the manuscript she probably used to educate her son Charles-Orland during his brief life.¹⁹⁹ An elderly St. Anne appears on folio 13, seated on a bench (fig. 116). The Virgin stands next to her, identified by her halo. St. Anne points to a passage in the text of an open book, which Mary studies. In the background, two additional female figures read from open books, perhaps following along with the lesson initiated by St. Anne. These girls probably represent the Virgin's two half-sisters.

This image may well have acted as a model for Anne of Brittany. According to Roger Wieck, Anne of Brittany was the first French queen to establish a court of ladies.²⁰⁰ Their education was of great importance to Anne, who required that they have a strong religious background and learn French, Latin, diplomacy, and writing. She also established the *Ordre de la Cordelière* for the education of pious women.²⁰¹ At the time the manuscript was made, Charles-Orland was her only child, so the two Mary's in this miniature could not have represented her daughters Claude and Renée. Perhaps the inclusion of these two other Mary's reflected her court of ladies and their educational pursuits. The way in which St. Anne is depicted in the miniature reinforces this argument, for two reasons. First, she holds a stylus in her right hand, and uses it to point to the text. Her commanding presence in the miniature would have aided Anne of Brittany in her own role as educator. Secondly, St. Anne's mouth appears to be open, suggesting that she

is reiterating verbally whatever she is reading in the manuscript. Because most texts in primers and books of hours were in Latin, St. Anne's verbalization may indicate that she is speaking the Latin prayers to her students. They in turn may have been required to repeat her words, which would enable them to memorize the Latin texts. This detail in the miniature may also echo the type of education provided in Anne of Brittany's court of ladies, who were required to learn Latin.

An image of St. Anne teaching the three Marys also appears in a later manuscript commissioned by Anne of Brittany, the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Jean Bourdichon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9474, ca. 1508), accompanying a suffrage to St. Anne on folio 197v.²⁰² In this example, St. Anne is a stern-looking older woman, who shows an open book to the Virgin (fig. 117). The book is turned so that Mary can read the text, on which she appears to be focusing. Two women, probably Mary's sisters, stand in the background and hold books of their own. St. Anne is less engaged in the lesson than in the first example. She seems to be watching the manner in which the Virgin prays rather than instructing her in her reading.

This miniature differs considerably from the image in the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* and may allude to the changes that occurred in Anne of Brittany's life. When the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* was finished in 1508, Anne had been married to Louis XII, the successor of her first husband, Charles VIII, for ten years. Her son had been dead for thirteen years and she was the mother of a nine-year old daughter, Claude. Perhaps Anne included this image of St. Anne teaching the Virgin as a model of her own dedication to the education of her daughter.

On folio 222v., preceding the *O intemerata* in the *Grandes Heures of Anne de Bretagne*, another miniature reiterates Anne of Brittany's desire to educate her daughter and to provide

models from which she could mold her behavior (fig. 118).²⁰³ In this image, Mary is seated with her hands in prayer. She gazes at her son who flips through a book resting on her lap. He points to a specific text and looks at his mother. Mary responds by assuming a prayer pose, perhaps to demonstrate appropriate devotional behavior for her son. Joseph is also present in this miniature, but assumes a passive role in the background. The image is similar in composition to those that depict St. Anne teaching the Virgin. In this case, the role of teacher has been given to the Virgin, who now has her own child to raise.

Miniatures of this type, which show Mary teaching Jesus, are the final link in a chain that establishes matriarchal educational responsibilities. In the earlier miniature, on folio 197v. of the *Grandes Heures of Anne de Bretagne*, St. Anne perhaps acted as a model for Anne of Brittany (fig. 117). In the later miniature on folio 222v., the responsibility of raising and educating children was passed to the next generation, which is represented by Mary (fig. 118). Perhaps this model was intended for Claude of France, who may have recognized herself in the image of the Virgin. Even though Claude was only nine at the time the manuscript was completed, she had already been engaged to Francis of Angoulême, the future king of France, for two years. Anne of Brittany would have prepared her daughter for her life as queen and mother, perhaps using this miniature as a model to which Claude could look for inspiration.

The generational transference of educational traditions is exemplified most overtly in a miniature from the *Bedford Hours* (Bedford Master, London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18850, ca. 1423; fig. 50).²⁰⁴ The main illumination on folio 257v. depicts St. Anne enthroned holding a book in her left hand. The Virgin is to her left, depicted as a young girl. She gently holds the pages of the book with her right hand. Her left hand is draped over the shoulder of her son, who stands to her left and holds an orb. His head is turned to the left and he gazes at the

kneeling figure of Anne of Burgundy. Joseph is in the background in a passive position in the composition, half-hidden behind a chair. The marginal illuminations depict St. Anne's three husbands, her two other daughters and their husbands.

Janet Backhouse notes the importance of family ties to Anne and her husband John in this miniature, primarily as evidence of the union between Burgundy and Bedford.²⁰⁵ This miniature may also allude to Anne of Burgundy's place within the matriarchal hierarchy established by St. Anne and the Virgin. In this scene, St. Anne is the apex of a triangle that slopes from her to the Virgin and Christ Child and finally to Anne of Burgundy. St. Anne and the Virgin are engaged in a lesson, but the Christ Child turns to Anne of Burgundy and thereby bridges the space occupied by the holy family and that of Anne of Burgundy. He offers a blessing to the Duchess, who gazes upon the image of St. Anne, who in turn acts as a model for Anne of Burgundy's role as teacher of her children.

III. Conclusion

These examples demonstrate that St. Anne and the Virgin were often depicted as learned women who were capable teachers. This imagery derived from available textual sources, educational ideas of influential writers, and the current educational practices of the nobility. Literacy was important for women for a number of reasons, both oppressive and liberating. From the standpoint of a nobleman, it was important for a wife to be literate so she could read her book of hours and thereby maintain her piety. Other, more personal reasons may also have influenced a woman's desire to read. Among these, perhaps the most important was the ability to educate her own children. This, of course, was another responsibility placed on her because of her sex and status, but it may have appealed to her desire to be a good mother. Perhaps a less obvious result of literacy among women was the sense of empowerment that it brought. As Pamela

Sheingorn has noted, this empowerment is justified through images of St. Anne teaching the Virgin.²⁰⁶ The Virgin and St. Anne were depicted as literate women who transferred their knowledge to their children. Among the messages that an image of these figures conveyed was the notion that with knowledge comes power. This idea was especially important to the mothers of future kings and queens. When they viewed images of St. Anne teaching the Virgin, they also saw a mother teaching a future queen, since Mary is Queen of Heaven. Moreover, when noblewoman observed images of the Virgin teaching the Christ Child, they could also interpret the image as a mother teaching a future king. St. Anne and the Virgin therefore justified the educational roles of noblewomen, enabling them to transfer their own educational traditions and practices to their children and thereby perpetuating and strengthening the authority of women in the court.

¹ For this manuscript, see Chazand, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*; De Laborde, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Pétersbourg*, vol. II, 142-144. For an English translation, see Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*. According to *ibid.*, xi, note 17, the location of the manuscript is unknown. For a previous discussion of this manuscript, see section VII in chapter 1.

² Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, 31.

³ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴ For the education of children in the Middle Ages, see, for example, Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 58-77; Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage, 1962), 137-329; Sara Lehrman, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," in *The Roles and Images of Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Douglas Radcliff-Umstead (Pittsburgh: The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and The University of Pittsburgh, 1975), 133-144; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (London: Methuen, 1984); Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 209-287; and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁵ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 220.

⁶ See St. Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. Jérôme Labout, 8 vols. (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1949-1963); Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*; Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938); Christine de Pizan, see *Le Trésor de la cité des dames*.

⁷ Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, 145.

⁸ Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," 108.

⁹ Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Introduction," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 21.

¹⁰ For St. Anne as teacher of the Virgin and her function in the late Middle Ages, see, for example, Lehrman, "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages," 133-144; Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*; Pamela Sheingorn, "Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: St. Anne in Late Medieval Society*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and

Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 169-198; Wendy Scase "St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications," in *England in the Fourteenth Century Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993), 81-96; Sheingorn, " 'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," 69-80; Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); and Wieck, "The Primer of Claude de France and the Education of the Renaissance Child," 267-277.

¹¹ Guibert was abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy and wrote an autobiography in the style of St. Augustine's *Confessions*, in which he described his life within the historical context of the period. For an English translation, see Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiography*, trans. C.C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1925); and John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France; the Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

¹² Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiography*, 17.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Rosemary Barton Tobin, *Vincent of Beauvais' "De eruditione filiorum nobilium": The Education of Women* (New York: Peter Land, 1984), 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ F. A. Wright, trans., *Select Letters of St. Jerome* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 344-347.

¹⁷ Orme, *Medieval Children*, 246.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 257. They were called hornbooks because the wooden panel was often covered with a thin sheet of animal horn for protection. See also Patricia Demers, *From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 254. See also H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 140. Odo of Cheriton was a preacher who used analogies and parables in his sermons to emphasize a point. For Odo of Cheriton, see John Herbert, "Odo of Cheriton," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XI, eds. Charles Herbermann, Edward Pace, Condé Pallen, et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1911), 212.

²⁰ Spencer, *English Preaching in the Middle Ages*, 140.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 141-142.

²² Valet de Virille, "La Bibliothèque d'Isabeau de Baviere," 668-669.

²³ Ibid., 685-686.

²⁴ For this manuscript, see note 113 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see sections X and XI in chapter 1.

²⁵ Although Harthan, *The Book of Hours*, 136-137, identifies the kneeling figure on folio 1v. as Claude of France, Wieck, “The Primer of Claude of France and the Education of the Renaissance Child,” 269, has identified her as Anne of Brittany in light of the fact that her coat of arms and motto appear in the border. I believe this folio functions as a dedication page, on which Anne of Brittany offers the primer that she commissioned for her daughter, and which appears closed in front of her, to St. Claude. This argument is strengthened by the miniature on the last folio of the manuscript, which depicts Claude of France kneeling at a *prie-dieu* with an open book (fig. 93). Here, St. Claude presents her to the Virgin and St. Anne. This figure is dressed differently than the one on folio 1v., and she kneels in front of an open book, perhaps acting as a surrogate model for Claude. St. Anne also holds an open book, which may refer to her role as teacher of the Virgin. Moreover, the letter A appears on the cloth covering the *prie-dieu* on folio 1v., perhaps referring to Anne of Brittany. On the last folio, the letter C is incorporated into the cloth over the *prie-dieu*, perhaps referring to Claude.

²⁶ For a discussion of the instruments of the Passion used as mnemonic devices in complex prayers, see Kathryn Rudy, “An Illustrated Mid-Fifteenth-Century Primer for a Flemish Girl: British Library, Harley MS 3828,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 69 (2006): 76-85.

²⁷ Frederick Furnivall, ed., *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1866), 271-278.

²⁸ Ibid., 271. “Quan a child to scole xal set be, A bok hym is bowt, Naylyd on a brede of tre, that men callyt an abece...” Trans. Furnivall.

²⁹ Ibid., 271. “Loke in hys body, mayde & wife, Qwon hee gun naylys dryue, In fot & in honde.” Trans. Furnivall.

³⁰ Ibid., 272. “A madful mone may men make...” Trans. Furnivall.

³¹ Ibid. “Bondyn he was for our bounte...” Trans. Furnivall.

³² Using letters as mnemonic devices in primers was common in Europe as well as England. Rudy discusses an example of didactic poetry written in Dutch from a manuscript in Brussels (Bibliothèque royale, MS IV 421). See Rudy “An Illustrated Mid-Fifteenth-Century Primer for a Flemish Girl: British Library, Harley MS 3828,” 74.

³³ Orme, *Medieval Children*, 251. Roger Wieck, “Special Children’s Books of Hours in the Walters Art Museum,” in *Als Ich Can”: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, in (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, vol. 12, Low Countries series 9), ed.

Bert Cardon et al. (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 1632-1633, has suggested that the cross prompted the child to make the sign of the cross and recite, “In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.”

³⁴ Orme, *Medieval Children*, 251.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 53; and Orme, *Medieval Children*, 247. For the history of the *Pater Noster*, see Frederic Henry Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1891]).

³⁷ Rudy, “An Illustrated Mid-Fifteenth-Century Primer for a Flemish Girl: British Library, Harley MS 3828,” 70.

³⁸ For Erasmus, see *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 vols. Richard J. Schoeck and Beatrice Corrigan, et al., eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974-2005). For his views on education, see, “De Pueris Instituendis” and “De Recta Pronuntiatione,” in *ibid.*, vol. 26; William Harrison Woodard, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964); Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Lester Born (New York: Octagon Books, 1965); William Harrison Woodard, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance: 1400-1600* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), 104-126; and Kenneth Gangel and Warren Benson, *Christian Education: Its History and Philosophy* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), 127-130.

³⁹ Wright, *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, 365.

⁴⁰ Woodard, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, 90; and Woodard, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance: 1400-1600*, 118.

⁴¹ Ibid., 120.

⁴² Herbert Thurston, *Familiar Prayers: Their Origin and History* (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1953), 28.

⁴³ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁴ The end of the *Pater Noster* appears on folios 2v.-3 of the *Primer of Claude of France*.

⁴⁵ For a previous discussion of this manuscript, see section X in chapter 1.

⁴⁶ Wieck, “The Primer of Claude of France and the Education of the Renaissance Child,” 267.

⁴⁷ “Pater noster qui es in c[on]j[un]ctis. Sanctificetur nomen tuum etc...” Transcribed from folio 1.

⁴⁸ Wieck, *The Prayer Book of Anne of Bretagne*, 51.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁵⁰ Wieck, “The Primer of Claude of France and the Education of the Renaissance Child,” 269.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ See *ibid.*, 268, for the suggestion that Claude was probably six years old when she received the manuscript.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion of the images in the *Primer of Claude of France*, see *ibid.*, 269-270.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 268.

⁵⁷ Wieck, *The Prayer Book of Anne of Bretagne*, 23.

⁵⁸ “Ave maria gratia plena Dominus tecum benedicta tu etc.”

⁵⁹ For the *Mérode Triptych*, see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. II, no. 54; Ainsworth and Christiansen, eds., *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, 89-96, no. 2; and most recently, Jochen Sander, “The Master of Flémalle: Mérode Triptych,” in *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden*, exh. cat., eds. Stephen Kemperdick and Jochen Sander (Frankfurt am Main: Städel Museum; Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 2009), 192-201, #4.

⁶⁰ For the history of the *Ave Maria*, see section III.C in chapter 3.

⁶¹ For this manuscript, see note 114 in chapter 1.

⁶² Wieck, “The Primer of Claude of France and the Education of the Renaissance Child,” 270.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁶⁴ For a comparison of the contents of the *Primer of Claude of France*, the *Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne* and *Les Petites prières de Renée de France*, see *ibid.*, 271.

⁶⁵ For this manuscript, see note 111 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XI in chapter 1, and section II.F in chapter 3.

⁶⁶ For the *Credo*, see Liuwe Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History and Some Early Commentaries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

⁶⁷ Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 90.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ “Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem coeli et terre.” See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 64.

⁷⁰ “Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti.” (All the faithful of either sex, after they have reached the age of discernment, should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year). Latin and English translation from Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Nicaea I to Lateran V*, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 245. For the Fourth Lateran Council, see *ibid.*, 227-271; and Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 959.

⁷¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 54.

⁷² These vignettes come from the Apocryphal text, *The Books of Adam and Eve*; see R.H. Charles et al., eds., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. II (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978), 143-145.

⁷³ For the *Books of Adam and Eve*, see *ibid.*, 123-154; and Marcel Nagel, “La Vie Grecque d’Adam et d’Eve: Apocalypse de Moïse,” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Lille, 1974).

⁷⁴ For this manuscript, see note 158 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XV in chapter I, section II.A.3 in chapter 2, and section I.A.3 in chapter 3.

⁷⁵ See section II.A.3 in chapter 2.

⁷⁶ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance, The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, 385.

⁷⁷ Wieck, “Special Children’s Books of Hours in the Walters Art Museum,” 1629-1639.

⁷⁸ See section II in chapter 2.

⁷⁹ Wieck, “Special Children’s Books of Hours in the Walters Art Museum,” 1639.

⁸⁰ For this manuscript, see note 174 in chapter 2. For previous discussions of it, see section II.C.1 in chapter 2 and sections I.A.7 and III.B in chapter 3.

⁸¹ Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Maison de Savoie*, 31.

⁸² Her father, Amadeus VIII, was a known bibliophile, who commissioned a book of hours and a book of prayers for his children from a Parisian scribe and bookbinder named Cardino; see Edmunds, “The Medieval Library of Savoy,” 321.

⁸³ Elizabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan* (Florence; Paris: Chez L. S. Olschki; Librairie F. de Nobele, 1969), 36.

⁸⁴ See Leroquais, *Les Livres d’heures*, vol. I., 28. For this manuscript, see note 84 in chapter 1. Louis of Laval served under Louis XI, King of France, as “the grand master of the lakes and forests of France” and as a knight of the order of Saint Michael.

⁸⁵ Schaefer, “Nouvelles observations au sujet des Heures de Louis de Laval,” 34.

⁸⁶ Leroquais, *Les Livres d’heures*, vol. I, 28; and Schaefer, “Nouvelles observations au sujet des Heures de Louis de Laval,” 46.

⁸⁷ Schaefer, “Nouvelles observations au sujet des Heures de Louis de Laval,” 44.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 57-64.

⁸⁹ For this manuscript, see note 1 in this chapter. For a previous discussion of it, see the introduction to this chapter.

⁹⁰ Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, viii-x.

⁹¹ Freeman, “Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism,” 82

⁹² For the *Confiteor*, see Thurston, *Familiar Prayers*, 73-89.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹⁵ “Doce me domine viam in qua ambulem, ego enim sum paruuta ignorans progressum meum. Da michi...” “Teach me O Lord which way to walk, I am too little and ignorant of my way. Give me...” My translation; see fig. 105.

⁹⁶ Wieck, *The Prayerbook of Anne of Bretagne*, 52, identifies the figure as Charles-Orland. He appears older than three (the age Charles-Orland died), suggesting that the image may have been placed in the manuscript in anticipation of his physical and spiritual growth.

“Give me O Lord Holy Wisdom that sitteth by Thy Throne and reject me not. [Da michi Domine sedi[um] tuarium assistriem sapientiam et noli noli me repro[bare].]” My translation; see fig. 106.

⁹⁷ Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Lester Born, 200.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Rosemary Barton Tobin, “Vincent of Beauvais on the Education of Women,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1974): 487. Beauvais was a consummate scholar, who was well versed in the writings of important religious figures. He is best known for his *Speculum Maius*. For Vincent of Beauvais, see Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1711. For his views on the education of women, see Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*.

¹⁰⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Le Trésor de la cite des dames*, 21. For Christine de Pizan’s views on education, see Astrik Gabriel, “The Educational Ideas of Christine de Pisan,” *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 16, no. 1 (Jan., 1955): 3-21; Susan Groag Bell, “Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): 173-184; and Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan, Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books, 1984), 173-193

¹⁰¹ Erasmus “De Pueris Instituendis,” in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 26, 314.

¹⁰² For a previous discussion of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, see section II.2 in chapter 2.

¹⁰³ Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, 28. Henry Suso was an influential Dominican brother whose works were widely read in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, 233-278; Werner Williams-Krapp, “Henry Suso’s *Vita* between Mystagogy and Hagiography,” in *Seeing and Knowing: Women and Learning in Medieval Europe 1200-1550*, ed. Anneke Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 35-47; and Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 759-760.

¹⁰⁴ Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 437.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of the knotted rope used as a device in Anne of Brittany’s manuscripts see section II.F in chapter 3.

¹⁰⁶ For this manuscript, see Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, A Newly Defined Miniaturist*; and Kraus, *In Retrospective: A Catalogue of One Hundred Outstanding Manuscripts Sold in the Last Four Decades by H.P. Kraus*, 232-233.

¹⁰⁷ For this manuscript, see Mâle, *Les Heures d’Anne de Bretagne; Bibliothèque nationale (manuscrit latin 9474)*; and Leroquais, *Les Livres d’heures*, vol. I, 298-305.

¹⁰⁸ For this manuscript, see note 158 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section XV in chapter 1, section II.A.3 in chapter 2, and I.A. 3 in chapter 3.

¹⁰⁹ Jean Gerson, “Breve manière de confession pour les jeunes,” sermon #333 in *Jean Gerson, Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VII, 408-409.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 409

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 23. Eiximenis was a Franciscan subdeacon, who was born in Gerona. His early studies were at the Franciscan school in Barcelona and he received his higher education at the University of Toulouse. He wrote the *Llibre de les dones* for the countess of Prades, in 1396. See Xavier Renedo and David Guixeras, *Francesc Eiximenis an Anthology*, trans. Robert Hughes (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 19-21. For Eiximenis’s ideas on education, see *ibid.*, 67-165.

¹¹⁴ In the *Llibre de les dones*, Eiximenis advocates the use of fear in order to prevent wickedness in women. See Renado and Guixeras, *Francesc Eiximenis an Anthology*, 100-102.

¹¹⁵ Gerson, “Breve manière de confession pour les jeunes,” sermon #333 in *Jean Gerson, Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VII, 408-409.

¹¹⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *De Pueris Statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis Libellus*, trans. Peirre Saliat (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1990), 37; and Woodard, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, 182-183.

¹¹⁷ Juan Luis Vives was a Spanish humanist, who moved to Bruges when he was young. He wrote on a variety of topics including education and piety. See Woodard, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600*, 180-210.

¹¹⁸ Erasmus, *The Education of Christian Prince*, 142, stresses that the tutor must be a male with, “good character, unquestioned principles, serious, of long experience and not merely learned in theories. To whom advancing years provide deep respect; purity of life, prestige; sociability and an affable manner, love and friendship.”

¹¹⁹ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 46-47.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 49.

¹²¹ Ibid., 48.

¹²² For an English translation of the *Protevangelium of St. James*, see *ibid.*, 57-67; and Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), 374-388.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 388; and Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 66.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ For these frescoes, see, for example, James Stubblebine, *Giotto: The Arena Chapel Frescoes* (New York: Norton, 1969); Bruce Cole, *Giotto: The Scrovegni Chapel, Padua* (New York: George Braziller, 1993); and Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

¹²⁷ Hennecke and Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 376.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 378.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 379-380.

¹³⁰ Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," 106.

¹³¹ For a concise history of *Annunciation* iconography, see David Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *The Art Bulletin* 18 (1936): 480-485.

¹³² Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 86.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 88; and Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. I, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1971), 42.

¹³⁵ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 89; see also Réau, *Iconographie de l'art de Chrétien*, vol. II/II, 168-169.

¹³⁶ For this manuscript, see note 74 in chapter 1. For a previous discussion of it, see section VII in chapter 1 and section II.A in chapter 3.

¹³⁷ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, 131.

¹³⁸ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 60.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁴⁰ For this manuscript, see note 54 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section V in chapter 1, section II.A.1 in chapter 2 and sections I.A.4 and II.B in chapter 3.

¹⁴¹ Other manuscripts illuminated by the Bedford Master or his workshop contain images of the Virgin both reading and weaving in depictions of the *Annunciation*: Book of Hours. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, LA 237, f. 25v.; *The Sobieski Hours*. Windsor, The Royal Library at Windsor Castle, no shelfmark, f. 24; and Book of Hours. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1855, f. 25v.; see König, *The Bedford Hours*, 40-48.

¹⁴² For the development of the cult of St. Anne, see Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction," 6-68.

¹⁴³ St. Albertus Magnus was a German Dominican monk, who wrote obsessively on the life and devotion of the Virgin Mary. As a result of his Marian sermons, she was firmly established within Christian doctrine. See Thomas Schwertner, *St. Albert the Great* (New York: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1932) and Robert Buschmiller, "The Maternity of Mary in the Mariology of St. Albert the Great," Ph.D. diss. University of Fribourg, 1959. For the history of Mary, see, for example, Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, vol. I (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 274-278; and Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976).

¹⁴⁴ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 153.

¹⁴⁵ Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," 480.

¹⁴⁶ For this manuscript, see Mugnier, *Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la maison de Savoie*, 79-102; and Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures*, vol. I, 293-298.

¹⁴⁷ Hennecke and Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 378.

¹⁴⁸ Driver, "Mirrors of a Collective Past: Re-considering Images of Medieval Women," 86.

¹⁴⁹ "And when the days of the Pentecost were accomplished, they were all together in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a mighty wind coming: and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues, as it were of fire: and it sat upon every one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost: and they began to speak with diverse tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak."

¹⁵⁰ “All these were persevering with one mind in prayer, with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.”

¹⁵¹ For this manuscript, see note 1 in the Introduction. For previous discussions of it, see section I in the Introduction, sections II.A.2 and III.A in chapter 2 and sections I.A.6, I.B.2, II.D and III.C in chapter 3.

¹⁵² For this manuscript, see note 157 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section XV in chapter 1 and section II.C in chapter 3.

¹⁵³ Sheingorn, “‘The Wise Mother’: The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary,” 108.

¹⁵⁴ Scase, “St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications,” 88-89.

¹⁵⁵ For Epiphanius, see Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, vol. I, 182-183.

¹⁵⁶ Scase, “St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,” 88.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 104. See also Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1332.

¹⁶⁰ Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 72.

¹⁶¹ Ashley and Sheingorn, “Introduction,” 18.

¹⁶² Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (Mineola, New York: Dover, [1913] 2000), 319.

¹⁶³ Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. III/I, 92.

¹⁶⁴ The uprising in Ghent in 1453 was one of the final battles of the Hundred Years War. The citizens of Ghent fought for four years to acquire self-government. They were eventually defeated by Philip the Good. The population was greatly depleted and the city government of Ghent encouraged widows to remarry and begin repopulating the city. For the Hundred Years War, see Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), especially chapters VIII and IX for the end of the war; and Alfred Burne, *The Agincourt War: A Military History of the Latter Part of the Hundred Years War from 1369 to 1453* (Fairlawn, New Jersey: Essential Books, 1956).

¹⁶⁵ Rudy, “Women’s Devotions at Court,” 232. For the cult of St. Anne and its spread through Europe, see Nixon, *Mary’s Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*.

¹⁶⁶ Ashley and Sheingorn, “Introduction,” 21.

¹⁶⁷ For St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read, see Bell, “Medieval Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,” 760-763; Scase, “St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications,” 81-96; and Sheingorn, “‘The Wise Mother’: The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary,” 105-134.

¹⁶⁸ For this manuscript, see note 60 in chapter 1. For further discussions of it, see section VI in chapter 1, and section I.D in chapter 2

¹⁶⁹ Marcel Thomas in *The Rohan Master*, Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, commentary to plate 114.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ For this manuscript, see note 86 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section IX in chapter 1, section I.C in chapter 2 and section I.B.4 in chapter 3.

¹⁷² For this manuscript, see note 111 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section XI in chapter 1 and section I in this chapter.

¹⁷³ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, 99, identifies this image as the *Annunciation to St. Anne* rather than the *Annunciation to the Virgin*. This distinction is substantiated by the fact that the text is a suffrage to St. Anne. In addition, the woman in the Annunciation image appears to be elderly, which adheres to the narrative of Mary’s conception from the *Protevangelium of St. James*, in which Anne asks God to give her a child, “just as you blessed the womb of Sarah and gave her a son, Isaac.” Sarah was also elderly at the time of Isaac’s conception. See Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 58.

¹⁷⁴ For Anne of France as a tutor to aristocratic girls, see section I in this chapter.

¹⁷⁵ Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie’s Library and Illuminators,” 47.

¹⁷⁶ Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, 4. Louis XI did not allow Charlotte of Savoy to participate in political issues because of her ill health. She was therefore not a candidate for regent for her son, Charles. Anne of France, whom Louis called “the least foolish member of her sex which contained no wise ones,” and her husband, Peter of Bourbon, were made regents. See John Bridge, *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI*, vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), 27-33.

¹⁷⁷ Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, 5.

¹⁷⁸ For this manuscript, see note 1 in this chapter. For further discussion of it, see section I in this chapter.

¹⁷⁹ Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*, 28.

¹⁸⁰ For the French text with an English translation, see Anthony Woodville Rivers, *Morale proverbes composed in French by Cristyne de Pisan* (London: Blades, East and Blades, [1478] 1859).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 24. “Cil est eureux qui dispose sa vie en simple estat iuste sans autre enuie,” *ibid.*, 25; trans. Rivers.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 18. “Court de seigneur sans prudent gouveneur ester ne peut maintenue en honneur,” *ibid.*, 19; trans. Rivers.

¹⁸³ Anne inherited at least three manuscripts by Christine de Pizan from her mother: *Le Livre de la cité des dames*, *Le Livre des trois vertus à l'enseignement des dames* and *L'Epistre d'Othea*, as well as a book of lessons by Geoffroy de la Tour titled *Enseignements à ses filles*. For Charlotte's library, see Legaré, “Charlotte of Savoie's Library and Illuminators,” 42.

¹⁸⁴ Freeman, “Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism,” 82.

¹⁸⁵ McCartney, “The King's Mother and Royal Prerogative in Early-Sixteenth-Century France,” 119.

¹⁸⁶ Winn, “Louise de Savoie, ‘Bibliophile,’” 229.

¹⁸⁷ Freeman, “Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism,” 85.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁸⁹ McCartney, “The King's Mother and Royal Prerogative in Early-Sixteenth-Century France,” 119.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Legaré, “La librairie de Madame,” 214. According to Max Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie* (Lille: L. Danel, 1927), 13, Jeanne de Courraudon was Lady of Segré and wife of Jacques d'Épinay, Lord of Segré. She was very close to Margaret, which aroused jealousies in the court. Margaret reciprocated the affection of her tutor and strove to squelch these suspicions.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁹³ St. Jerome, “On the Perpetual Virginitly of the Blessed Mary Against Helvidius,” in John Hritz, trans. *Saint Jerome: Dogmatic and Polemical Works* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965), 30.

¹⁹⁴ Sheingorn, “Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History,” 169.

¹⁹⁵ St. Jerome, “On the Perpetual Virginitly of the Blessed Mary Against Helvidius,” 34.

¹⁹⁶ For an explanation of these relationships, see De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 150; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 18-24; Sheingorn and Ashley, “Introduction,” 11-13; and Sheingorn, “Appropriating the Holy Kinship Gender and Family History,” 169.

¹⁹⁷ De Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. II, 150.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ For this manuscript, see note 99 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section X in chapter 1 and section I in this chapter.

²⁰⁰ Wieck, *The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne*, 24.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* Those admitted to the order were the most chaste of her ladies and were awarded a gold necklace made from the letters A and S in red and white enamel. The letter A stood for Anne of Brittany and the Letter S was a symbol used by Charles VIII. See section II.H in chapter 3 for an explanation of Charles’s use of the letter S.

²⁰² For this manuscript, see note 105 in chapter 1. For previous discussions of it, see section X in chapter 1 and section I.A.8 in chapter 3.

²⁰³ For an English translation of the *O intemerata*, see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 164.

²⁰⁴ For a previous discussion of this miniature in the *Bedford Hours*, see section I.A.4 in chapter 3.

²⁰⁵ Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, 37.

²⁰⁶ Sheingorn, “‘The Wise Mother’: The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary,” 134.

Conclusion

Sometime in the early 1440s, when Catherine of Cleves held her book of hours for the first time, she was unaware of the story her manuscript would tell hundreds of years later. As she looked at her portrait on page 1v., she saw a model for her own devotional practice and not a painted image worthy of art-historical research (fig. 1). Her coat of arms, and those of her ancestors on pages 1v. and 2, were visual reminders of her link to the past (fig. 80). Although the genealogical records in her book of hours end with her, these coats of arms remain as evidence of the importance of ancestral relationships, which focus on the patriarchal leaders of her family. Her roles as a mother and a duchess enabled her to add to this genealogical chain, thereby solidifying her place in the annals of the nobility of the late Middle Ages. The suffrages in the back of her book of hours reflect her devotional preferences and the religious beliefs that were popular during her lifetime.

Catherine's book of hours functioned as a private devotional manuscript but, who other than Catherine, would have been privy to the markers of identity it contained? She spent a great deal of time and money establishing her pedigree through the placement of coats of arms, which underscored the insignificance of her husband's genealogy. If she was the sole viewer of this heraldry, it would simply serve as self promotion to an audience of one. Instead, it appears that the coats of arms in Catherine's manuscript, as well as the other examples of her self-definition, were seen by a larger audience. These viewers were nobles from Catherine's circle, whom she would have interacted with as she traveled from one of her many residences to another. Early in her marriage to Arnold they travelled extensively both for business and pleasure.¹ Later in her marriage she made several visits to the Burgundian courts. In 1443, for example, she went to the court in Brussels,² and sometime before 1450, after her manuscript was completed, she visited

her uncle, Philip, Duke of Burgundy.³ During these sojourns she would have taken her book of hours with her to use for her devotions and to show to members of the court. The markers of self-definition discussed in this study therefore had a promotional function for Catherine as she asserted her identity to both friend and foe.

Catherine's itinerant life as a noblewoman is not unique. As discussed in chapter 2, Margaret of Austria also travelled extensively to join her husbands and also to visit her father in Germany.⁴ Yolande of Aragon travelled from her court at Loire to the château of John, Duke of Berry.⁵ These women, and most of the others in this study, took their manuscripts with them for the same reasons. Because of the inclusion of elements referring to their ideas of self, these manuscripts blurred the boundaries between the sacred and the profane. They contained the religious components necessary for appropriate devotions as well as elements that had little to do with piety. Study of these components offers a glimpse into the sacred and profane aspects of the life of a late medieval aristocrat. Catherine, like the other noblewomen in this study, was born into a system that strictly controlled the behavior, rites and roles of women. Through their manuscript commissions, however, these women were able to express some aspects of their lives that made them individuals in their own right.

These expressions of self-definition were important for women in the late Middle Ages, who were limited by their responsibilities as wives and mothers. When faced with situations where these standardized roles were challenged or redefined, women were able to alter their personae to fit the situation. In Catherine's case, she needed to distance herself from her role as wife. She did this through her choice of heraldic display. Other women were faced with different situations that required adjustments to their ideas of self. Mary of Burgundy, for example, had to promote herself in the guise of her male ancestors when she ruled as duchess of Burgundy.⁶ Both

women used an acceptable form of expression, their books of hours, to define their new identities. These vessels of self-definition were then shared with members of the court, who were thereby alerted to the owner's new ideas of self.

This dissertation has explored the visual and textual components of private devotional manuscripts produced for female members of the courts of Valois, by considering the religious, political and personal mores of their owners. For women in these courts, many of these issues were unique to their gender and time. The manuscripts in this study are therefore windows into the lives of the women from the Valois dynasty in the late Middle Ages.

¹ For Catherine's itinerary, see Thissen, "Catherine of Cleves (1417-1476), Duchess of Guelders and Countess of Zuphen. A Biographical Sketch," 108-109.

² Ibid., 111.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See section I.A. in chapter 2.

⁵ See section I.D. in chapter 2.

⁶ For Mary of Burgundy, see section XII in chapter 1, and sections I.A.9, and I.B.5 in chapter 3.

Appendix 2
Descendants of Charles V and Jeanne of Bourbon

Women in the Study

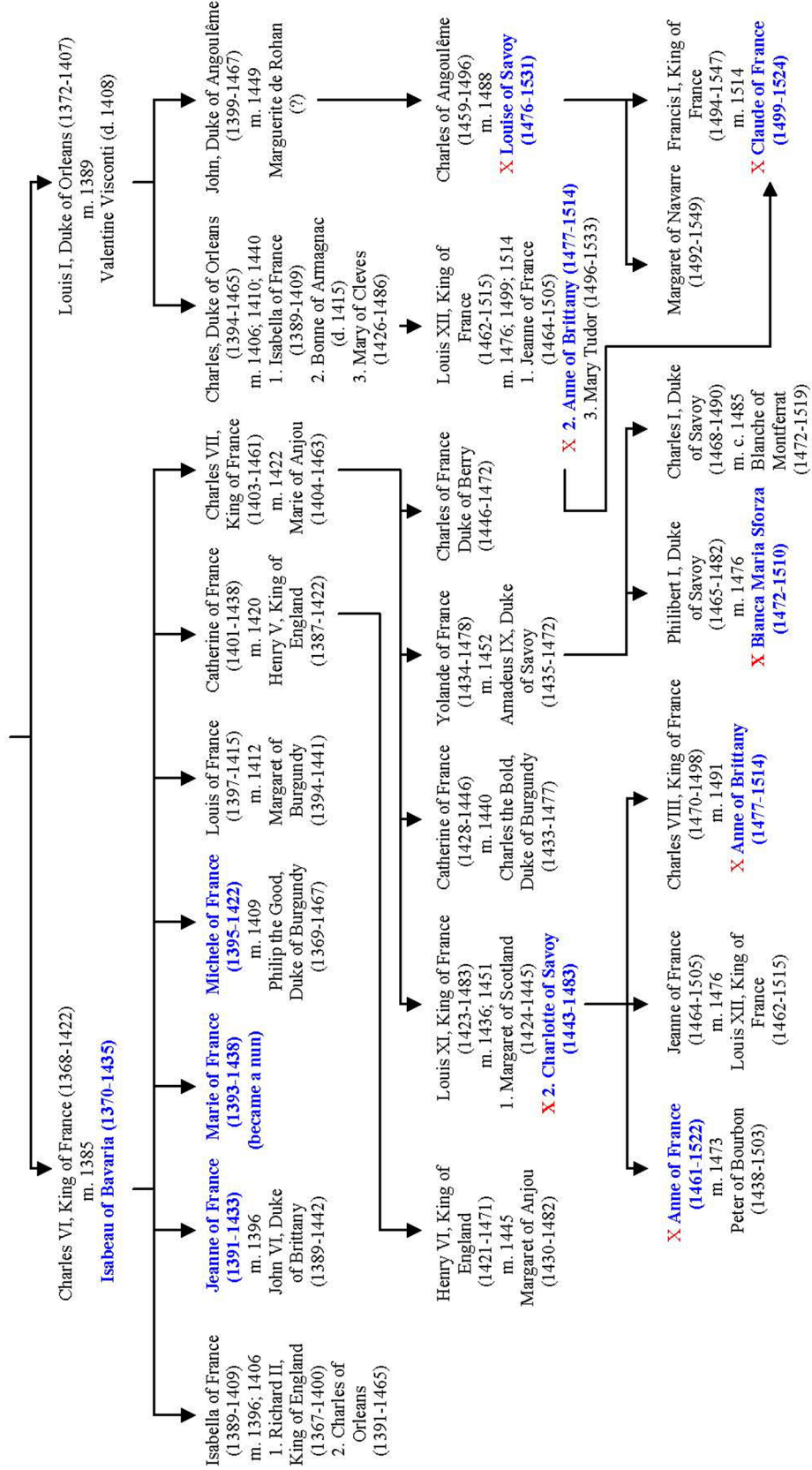
m – married

X – cross referenced women in the study

Charles V, King of France (1338-1380)

m. 1350

X **Jeanne of Bourbon (1338-1378)**

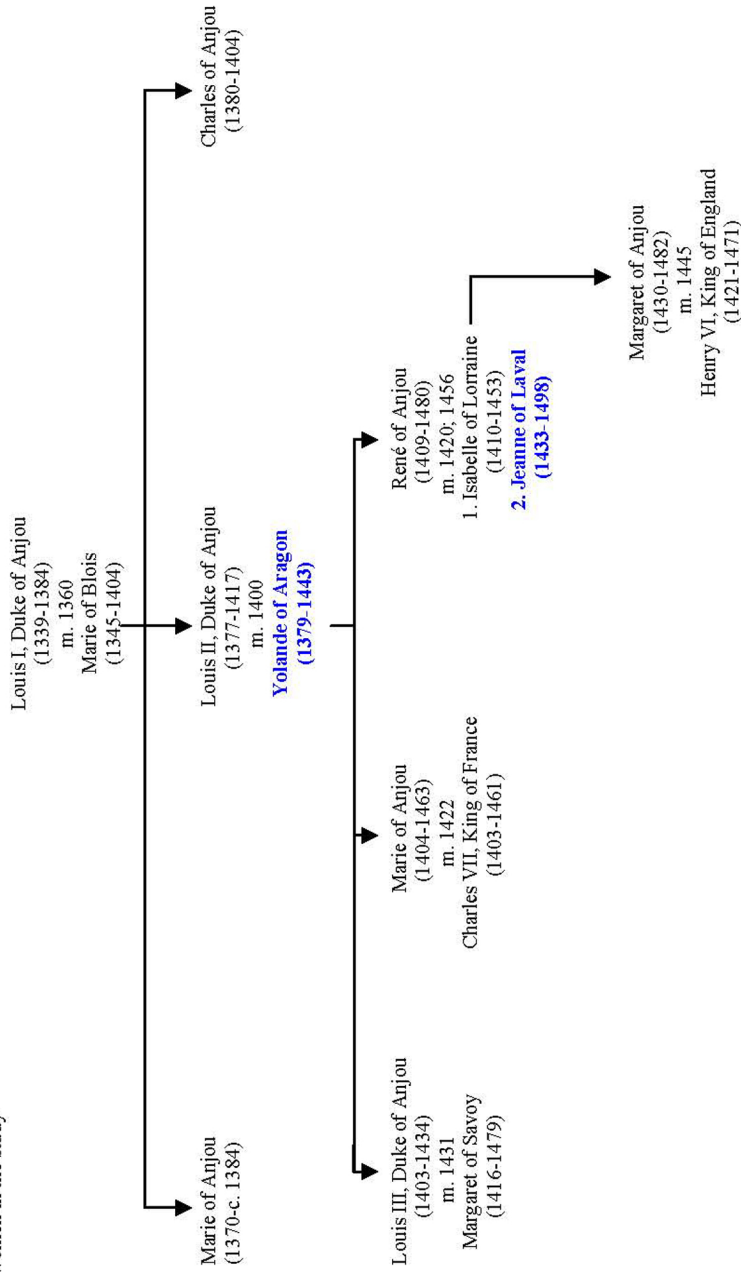


Women in the Study

m – married

X – cross referenced women in the study

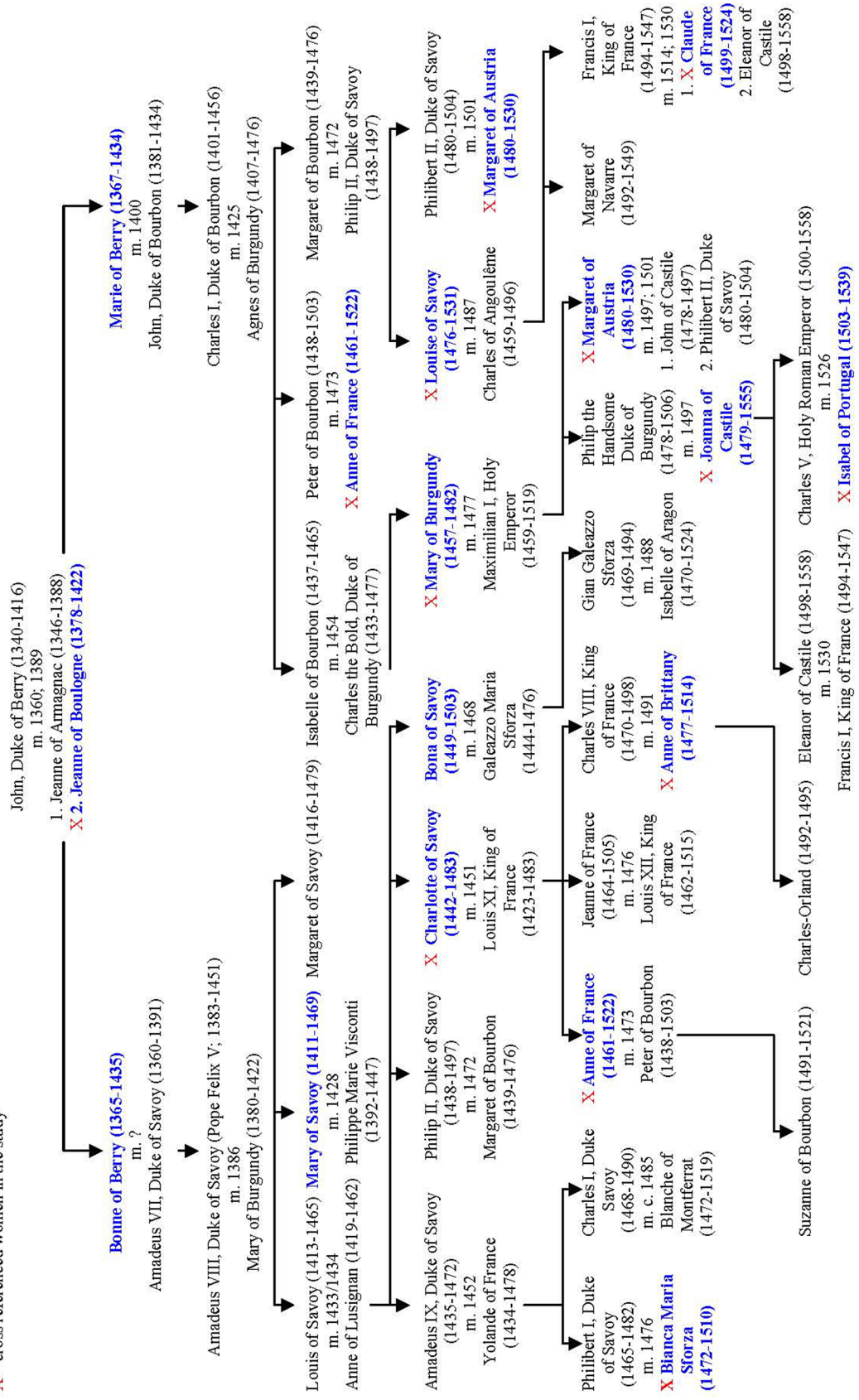
**Appendix 3
Descendants of Louis I, Duke of Anjou and Marie of Blois**



Women in the Study

m – married
 X – cross referenced women in the study

Appendix 4
Descendants of John, Duke of Berry and Jeanne of Armagnac



Women in the Study

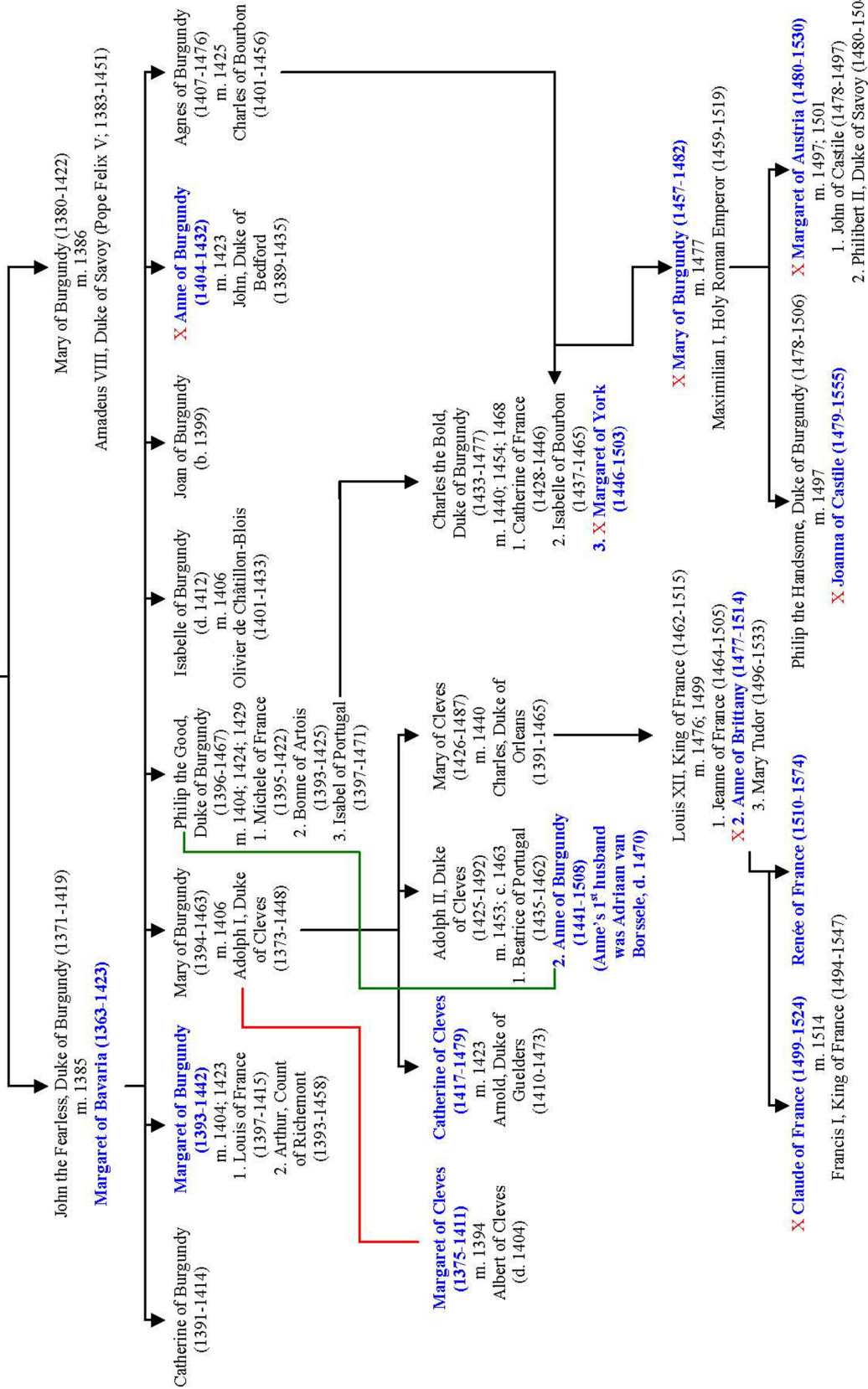
- m – married
- X – cross referenced women in the study
- illegitimate
- siblings

Appendix 5
Descendants of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders

Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1342-1404)

m. 1369

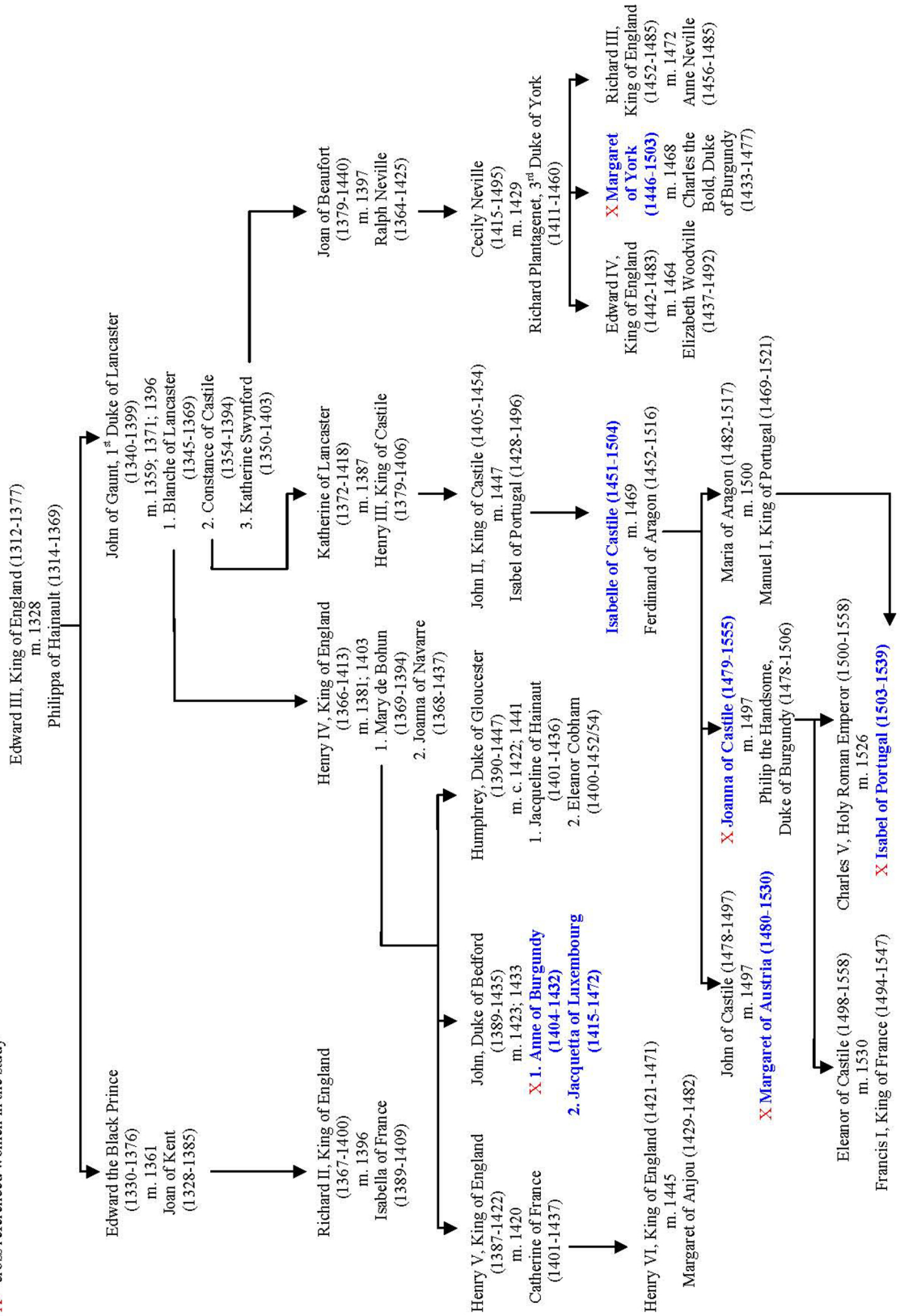
Margaret of Flanders (1350-1405)



Women in the Study

m – married
 X – cross referenced women in the study

**Appendix 6
 English and Spanish Branches**



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