

**LIVRES ET LECTURES DE FEMMES EN EUROPE
ENTRE MOYEN ÂGE ET RENAISSANCE**

**TEXTES RÉUNIS PAR
ANNE-MARIE LEGARÉ**

BREPOLS

Some Portraits of Women in Their Books, Late Thirteenth – Early Fourteenth Century

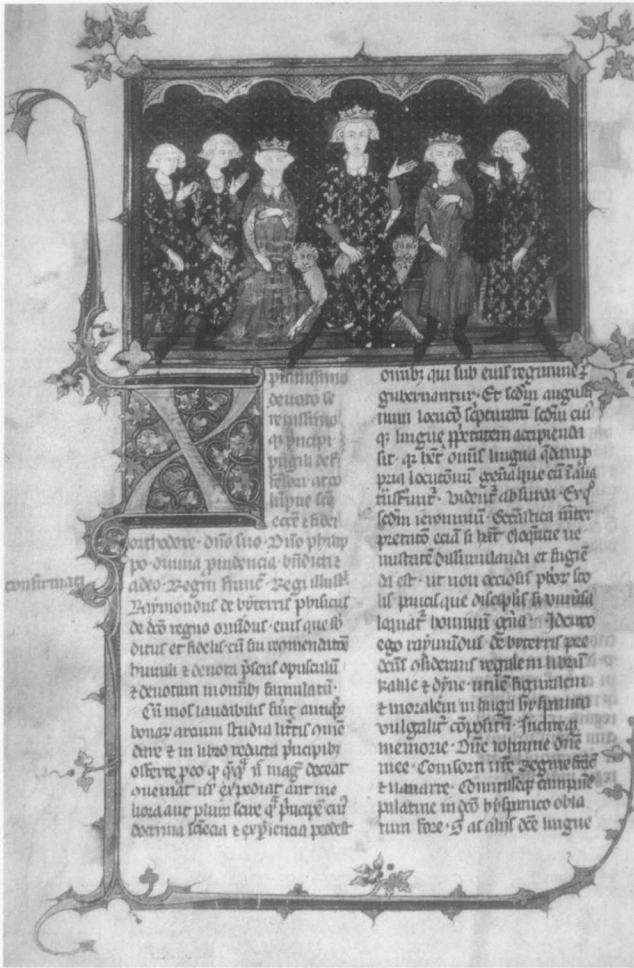
Alison Stones

Marks of ownership in medieval manuscripts take a number of forms : a name written in the book ; a heraldic shield or device ; a portrait of a person, alone or accompanied, with or without a name, with or without a heraldic shield. Such identifiers may or may not reveal who the patron or dedicee was. In the absence of a name or identifiable heraldry, a portrait tells little about identity, other than the gender, and perhaps the marital status, of the figure concerned. Similarly, reference may be made to a book in a payment, inventory, or will ; and it may or may not be possible to connect such a reference to an extant manuscript. Recording a commission, marking the making or owning of a particular copy, were gestures – actions – that expressed a direct relationship between the individual and the object, and a responsibility for that relationship – whether on the part of the owner for herself or himself, or by another for someone else – a spouse, a parent, a child, a friend, a confessor, a superior or benefactor, an underling. More than any other form of marking, the portrait allowed the owner to see herself or himself in the book, in devotional reading, in prayer, hearing counsel, listening to a story, enjoying a song, receiving a gift. Yet most of the time we cannot tell what the precise circumstances were or to what degree the women – or men – were active agents, nor whether the portraits were self-referential or referenced others, nor precisely who the people were. Here my goal is to survey some portraits of French women in their books in the period around 1300, to see what kinds of patterns of representation were preferred – what was typical or atypical, and what the similarities and differences tell about these ladies and the books in which they saw themselves. The Appendix contains the data I have collected : a list of over 60 manuscripts containing portraits of women, sometimes accompanied by men or children – twice the number of the close to 30 books containing portraits of men alone. Even al-

lowing for inevitable losses, these proportions offer confirmation that women were prominent – whether actively or passively, as commissioners or recipients – in the dissemination of book-culture.c. 1300. They were depicted primarily in secular manuscripts in the vernacular and in devotional books, while the spheres of male dominance were the liturgy, the law, the government. This study owes much to the pioneering work of Alice Hentsch, Susan Groag Bell and Geneviève Hasenohr who set the stage, in different ways, for analysing the patterns of portraiture that emerge here¹, while a number of recent studies of particular manuscripts indicate that there was no single model for what kinds of illustrative programmes were devised, even for a book so popular as the Book of Hours, nor for how patrons and owners were depicted in their books². I offer some further observations in this study about what was typical and atypical about women's portraits, and then I consider a few special cases which depart from the norms in various ways.

Literary and didactic manuscripts

While much is known about the patrons of literary texts, the association of the surviving manuscripts with the sponsors of the authors cannot necessarily be assured, nor did a portrait necessarily form a part of the illustrative programme of literary texts, if indeed they were illustrated at all³. So, for instance, the French translation of Thomas de Cantimpré's monster book, composed for 'La dame d'Enghien' (l. 663 in Hilka's edition), most likely Marie de Rethel, dame d'Enghien, lacks her portrait in the only surviving manuscript – which may not even be the presentation copy⁴. The literary works that do include portraits are well-known : the twin copies of the works of Adenet le Roi, whose *Cléomades* was commissioned by



1. Paris, BNF, ms Lat. 8504, Raymond de Béziers, *Liber de Dimna et Kalila*, anonymous artist, Paris, 1313, f. 1r°: Royal Portraits, © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Marie de Brabant, second wife of Philippe le Hardi, and her sister-in-law Blanche de France, widow of Ferdinand de la Cerda, both shown in heraldic dress listening to Adenet perform, in Marie's chamber, in the famous frontispiece of Arsenal ms 3142⁵, and at the end, Adenet's epilogue addressed to Robert d'Artois shows a presentation scene where Robert as a knight bearing a shield of Artois but ailettes of Brabant. Who, then, owned this copy? Perhaps it was Margaret's young nephew Jean, the future duke of Brabant, shown with his aunt in the opening frontispiece. That might explain the anomaly of the heraldry in which Robert d'Artois is depicted – or might Jean have owned the twin copy, BNF, Fr. 24404, where Robert is also shown bearing the same

anomalous arm?⁶ Then what of the owner of Arsenal ms 3142? Another pair of presentation copies contains the *Roman de Méliacin* by Girart d'Amiens, BNF, Fr. 1633 and BNF, Fr. 1589⁷. This time the poet is absent but a royal group is again depicted as though listening. Several of the people in the *Cléomades* miniatures appear again, but accompanied by two courtiers, Raoul de Nesle, constable of France until his death at Courtrai in 1302, and Gui de Châtillon, Comte de Château-Porcéan, constable of Champagne, who succeeded Raoul as constable of France. These men would be very likely to have commissioned such a book, perhaps even one of these copies each, and to underline in the opening miniature their special relationship to the royal figures. Royal figures, including a woman, are again depicted in the dedication miniature of Raymond de Béziers' Latin translation from the Spanish of the *Liber de Dimna et Kalila*, Paris, BNF, Lat. 8504, begun for Jeanne de Navarre (d. 1305), wife of Philippe IV le Bel. The royal portrait in BNF, Lat. 8504 is preceded by scenes of the knighting on the feast of Pentecost, 1313, of the future Louis X le Hutin (r1314-1316), who is the most likely recipient of this copy. The central figure in the dedication portrait is Philippe le Bel, and he is surrounded by members of his family. There is some disagreement in the literature as to the identity of the others, including the female figure, shown on Philippe's right (Ill. 1)⁸. She wears a wimple and a robe with the arms of England (with four leopards not the usual three), and has traditionally been identified as Philippe IV's daughter Isabelle, Queen of England from 1308, whose husband Edward II is depicted in the prefatory miniatures. It is just possible, however, that the queen is Margaret Queen of England, half-sister of Philippe le Bel and by 1307 widow of Edward I, justifying the wimple worn in this portrait; she is mentioned in the text on f. 2, the page facing the miniature, whereas there is no reference to Isabelle.

Whether the wimple is a sign of widowhood or merely of marriage is the question, and it is an issue in relation to other depictions of women as well. Jeanne d'Eu et de Guines was certainly a widow at the time her *Somme le roi* was made in 1311. Her husband died at the Battle of Courtrai in 1302, and Jeanne did not remarry. She is shown kneeling be-



2. Paris, BNF, ms Fr. 2186, *Thibaut, Le Roman de la Poire*, anonymous artist, Paris, c. 1270-1280, f. 8v° : the Lady and the Knight, © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France



3. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms St Peter perg. 92, Thomas le Myésier, *Electorium parvum sive Breviculum*, anonymous artist, Arras, c. 1320, f. 12r° : Presentation of the work by the authors to Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois, © Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek

fore the Virgin and Child, wearing a wimple and modest grey robe ; she interacts with the Holy Figures as the Virgin takes her by the hand, and the Child blesses her. Her arms, party of Eu and Guines, *bar-ruly vair and or* (Guines) dimidiating *azure billey or a lion* (Eu) are discretely included on the corners of the miniature⁹. I return below to issues of wimples.

Another perspective on literary portraiture is offered by the famous *Roman de la Poire*, Paris, BNF, Fr. 2186, where the male and female protagonists wearing heraldic costumes *France a cross or engrailed gules* precede and follow the sequence of pictures of famous lovers of legend and act out elements of the story¹⁰. Their heraldry untraced and most likely fictitious, these protagonists would have allowed readers and viewers to see themselves in these engaging illustra-

tions and participate in the narrative along with the heraldic couple. In the opening image the protagonists give and receive the book, in a miniature that takes on the attributes of a presentation portrait ; and on f. 8v° in the upper register the lady places the helm on the head of the seated knight and hands him a scarf ; both wear heraldic robes ; below, she hands him a lance with pennon as he rides off, the scarf attached to his helm ; both wear heraldic robes (cf. l. 181, 'A cest torneiement mes que je soie armez' (Ill. 2).

The presentation miniature in Thomas le Myésier's *Breviculum*, his distillation of Ramon Llull's teachings – more properly a theological work than a literary one, and written in Latin not the vernacular, places the presentation miniature at the end of the pictorial sequence of twelve images (Ill. 3)¹¹. The

other miniatures illustrate Llull's life and the main tenets of his *Ars*. They were devised for two reasons, says Le Myésier at the opening of the text on f. 1r^o: 'Intentio quare feci fieri picturam subsequentem fuit duplex : prima intentio fuit ut sciretur origo a quo et quomodo orta est ars ista et alie Remondi artes et libri. Alia causa est propter solatium quia talia inspicere multociens excitant animam ad bene agendum et bona.' ('The reason I had the following illustration made was twofold : the first reason was so that it should be known from what this art and Raimond's other arts and books arose and how they came into being. The second reason is for your consolation (solace), for looking often at such things inspires the soul to good and to doing good works.' The Karlsruhe manuscript, Badische Landesbibliothek St Peter perg. 92, is the presentation copy offered to Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois, wife since 1307 of King Philippe V le Long (1315-21). In the final illustration, Llull, leaning on a crutch, stands behind Le Myésier with his hand on the latter's shoulder ; Le Myésier, bareheaded, hands three books (small, medium, and large) to Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois, on the facing page ; she takes the smallest in her hand. She wears a robe decorated with the arms of France, has unbound hair beneath her crown, suggesting she is not yet a widow at the time this portrait was painted, and she holds a tall sceptre with a bird finial. Three women stand behind her, all wearing white veils and the first two also wearing wimples (the third lady is only partly visible behind the other two); shields above them identify them as the countesses of Artois (*France a label of 5 points gules, each charged with three castles argent*), for Mahaut of Artois, d. 1329 ; her husband Othon de Bourgogne was killed at Courtrai in 1302); Dreux (*checky or and azure, a bordure gules*) ; the Dreux lady could be Marie d'Enghien, married before 1321 to Robert V de Dreux, but the wimple on the portrait suggests that the dowager countess Peronnelle de Sully, second wife of Jean II de Dreux, married 1308 or 1309 (ns), still alive in 1338, and an important member of the Artois household, was the lady intended ; and the third shield is Valence (*fessy argent and azure, a bordure of martlets gules*), for Marie de Châtillon de Saint-Pol, married to Aymer de Valence in 1321) – or again, because of the wimple, perhaps for Aymer's mother Joan de Munchensy¹².

What is most striking about this and the preceding pages is how stereotyped and generalized the portraits of the women are, and how detailed, individualized, and realistic, are those of the men. Le Myésier was also personal physician to Mahaut d'Artois and Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois, and it may be no coincidence that the two male portraits recall the attention to anatomical detail also found – on a much smaller scale – in the surgery treatise of the other leading physician of the day, Henri de Mondeville (d. 1320), who illustrated his university lectures with pictures. The French translation of Mondeville's surgery, Paris, BNF, Fr. 2030, he dedicated to Philippe le Bel¹³. Llull's portrait with distinctive flowing beard is also found in the earlier portrait in Paris, BNF, Lat. 3323, *Liber natalis pueri parvuli Christi Jhesu*, dedicated to Philippe le Bel in 1310, where in the colophon he refers to himself as 'ego Raymundus Barba Floridus'¹⁴. It is likely that Le Myésier was directly involved in the production of the Karlsruhe copy as also of the long version, Paris, BNF, Lat. 15450, made for his own use and in part a holograph¹⁵. Was he also the artist of the Karlsruhe copy ? It is tempting to suggest that the Le Myésier portrait may be a self-portrait in the tradition of medical accuracy to which the Mondeville manuscript also bears witness, except that the justification for the pictures notes that Le Myésier 'had them made'¹⁶. The portraits are certainly exceptional, but the men, not the women, are the figures of distinction and originality.

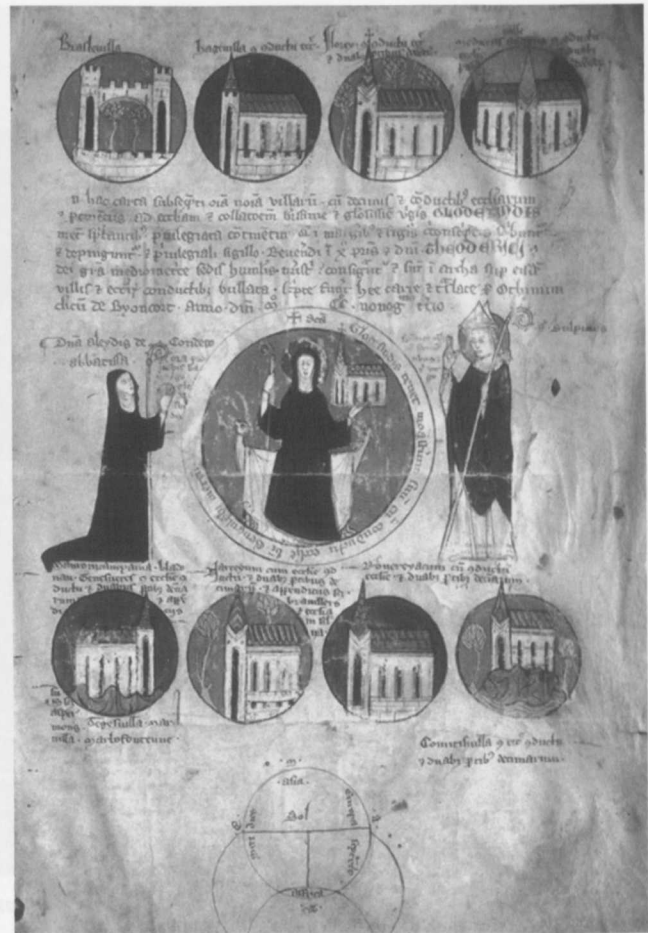
The liturgical books

At the other end of the spectrum fall the liturgical books. Here, portraits of men far outnumber portraits of women. This situation is not a surprise, for eminent clerics would see themselves in their liturgical books, performing liturgical functions, elevating their own soul at the introit in missals, raising the host at the consecration in the mass, blessing and consecrating in their pontificals. Many eminent clerics chose to mark their books with shields of ownership, often associated with the action-images which would have served to reinforce their own acts of liturgical performance as well to foster contempla-



4. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 1023, *Lessons for the Translation of the Head of St Martin of Tours*, anonymous artist, Tours, 1323, f. 101r^o: Translation of St Martin's skull, watched by King Philippe V le Long and his wife and daughter, © Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale

tion of those acts, as for Augier de Cogeux, Abbot of La Grasse (London, British Library, Additional 17006)¹⁷, or simply inferred from the chronology of the book, as for the Epistle and Gospel books of Nicolas de Fontaines, Bishop of Cambrai (Cambrai, BM, ms 189-190, written for 'N episcopus' in 1266 when Nicolas was bishop)¹⁸. In the illustrated missals and pontificals, images of 'the priest', 'the bishop', would have carried added meaning for the particular user – churchmen like Nicolas' successor at Cambrai, Enguerrand de Créquy¹⁹, Etienne Becquart de Pannoul, Archbishop of Sens²⁰, Renaud de Bar, Bishop of Metz²¹, Guillaume de Thiéville, Bishop of Coutances²², would have seen themselves in their liturgical books. Some examples stand outside these standard depictions, however: Johannes de Marchello receiving his missal from the artist, Pierre de Raimbaucourt²³, Guillaume Le Maire, Bishop of Angers, shown at his own consecration as bishop, and himself leading the procession to Saint-Aubin on the Sunday after Ascension Day²⁴, or Étienne de Mornay, Abbot of St-Martin, Tours, translating the head of St Martin to a new head-reliquary, with Philip V and his wife and daughter at prayer at an altar below (Ill. 4)²⁵. Comparable imagery of abbesses and nuns was necessarily more limited, yet portraits of Aelis de Condé



5. Metz, Archives départementales de la Moselle, ms H 4085 (5), *Cartulary of the Abbey of Sainte-Glossinde*, Metz, anonymous artist, Metz, 1293, recto: saint Glossinde flanked by Abbess Aelis de Condé and St Sulpice of Bourges, © Author

attending her patron Ste Glossinde who presides, Christ-like, over her abbey's possessions and privileges (Ill. 5)²⁶, and Béatrix de Grammont, abbess of Beaupré (1269-1293/4), shown kneeling at St Andrew's martyrdom²⁷, bear witness to a similar, if less prevalent practice in portraiture.

Devotional books

Far more numerous than in the literary or liturgical manuscripts of the period are portraits in the devotional books. It is here that portraits of women predominate. Hardly any devotional manuscripts include portraits of men alone. Several manuscripts

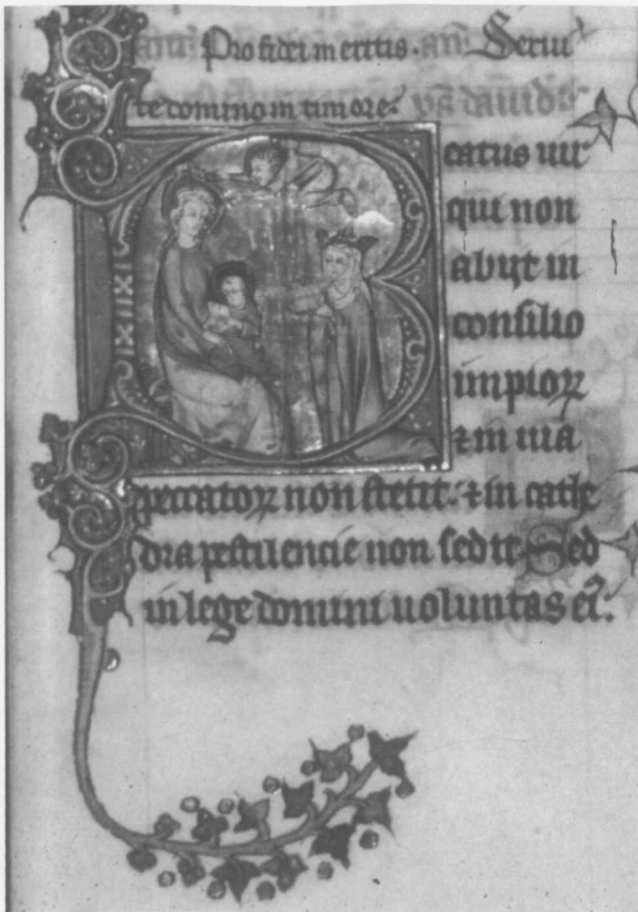


6. Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 111, *Hours of Thérrouanne*, anonymous artist, Thérrouanne, c. 1290, f. 40r°, Patroness at an altar, © Author

include men with women, or men on other pages than those where the women appear, but Guilbert de Sainte-Aldegonde²⁸ and the unknown recipient of Princeton University, Art Museum 44-18, both men alone in their books, are the exceptions that prove the rule.

What are the women doing in their portraits? Most of the time they are shown kneeling in prayer, hands held together, either at a prie-dieu or simply kneeling on the ground. Sometimes they hold a book, or a book lies before them on the prie-dieu. Most of the time they are before the Virgin and Child, but usually they are removed to the border while the holy figures are in the sacred space of an initial letter. Sometimes they encroach into the same realm as a holy figure. They witness a scene from the Life of Christ: often the Annunciation, occasionally the Visitation or Presentation, sometimes the Baptism, Crucifixion, the Resurrection or the Death of the Virgin; or they

pray before a patron saint, sometimes witnessing a martyrdom, or they pray before the Godhead. Exceptional depictions are a woman praying before Joachim and Anna who pray for a child (Grenoble, BM, ms 149, f. 18r°)²⁹, a woman, wearing a veil over a touret with chin-straps, ascending steps to God (Nürnberg, SB, ms Solger 4. 40, f. 179v°)³⁰, Blanche on her deathbed, her soul crowned by an angel (New York, Public Library, ms Spencer 56, f. 380r°)³¹, Marie instructing her son (New York, Metropolitan Museum, ms L. 1990. 38, f. 47r°)³², a lay woman before Christ and the Trinity in La Sainte Abbaye (London, BL Add. 39843, f. 29r°)³³, a woman before the Virgin and Child, handed a crown by Christ (Metz, BM, ms 1588, f. 183r°)³⁴, a woman tempted by the devil (Cambrai, BM, ms 87, passim)³⁵, a nun before Christ revealing the Wounds (London, BL, Egerton 945, f. 237v°)³⁶, or a woman kneeling at an altar with a draped chalice, blessed by the Hand of God, at the Peni-



7. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms M. 1042, *Fragmentary Breviary of the Sainte-Chapelle*, anonymous artist, Paris, before 1297, f. 8r° : Queen before the Virgin and Child, © Morgan Library

tential Psalms (Marseille, BM, ms 111, f. 40r°, Ill. 6)³⁷, a queen in crown and wimple holding a book before the Virgin and Child, the latter also holding a book, all in the Beatus initial of Psalm 1 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1042, f. 8r°, Ill. 7)³⁸. Most of the lay-women are modestly dressed, wearing head-coverings, whether a touret/headbands style or a veil, often accompanied by a wimple ; occasionally a hair-net (snood) is worn, and sometimes a mantle or a collar is lined with vair, indicating the wealth of the woman depicted. The majority of these women remain unidentified, the only clues as to who they were being a indication, in calendars, litanies, or suffrages, of their preferred saints and therefore of the places where their books were used ; some women are



8. Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, ms 353, *Psalter of the Diocese of Meaux*, anonymous artist, Paris, c. 1260, f. 131v° : Patroness before the Virgin and Child, © Author

depicted in heraldic costume, and I consider some examples below.

Portraits in full-page illustrations stand outside the norms outlined above, and give special prominence to the patrons or owners. This need not mean that their identity is certain. In the *Psalter* now in the *Bibliotheca del Seminario*, Padua, ms 353, a woman kneels before the Virgin and Child : she is modestly dressed in blue and grey, with a white touret partially covered by a long draped veil, and a white wimple, and she is small in scale, humble before the towering Virgin who dominates the composition, looking down at the lady while pointing out to her the Child, who gives a blessing and holds a TO globe (Ill. 8). The portrait page is not part of the full-page Infancy

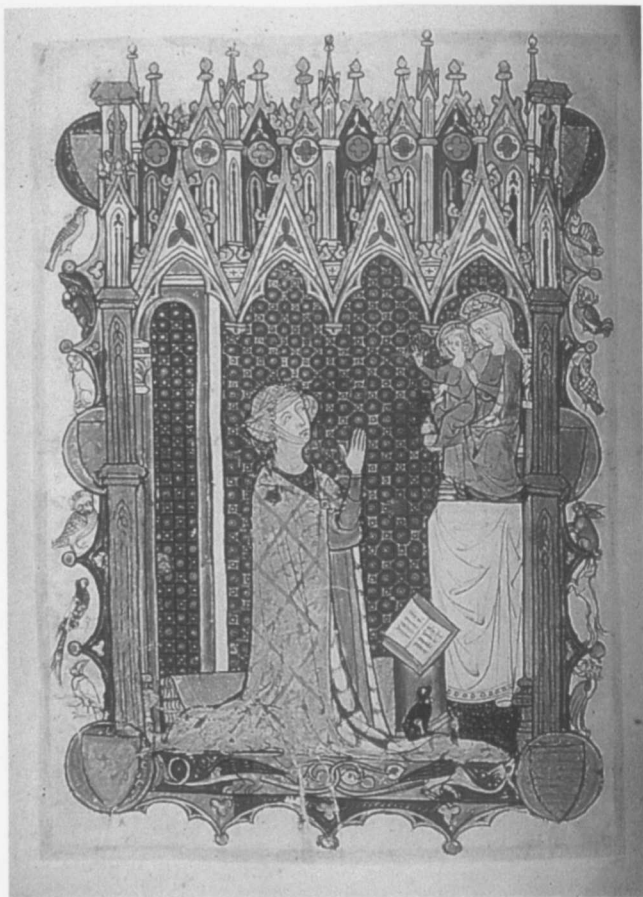
and Passion cycle following the calendar, but faces Psalm 109. Who is the lady represented here ?

As the late Christopher Hohler was the first to observe, the calendar of Padua 353 (ff. 9r^o-14v^o, unillustrated) is monastic, including three feasts of St Benedict (21. iii ; 11. vii ; 4. xii ; that in July with an octave), from the diocese of Meaux – feasts of Sts Ebrégisilus (31.viii), Faron (28.x), Fare (7.xii), Celinia (21.x), Sanctinus (11.x) and more specifically from Rebais – St Agilus with octave (30.viii and 6.ix), and St Walter of Pontoise (6.iv), who took the habit at Rebais³⁹. Hohler further noted that, since the feast of St Benedict in July was not entered by the gilder although its octave is recorded, it is also possible that some more decisively important feast has been omitted. The litany as it stands (ff. 184v^o-186v^o) is not Rebais (Agilus is absent) though it is certainly of the diocese of Meaux (Faron and Fare are included). Hohler concluded ‘it does not however seem to be the litany of Meaux itself or the Benedictine nunnery in the diocese of Meaux, Faremoutiers, and may simply be Rebais shortened, especially if the book was not in fact made for actual use at Rebais.’

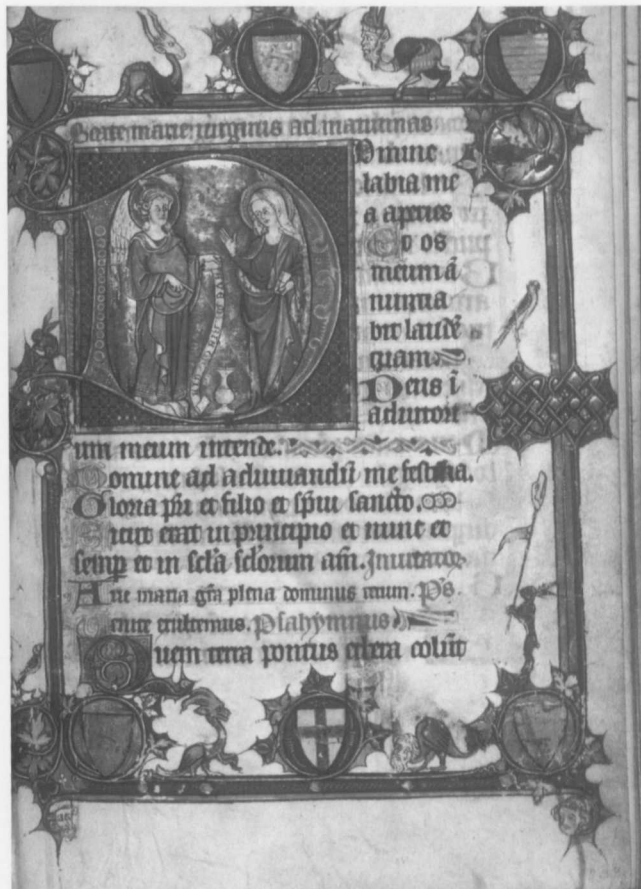
In fact the presence in the illuminations of the female donor kneeling in supplication before the Virgin and Child, apparently unknown to Hohler, makes it extremely unlikely the book was made for Rebais, where the abbey of St-Pierre was of Benedictine monks. There are two Benedictine nunneries in the diocese of Meaux : Jouarre and Faremoutiers, but the calendar and litany of Padua BS, ms 353 correspond to neither. The absence in both calendar and litany of Aguilberta, sister of Ebrégisilus of Meaux, and of Theodechilda, first abbess, who is included in the partial breviary of Jouarre, Paris, BNF, ms Lat. 750⁴⁰, would seem to preclude a candidate associated with Jouarre (GC VIII,1712) – unless it was planned to add them in gold, as with the St Benedict feast in July, mentioned above. Also lacking are several saints found in the thirteenth-century Breviary of Faremoutiers, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 349 – Ercongota (23. ii), the dedication (1. iv), Sissertrude (7. v), Ierochius (5. vii), Adalberga with octave (7 and 14. vii), Walbertus and Canoalus (4. ix), and the September feast of St Fara (7. ix); the Faremoutiers calendar in turn lacks St Agilus although he is included in the litany and is commemorated in the sanctoral⁴¹. But a

note on f. 79 of Mazarine ms 349 indicates that by the fifteenth century it was the personal property in of Jeanne de Rapillarde, pious of Faremoutiers⁴², she was abbess from 1434-1439 (GC VIII, 1705); and the litany in Padua ms 353 is somewhat comparable with that of Troyes BM, ms 1188 which Leroquais considered to have probably been made for an abbey in the diocese of Meaux—Rebais or St-Faron de Meaux (Savinian, Adrian, Lucian, Maurice, Faro, Fara are in both)⁴³.

An appropriate patroness for the Padua manuscript might be Juliane de Grez, daughter of Barthelémy de Grez, knight, seigneur de Nesle, and Hawida. Juliane was abbess of Faremoutiers from 1240 to either 1250 or 1262 (GC VIII 704-05). Her brothers were Henri de Grez bishop of Chartres (1243-1246, GC VII 528-29, Gams 536), Stephen, dean of Chartres (GC *ibid.*), and Evrard, prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, the important Cluniac priory in Paris (1234-16.v.61, GC VII 528-29). Other members of the Grez family holding high ecclesiastical office were Guillaume de Grez bishop of Beauvais (1249/54-22.ii.1267, Anselme II, 264E ; Gams 511); another Guillaume de Grez was bishop of Auxerre (3.ix,1279-29.i.1293) and his nephew Pierre de Corbeil, dit de Grez, cantor of Notre-Dame, Paris (he made his will in 1321, Anselme VI, 657) and another Pierre de Grez was bishop of Auxerre (5.i.1309-21.ix.1325) (Gams 502)⁴⁴. Although none of the surviving books associated with St-Martin-des-Champs or the cathedrals of Chartres, Beauvais, or Auxerre have comparable illumination, it is tempting to suggest that one of these eminent clergymen of the Grez family might have commissioned this psalter in Paris for their sister, for her private use, although nothing can be proven. Juliane’s dates are a little early for the manuscript ; and the lady in the miniature holds no crozier, and her touret and veil differ from the usual simple veil worn by nuns ; but the ‘above top line’ feature is a pointer towards a relatively early date⁴⁵, and circumstances like those outlined above might explain the relative imprecision in the choice of saints in calendar and litany by comparison with the surviving breviary of Faremoutiers. But she might also simply be another noble lady of the region, who chose not to reveal her identity.



9. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms M. 729, *Psalter-Hours of Comtesse de la Table*, anonymous artist, Amiens, c. 1290, f. 232v^o: Patroness before a statue of the Virgin and Child, © Morgan Library



10. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms M. 729, *Psalter-Hours of Comtesse de la Table*, anonymous artist, Amiens, c. 1290, f. 233r^o: Matins of the Virgin: Annunciation to the Virgin, © Morgan Library

In contrast to the humble, small-scale depiction of the supplicant in Padua ms 353, the portrait page in the so-called *Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729) is dominated by the patroness, not by the Virgin and Child (Ill. 9). The composition is a striking reversal of the Padua manuscript's page, whereby the holy figures have become reduced to a surrogate statue, small in scale, even though they are placed high up on the altar in a vertical hierarchy of place. One is reminded of other supplicants before images, for instance in the *Miracles de la Vierge* of Gautier de Coincy and other collections of Virgin miracles, of which a lively tradition was well under way at the time the miniature in ms M. 729 was painted⁴⁶. The supplicant, kneeling before the altar and the statue, fills the picture space although she is

kneeling in prayer; a dog, symbolizing her fidelity to the Virgin and Child, sits on the end of her robe. Her mantle is heraldic, and six shields are also placed on the border, and on the border of the facing page (where the historiated initial opens *Matins of the Virgin* and shows the *Annunciation to the Virgin*): lineage was an important issue for this patroness and owner. Paradoxically, she has not been accorded recognition commensurate with the splendour of her portrait, and in most of the literature she is incorrectly identified as her step-daughter, Yolande de Soissons. Her robe is *or fretty gules, charged with lions passant*, and it is not party with any other arms.

The same arms are repeated in the top four of the six shields on the same page, and in the top dexter position on the facing page (Ill. 10). These are the



11. Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 87, *Hours of mixed use*, Reims? anonymous artist, Reims? before 1297: f. 200v°, Patroness, © Author

arms of Coeuvres⁴⁷, and they are found on the seal of Comtesse de la Table, wife of Raoul de Soissons⁴⁸.

It is significant that the arms on the lady's robe are not those of her husband with a canton of her father's arms, like those of Alix de Thouars in the south transept at Chartres⁴⁹, nor are they party arms, as the lady of the Ferrers-De Quincy family depicted in the leaves added to the Lambeth Apocalypse, shown as a small figure kneeling before the Virgin and Child, in a humble pose more comparable to that of the Padua Seminary Psalter's portrait than to that of ms M. 729⁵⁰. Party robes are also worn by the ladies in the famous portrait of Geoffrey Luttrell receiving his helm and shield from his wife Agnes Sutton and daughter-in Beatrice Scrope⁵¹. In France, the tiny couple in heraldic dress in the Book of Hours, Cambrai, BM, ms 87, already cited for its remarkable set of images of



12. Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 87, *Hours of mixed use*, Reims? anonymous artist, Reims? before 1297: f. 217r°: Devotional couple, © Author

the woman and the devil, may also be cited. On f. 200v° at the Nine Joys of the Virgin in French, a woman kneels on the border, witnessing the Annunciation to the Virgin in the historiated initial above; she wears a heraldic mantle charged with three escutcheons, or *3 pales vair, on a chief, or a lion issuant sable*, and two escutcheons above these, or *a lion rampant sable*, and a heraldic robe charged with *sable a lion rampant argent crowned or* (Ill. 11). On f. 217r°, at the prayer *O bele dame tres piue empeeris* she appears again, accompanied by her husband, and they kneel one on either side of the Virgin who holds a floriated sceptre – who privileges the husband, not the wife, by turning away from her and towards him. The husband wears ailettes and a surcoat charged with *gules three pales vair, on a chief or a lion issuant sable*, and the wife wears a vair-lined mantle charged with a variant lacking the lion: *gules three pales vair, on a chief or* (Ill.

12). The *lion issuant* on the husband's arms make clear this is Gauthier de Châtillon d'Autresche, châtelain de Bar, avoué de Vic-sur-Aisne, whose arms are well documented, for instance on his seal of 1302⁵². What is less easy to establish is who his wife was, as she appears not to be otherwise documented. *Sable a lion or* are the arms of the Dukes of Brabant, and the *lion argent* may be a difference that most likely indicates a cadet branch. One such is Henri de Louvain, seigneur de Gaesbeck, documented for instance in the *Armorial Wijnberghen* bearing *sable a lion argent*⁵³, but nothing else appears to be known about him or any offspring he may have had.

The seigneurie of Coevres was sufficiently important for Raoul de Soissons to take its title as his own and transmit it to his heirs, and for his wife to retain its arms, alone, on her robe in the portrait⁵⁴. Raoul de Soissons was among the first to die of dysentery on the crusade in 1270 as did the king himself, and Comtesse was left a widow. The date of her death has been claimed to have been as late as 1300⁵⁵. The other shields on the portrait page and the facing page are Soissons (*or a lion passant gules, a bordure of the same*), for Raoul de Soissons (bottom dexter and top middle on the page facing the portrait, and on bottom dexter on the portrait page), although his older brother Jean also bore those arms; Grandpré (*burrely or and gules*), probably for Ade de Grandpré, mother of Raoul de Soissons (paired with Soissons on the dexter side, and top sinister on the facing page, paired with Coevres on the dexter side); Hangest (*argent a cross gules charged with 5 cockle-shells or*), probably for Raoul de Soissons' first wife, also named Comtesse (a coincidence of names causing much confusion in the literature), and mother of his daughter Yolande, to whose ownership this book has traditionally been ascribed. The other shield, *gules a fess or*, so far remains unexplained in the context of this book since none of the people identified in the heraldic and sigillographical sources fit what is known about the genealogy of this family⁵⁶. It may refer to a member of the family of Comtesse de la Table, most likely her mother – but no further documentation of the Coevres family survives and we do not know who Comtesse's mother was, nor even her father.

What is missing on the portrait page and the facing page is the shield of Moreuil (*azure semé of fleurs*



13. Paris, BNF, ms N.a.fr. 16251, *Madame Marie's Picture-Books*, Maître Henri, Cambrai, c. 1285, f. 66r: Madame Marie and pilgrims before St James the Greater, © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

de lis or, a lion issuant argent), for Bernard V de Moreuil, husband by 1276 of Yolande de Soissons, daughter of Raoul de Soissons and step-daughter of Comtesse de la Table. The omission is significant, as it surely indicates that, at the time the portrait page and its facing page were painted, the book did not belong to Yolande. The portrait cannot be of Yolande herself. The lady depicted is at best a married woman and most likely a widow (cf. the wimple question raised above); and if she were married, the arms of her husband would be included somewhere on these pages – as those of Raoul de Soissons are, and those of Bernard de Moreuil are not. The subsequent history of the manuscript shows it coming into the possession of Yolande de Sois-

sons and being in part repainted to accommodate the arms of her husband ; I offer elsewhere a fuller analysis of the complexities of the making of the book, probably begun as two separate parts, by different artists, brought together and completed most likely after the death of Comtesse de la Table⁵⁷.

Morgan ms M. 729 is remarkable in many additional ways. With thirty-nine surviving full-page miniatures and sixty-six historiated initials, not to mention twenty-four calendar illustrations of labours of the months and signs of the zodiac, ms M. 729 ranks as one of the most densely illustrated devotional books of the period. It falls close behind Madame Marie's picture book (Paris, BNF, N.a.fr. 16251) which preserves ninety-six of an original set of ninety-nine full-page miniatures⁵⁸, and the psalter of St Louis (Paris, BNF, Lat. 10525), with seventy-eight full-page miniatures and twelve historiated initials⁵⁹. St Louis' book contains no heraldry, nor does Madame Marie's book, but Marie's is particularly notable among other books in my Appendix because its extensive full-page miniature cycle originally included no fewer than ten portraits of Madame Marie kneeling before her favourite patron saints in full-page miniatures. While other manuscripts equal, or exceed this total in marginal depictions, or depictions in small historiated initials, the portraits of Marie were originally large and prominent. Regretfully, a

later owner, most likely a Cistercian, had Marie painted out in all but one miniature, the much-reproduced image of Marie and the pilgrims before St James – the only group portrait in the book (Ill. 13)⁶⁰.

Conclusion

What is striking about the last few manuscripts discussed is how little is known about the women who commissioned and/or owned them. They are not queens, nor was their political rôle such that abundant documentation of their lives and lands survives. Yet they must have enjoyed considerable wealth to afford the books in which they had themselves depicted – or in which other had them depicted, for even that basic question remains unanswered. Beautiful and interesting books, with a range of illustration extending far beyond the simple portraits, were made in this period for all kinds of female patrons and owners, some were famous, others barely known at all. Together, they occupy an honourable place in the history of book illumination in their period – queens known and unknown, and a mass of other women about whom we can only speculate. Overall, the patterns of female ownership were both extensive and varied by 1300, and it would only increase, and be better documented, in subsequent centuries.

APPENDIX

Working List of Portraits of Women in Books

Made in France, ca 1260-1320

Patrons or owners whose identity is known are listed first, where possible with their placing in the manuscript, followed by the anonymous, clustered by social category and region ; and then men, for comparative purposes. This list is drawn from many sources, notably the work of Adelaide Bennett, Kay Davenport, Judith Golden, Margaret Manion, Judith Oliver, Lillian Randall, and Patricia Stirnemann, to all of whom I am grateful.

Aelis de Condé, Abbess of Sainte-Glossinde, OSB, Metz (1292-ca 1312): Metz, AD Moselle H 4085 (5), Charter of Sainte-Glossinde, 1293, includes her portrait flanking that of Ste Glossinde, accompanied by St Sulpice, Bishop of Bourges (recto side of the one-page document).

Béatrix de Grammont, Abbess of Beaupré, O. Cist., Dioc. Cambrai (1269-1293/4): Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 759-61 and other fragments, kneeling, holding crozier, next to the Martyrdom of St Andrew (W 760, f. 185r°) (see also Domina de Viana).

Blanche, identity uncertain : most likely Blanche de Bretagne-Artois (d. 1322), widow in 1298 of Philippe d'Artois, brother of Mahaut d'Artois, or the notorious adultress Blanche de Bourgogne-Artois, Queen of France (d. 1326): New York, Public Library, Spencer 56, Psalter and Hours, Paris, ca 1320 : nine portraits : kneeling in wimple and veil, with vair collar, before the St Louis at Matins of the Hours of St Louis (f. 245r°); kneeling similarly clad before the Virgin and Child at the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin in French (f. 277r°); kneeling, blessed by God at the beginning of Prayers in French, *Biaus sires peres tout puissans* (f. 285r°); kneeling before the Virgin and Child at *O intemerata* (f. 295r°); kneeling, blessed by God at *Peto domine* (f. 306r°); kneeling before blessing Christ at Prayers, *Benignissimus mundi redemptor* (f. 339r°); before the Virgin and Child at *Bele tres douce dame sainte Marie ie vous salue* (f. 366r°); on

deathbed, angel crowns soul, whose hand is grasped by Christ, at *Tibi Christe splendor patris* (f. 380r°); kneeling at desk with open book below Gnadenstuhl Trinity at *Ave rex noster* (f. 390r°).

Blanche de France, daughter of St Louis, widow of Ferdinand de la Cerda, see Queens and their families below.

Comtesse de la Table, Dame de Coevres (d. 1300 ?): New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729 : Matins of the Virgin, one full-page miniature : depicted wearing a robe with the arms of Coevres (*or fretty gules charged with lions passant*) praying before a statue of the Virgin and Child, accompanied by shields of Coevres, Soissons, Hangest, Grandpré and *gules a fess or* (unidentified) (f. 232v°).

Domina de Viana (Marie de Bornaing de Viane) and Domicella Clementia : Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 759-61, and other fragments, Beaupré Antiphonal, originally in four volumes (volume 4 broken up), written in 1290 : one portrait of each, on the same page : both shown kneeling, wearing wimples and veils, Domina de Viana in an aediculum, Domicella Clementia (presumably a kinswoman) on the border, before the Resurrection and three Marias at the Sepulchre (W 759, f. 3v°); knight wearing arms of Viane (*azure a lion argent [white] surmounted by a fleur de lis gules*); kneeling facing a kneeling nun, one on either side of St Stephen (W 759, f. 169r°) and on a cut-out leaf olim Walter Oakeshott Collection, where the arms on the knight's surcoat are *azure semé of lions argent [white] each surmounted by a fleur de lis gules*.

Helois d'Escoufflans, nun of Origny-Sainte-Benoîte, OSB (Dioc. of Laon): Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, ms 78 B 16, *Vie de sainte Benoîte*, 1312 : one portrait : depicted praying before a statue of Ste Benoîte in the last of the full-page miniatures (f. 56r°).

Isabelle de Kievraing (m. Joffroi d'Aspremont before 1285, widowed 1302): Psalter-Hours, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 118/Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton 171/3 : depicted passim in

veil and wimple, often wearing the arms of Kievraing (*or on a chief gules two bends argent*) or Aspremont (*gules a cross argent*); in the Melbourne hours she is often accompanied by her husband or son, or, particularly in the Melbourne volume, by another woman; men bearing the arms of Kievraing, Châtillon comte de Porcéan, and Bar are also present, referring perhaps to marriages of the Aspremont children in and around 1305.

Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois (d. 1329), Queen of France, m. Philippe V le Long (1315-21): Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St Peter perg. 92, Thomas le Myésier, *Breviculum ex artibus Raimundi electum*, 1320-21: one portrait: Le Myésier and Lull present the three books that comprise the *Breviculum* to Queen Jeanne who wears a robe decorated with the arms of France, has unbound hair beneath her crown (suggesting she is not yet a widow at the time this portrait was painted), and holds a tall sceptre with a bird on top; she is accompanied by three women wearing wimples and veils, whose shields, hanging above, identify them as Jeanne's mother, Mahaut, countess of Artois (*France a label of 5 points gules, each charged with three castles argent*, for Mahaut of Artois, d. 1329), and a member of the families of Dreux (*cheky or and azure, a bordure gules*), and Valence (*fessy argent and azure, a bordure of martlets gules*) (f. 12r°).

Jeanne d'Eu et de Guines (d. between ix.1331 and 19.iv.1332): Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6329, *Somme le roi*, 1311: one portrait: kneeling wearing wimple and veil before the Virgin, who takes her by the hand, and Child, who blesses her, in a full-page miniature with her shields on the corners of the frame (f. 1v°).

Joan of Valence (d. 1306) wife in 1292 of John Comyn de Badenoch: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ms 21000, Murthly Hours, made in Paris: Gradual Psalms: one portrait: A initial, Joan kneeling, wearing headbands and veil, in prayer at draped altar, holding book, blessed by God holding TO globe, in cloud (f. 149v°).

Marguerite de Bar, Abbess of Saint-Maur, Verdun (1301-1318): depicted kneeling and holding a crozier in the margin of her brother Renaud de Bar's Brevariary, London, British Library, Yates Thompson 8 (f. 31r°). Renaud lacks a crozier so this part of the book dates before his election as bishop of Metz in 1303.

Marguerite de Brabant-Limbourg (d. 1311) and her husband (m. 1292), Henri IV (VII) comte de Luxembourg (d. 1321): possible patrons of Paris, BNF, Fr. 566, Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, portrait of couple with shields that are most likely theirs (f. 205r°).

Madame Marie: Marie de Rethel, dame d'Enghien (d. 1315): Paris, BNF, N.a.fr. 16251, Picture-Book of the Life of Christ and Saints, Cambrai, ca 1285: depicted kneeling before 9 of an original 10 saints: Michael (f. 56r°), John the Baptist (f. 57v°), Paul (f. 62r°), John the Evangelist (f. 64r°); James (f. 66r°), Christopher (f. 85r°), Francis (f. 94v°), Katherine (f. 95r), Margaret (missing between f. 95v° and 96r°, miniature including patroness, known from contents list), Agnes (f. 96r°); her image overpainted in all, except where she is part of a group of pilgrims before St James (f. 66r°).

Marie, otherwise unknown

New York, Metropolitan Museum, L. 1990. 38 (promised gift of John L. Feldman), Hours of Senlis, early 1270s, Senlis?: 4 portraits of women, one of a man, one of a child: Matins of the Virgin: D initial, Virgin and Child enthroned between two praying women, one wearing a wimple, the other a hair net; border: dogs chasing stag; rebec player; mounted knight wielding sword; youths fighting with swords and bucklers; woman holding two lances with attached pennons towards which ride two knights; knights on castle battlements (f. 17r°); Terce of the Virgin: D initial, Veiled woman holding book, seated beside young man standing (mother instructing son) (f. 47r°); Sext of the Virgin: D initial, Woman in veil and wimple, kneeling at altar before Head of God (f. 50v°); Vespers of the Virgin: D initial, Woman in hair-net kneeling at altar before Head of God (f. 53v°); Compline of the Virgin: C initial, Man (husband or son?) kneeling in prayer behind cleric holding open book on lectern (f. 62r°).

Marie de Bailleul and Jehan de Fourmesieres (m. 1315): London, BL, Add. 29407, Franciscan Psalter-Hours: portrait of a couple before the Virgin and Child (f. 239r°); notes on f. 308v° record the names of family members.

Marie de Brabant, see Queens and their families, below.

Unidentified Queens

New York, PML, M. 1042, Fragmentary Breviary of the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, before 1297 : Psalm 1, B initial, queen (Jeanne de Navarre ? Marie de Brabant ?) depicted crowned, wearing wimple and veil, holding book, before the Virgin and Child who also holds book (f. 8r°).

Paris, BNF, Fr. 24429, Devotional Miscellany, Paris, early 14c., list of kings includes Philippe le Bel, dating the book between 1285 and 1314 : 4 portraits of a queen wearing a crown over veil and wimple and one allegorical portrait : *Vers d'aumosne*, as Charity distributing alms to the poor (f. 45v°); *Exposition de la pater nostre* : kneeling before blessing Christ (f. 49r°); *Meditacions* : kneeling before cleric in grey habit (f. 58v°); praying before Virgin and Child (f. 60v); *Enseignement* : kneeling before hooded confessor (f. 132v°).

Queens and their families and friends in manuscripts whose ownership remains uncertain

Paris, BNF, Fr. 1633 and BNF, Fr. 1589. twin copies of, Girart d'Amiens, *Roman de Méliacin*, Paris, ca 1280, the text commissioned by a male patron of uncertain identity : opening miniature with portraits of Blanche de France (d. 1329), widow (1275) of Ferdinand de la Cerda, with her arms around the young Philippe le Bel (1285-1314), accompanied by Marie de Brabant (d. m. (1274) Philippe le Hardi (1270-1285); Jeanne de Navarre (party of France and Navarre) (*gules a chain or in cross and saltire*), m. Philippe le Bel 1285, d. 1305 ; identifies her as Jeanne, Queen of Navarre from 1274 and countess of Champagne, married to Philippe le Bel on 16.viii.1284, d. 1305 ; Jeanne de Châtillon (d. 1292), widow of Pierre d'Alençon, fifth son of St Louis (d. 1284), heraldic robe Châtillon (*gules 3 pals vair a chief or*) impaling *azure semé of fleurs de lis or, a bordure gules* ; Béatrix de Bourbon (d. 1310), wife of Robert de Clermont (d. 1318), sixth son of St Louis, whose arms she wears : *azure semé of fleurs de lis or a bend gules* ; and a lady bearing the arms of Artois, most likely for Blanche d'Artois, sister of Robert II d'Artois and mother of Jeanne de Navarre and mother-in-law of Philippe le Bel (or Mahaut d'Artois, daughter of Robert II). The two other men are, on right and left : Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France

to d. 1302 (*gules semé of trefoils or, two barbels ad-dorsed or*) and Gaucher de Châtillon comte de Porcéan, Constable of Champagne from 1284 and Constable of France 1302-1329 (arms in BNF, Fr. 1633 *gules 3 pals vair*, in Fr. 1589 with *a chief or a martlet sable* in dexter canton, making the identification clear). What is not clear is who owned these manuscripts ?

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 3142, ca 1285 : likely owners Marie de Brabant or Blanche de France, for whom Adenet le Roi wrote *Cléomadès*, or Marie's nephew Jean de Brabant : opening miniature of Adenet with Marie de Brabant (*robe party per pale France and Brabant, sable a lion or*) on her bed, with her young nephew the future Jean II de Brabant (*Brabant a label of 5 points gules*) and Blanche de France, widow of Ferdinand de la Cerda (*robe of France impaling 2 quarters, Castile (gules 3 castles or) and León (argent a lion with a difference of sable for gules)* (f. 1r°).

Unidentified lay women (listed by likely place of residence, in alphabetical order)

Amiens or Paris ? Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Frank Sidney Adams Fund, ms 22.376, Hours of Paris use, Amiens ? ca. 1300 ? Gradual Psalms, A initial, woman in hair net praying at altar (f. 144r°).

Amiens or Soissons ?

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 38, Hours, ca 1290-1297 ? Hours of the Virgin of Amiens use ; Office of the Dead of Soissons use ; women depicted in prayer (f. 14r°).

Arras, Saint-Omer, or Tournai ?

Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryski, ms 3466, Hours, use of Saint-Omer ? ca 1260-1267 ? Hours of the Virgin : Matins : one portrait : D initial, Woman in wimple holding open book prays before Crowned Virgin and Child (f. 109r°).

Arras

Paris, BNF, Lat. 1328, Psalter-Hours of Arras use, before 1297 ? one portrait : Woman kneeling before the Virgin at *O intemerata* (f. 222r°).

New York, PML, Glazier 59, Hours of Arras use, ca 1300 : one portrait : Woman kneeling before the

Virgin and Child at the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (f. 68r°).

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 104, Psalter-Hours of Arras use, ca 1300 : one portrait : Matins of the Virgin : D initial, Nativity : Virgin nursing Child ; border : musicians, man with sword and buckler, centaur hunting lion, kneeling woman, doctor with urine flask (f. 32v°).

Cambrai

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 88 Hours, Office of the Dead of Cambrai use, ca 1300-1310 : one portrait : Hours of the Virgin (incomplete): Compline : woman wearing veil and wimple praying in margin before Resurrection (f. 100v°).

Cambrai or Ghent

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 82, Psalter-Hours, ca 1320-1325 ? Office of the Dead of Ghent or Cambrai use : Hours of the Virgin, Matins : woman in veil and wimple kneeling in the margin before the Annunciation (f. 171r°).

Douai

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms 9391, Psalter-Hours of Saint-Amé (OSB) Douai, ca 1275-1280 : two portraits of women, one of a man : praying woman at extracts from Isaiah (f. 86r°); Prayers to the Virgin : man kneeling before the Virgin and Child (f. 113v°); Confitebor : C initial, praying woman in hair-net, veil and headbands, at altar with draped chalice, blessed by bust of God (f. 167r°).

Douai or Soissons ?

London, BL, Add. 17444, Hours, Calendar of Soissons, ca 1280 : one portrait : Matins of the Virgin : D initial, Virgin and Child : Virgin crowned, enthroned, holding ball, Child standing on her knee holding ball and blessing ; border : praying woman in yellow robe, white veil (no wimple); youth in cale playing hockey (f. 55v°).

Liège

London, BL, Stowe 17, Dominican Hours, calendar of Liège : Praying woman wearing veil and wimple in borders on illustrated pages, passim ; with a man on f. 271r°, witnessing the Death of the Virgin.

Meaux or Paris ?

Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, ms 353, Psalter, calendar of the Diocese of Meaux, ca 1260 ? Woman wearing a wimple kneeling before the Virgin and Child in a full-page miniature, facing Psalm 109 ; perhaps Juliane de Grez, Abbess of Faremoutiers (f. 131v°).

Metz and Paris ?

Paris, BNF, N.a.lat. 560, Hours of Sainte-Croix, Poitiers, before 1297 : Matins of the Virgin : woman wearing wimple kneeling on border, accompanied by a man or another woman with unveiled head (indistinct) (f. 1r°).

London, BL, Add. 39843, *Sainte-Abbaye* (ff. 1r°-27r°) and *Li livres de l'estat de l'ame* (ff. 28v°-81v°), with a miniature from *La Somme le roi* (f. 51v°), ca 1290-1300 : T, foliage initial (f. 28v°); on the facing page, not at a text break, a miniature in four parts : top left, a woman wearing a blue tunic, grey cloak lined in blue, white wimple and veil kneels in supplication and is blessed by a seated Dominican and by the Hand of God above ; an angel holds a scroll saying '*si vis delere via crimina dic miserere*'; above, two quatrefoils contain veiled female heads ; a bell-tower with silver spire topped by a cross, two ropes hanging down, separates this from the scene on the right, where the same woman kneels in prayer below an angel holding a candle, separated by a column from the Virgin crowned by Christ, both seated on a throne placed on a three-tiered draped altar ; below, the same woman inclines in prayer before Christ, crowned with Thorns, who leans out of a cloud revealing the Wounds which bleed into a chalice on a draped altar before the woman ; a tree is behind her, and an angel above holds the cross ; a scroll emanating from Christ reads '*pro vita populi respice quenta tuli*'; a carved pillar separates this from the bottom right, where the same woman kneels orant beneath sun and moon before the Gnadenstuhl Trinity in a cloud, blood from Christ's feet dripping into a chalice on a draped altar below (f. 29r°). Her robes distinguish her from the nuns depicted elsewhere, suggesting she is a lay woman.

Metz

Renate König Collection (Sotheby's 3.vii.84, lot 77) Hours of Metz, after 1297 : portrait of a couple :

Hours of the Virgin : Matins : Annunciation : border : praying man and woman (f. 24r°); border figures of a praying woman, *passim*, or a praying man, *passim*.

Paris, Arsenal, ms 288, Hours of Metz (?), ca 1310-1320, Seven Penitential Psalms : D initial, woman wearing wimple and veil kneels before Christ holding TO globe who blesses her (f. 130v°); Hours of the Cross : A initial, woman in wimple and veil kneels before Christ on the cross (f. 142v°).

Metz, BM, ms 1588, Psalter-Hours of Metz, Hours of the Virgin, Matins : woman with veiled head kneeling before the Virgin and Child, being handed a crown by Christ (f. 183r°); and kneeling, praying, with or without book, in historiated initials, *passim*.

Paris

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 40, Hours of Paris use, 13c. 3/4 : Hours of the Virgin : Lauds through Vespers : woman wearing touret and headbands praying at altar (ff. 57v°, 69v°, 75r°, 78v°, 82r°, 85v°); Compline : man praying before altar (f. 92r°); Office of the Dead, Matins : woman praying at altar (f. 134v°).

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 97, Hours of Paris use, 13c. 4/4 : Matins of the Virgin : woman wearing touret and headbands kneeling before Virgin and Child (f. 7r°); Gradual Psalms : A initial, woman wearing touret and headbands praying at altar, Head of God in cloud (f. 81r°).

Grenoble, BM, ms 149, Fragmentary Hours, ca 1270-1280 ? woman in veil and wimple kneeling in the margin before Joachim and Anna praying for a Child at Matins of the Virgin (f. 18r°).

Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, sign. Vit. 23-10, Hours, indeterminate use, ca 1270-1275 ? for an English patron ; Gradual Psalms, A initial, kneeling woman with touret, veil, wimple, before altar, God leaning out of cloud blesses her (f. 168r°).

Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, ms Solger 4.40, Hours of Amiens for an English patron, before 1297 ; Gradual Psalms : A initial, woman in veil and headbands ascending steps to God (f. 179v°).

Paris, BNF, Fr. 2186, *Roman de la Poire*, ca 1270-1280 Lover and Lady, both in heraldic robes, France a cross or engrailed gules, in 4 of the 9 full-page miniatures : Wheel of Fortune : lover pulled

up by lady seated at top (f. 2v°); circles : the lover and his lady seated : she hands him a ring and points, he holds gloves ; the lovers embrace (f. 4v°) ; arches : top : the lady places the helm on the head of the seated knight and hands him a scarf ; bottom : she hands him a lance with pennon as he rides off, the scarf attached to his helm (f. 8v°); arch frame : lover kneels before his lady, offering her his book (f. 10v°) ; and the lover or the lady or both also appear in the historiated initials. The heraldry has not been traced and the close relationship with the words of the text and the subjects of the historiated initials suggests that the couple and their arms are fictitious.

Vienna ; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ; Cod. S.n. 2596, 14c. 1/4, Hours : Matins of the Virgin : D initial, woman with veiled head kneeling before Virgin and Child (f. 5r°).

Reims

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Reid 83 (A.L.2074-19030, Hours use of Reims, ca 1270-80 ? : one portrait : Gradual Psalms, A initial, woman in touret and head bands kneeling before the Virgin and Child (f. 176r°).

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 98, Hours of Reims (calendar is Stockholm NM, B 1648), ca 1290-1295 ? two portraits of a laywoman, one of a nun : Hours of the Virgin, Matins : D initial, Virgin and Child flanked by two censuring angels in clouds and by praying Franciscan nun and lay woman wearing touret and headbands (f. 1r°); at three prayers to the Virgin : woman praying (f. 77v°, 79r°, 83v°).

Reims, Amiens, Cambrai, or Théroouanne ?

Cambrai, BM, ms 87, Hours of Reims use, Calendar of Paris ; Reims, Cambrai, or Théroouanne ? ca 1300-1320 : Matins of the Virgin, woman praying to heaven while threatened by male tempter in major initials and alone in minor initials, *passim* ; two portraits with husband, Gaucher de Châtillon d'Autrèche (arms *paly gules and vair on a chief or a lion issant sable*); over 100 portraits of her in two-line initials, *passim*. Gautier's wife is apparently undocumented : she is not Isabeau de Rumigny who was the third wife of Gaucher de Châtillon comte de Porcéan. To judge by her heraldry, *sable a lion argent* (not *or*), she would

appear to be a lady of the Gaesbeck family of Leuven.

Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms 62 (1423), Hours, use of Saint-Omer ? after 1297. Hours of the Virgin : 4 portraits of a woman, one of a man : Sext : woman wearing hair net, kneeling on bar border below Adoration of the Magi (f. 73v°) ; Hours of the Holy Ghost : None, praying woman wearing hair net, on border, below Crucifixion (f. 145v°) ; Seven Penitential Psalms : Ps 37, praying woman with book (f. 165v°) ; Litany : man kneeling before blessing Christ (f. 187r°). Praying woman on bottom margin, Virgin and Child on border at Prayer to Virgin (f. 203r°).

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig IX.3, Ruskin Hours, before 1297. Hours of the Virgin use of Amiens ? Hours of the Virgin, Matins, at Ps. 8 : woman praying towards cloud (f. 40r°) ; at L1, couple kneeling before Virgin and Child (f. 44r°) ; Prime : at Collect, woman praying towards cloud (f. 81r°) ; Terce : at Ps 120, woman praying to Christ (f. 82v°) ; Sext : at Ps 122, woman praying towards angel in cloud (f. 86r°) ; Compline : at hymn, woman praying in margin before female martyr (f. 101r°) ; man praying : f. 75r°, 79r°, 81v°, 102r°, 102v° praying knight, f. 29r°, 52v°, 59r° ; two men praying : f. 20v°, 64 v°.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud lat. 84, Psalter, ca 1290-1297 ? calendar indeterminate : at Ps 142, woman kneeling with book in bottom border (f. 323r°) ; at Ps 142, woman praying in bottom border (f. 327r°) ; at Ps 146, woman praying in bottom border (f. 335r°).

Sion ? (Prov. Tarantaise)

Troyes, BM, ms 1905, Hours of mixed use, ca 1300 : Fifteen Joys of the Virgin in French : D, Woman with veiled head kneeling before the Virgin (crowned, haloed) and Child (by the assistant artist) (f. 176r°).

Thérouanne

Paris, BNF, Lat. 1076, Psalter, and Marseille, BM, ms 111, Hours of Thérouanne, ca 1290-1297

Paris, BNF, Lat. 1076 : praying woman with veiled head (f. 21r°, 69r°) ; praying nun in grey habit (f. 148r°) ; praying knight (f. 118r°), praying man (f. 149r°), man praying before St Francis (f. 153v°) ;

Marseille, BM, ms 111 : Penitential Psalms : woman with veiled head and wimple praying before

draped altar and veiled chalice, blessed by Hand of God (f. 40r°) ; in borders : praying woman wearing wimple and veil, often reading (ff. 3Ar° 16r°, 21r°, 30r°, 66v° at Suffrage to St Dominic, 69r°, 136v°, 137v° 138v°, 144r°, 148v°, at *O intemerata* ff. 151v°, 154r°, 156r°) ; woman with veiled head in initial (f. 100r°) ; man praying (ff. 14v°, 17v°, 27v°, 28v° 29v°, 95r° ; before St Francis f. 141v°) ; couple praying (f. 27r°), busts of couple (ff. 29r°, 36r°, 63r°, 76r°, 93v°, 94r°, 104v°, 113r°, 142r°).

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 90, Hours of Saint-Omer and Dominican use, ca. 1300-1310 : Hours of the Holy Ghost, Matins : Woman in prayer (f. 135r°).

London, BL, Add. 36684/New York, PML, M. 754, Hours of Saint-Omer, ca 1318-1320, London : Praying woman wearing wimple and veil in or adjacent to every historiated initial ; three times with man ; numerous depictions of a male child : Vespers of the Holy Ghost : John the Baptist (long hair) preaching to seated crowd, kneeling woman in right margin, wearing wimple, praying ; kneeling man on left border, praying (f. 17v°) ; None of the Sacrament : Christ gives host to standing knight, ailette *gules a saltire argent* [white] *4 besants of the same* ; shield *gules a rosette* design, partly obscured, *argent* [white] ; kneeling woman in right margin, wearing wimple, holding book in one hand, raising the other (f. 45v°) ; Vespers of the Cross : Deposition ; kneeling woman in right margin, wearing wimple, praying ; kneeling man in left margin, wearing cale, praying (f. 71v°).

Unidentified Nuns

Bruges or Tournai ?

Bruges, Grand Séminaire, ms 54/100, Breviary for the nuns of Spermalie (O. Cist., Dioc. Tournai), 1268-1270 : a Cistercian nun in white habit and wimple, black veil, kneeling before St Stephen being stoned (f. 220r°) and St John boiled in oil (f. 223r°).

Cambrai, illuminated by Master Henri

Brussels, BR, 1787, St Bernard, Sermons, ca 1285-1290 ? Cambrai : V initial, St Bernard blessing a group of seven kneeling nuns in brown habits and black veils (f.8r°).

Brussels, BR, ms 2512, Gregory the Great, *Liber de virtutibus de dilectione dei et proximi*, ca 1280-1290, Cambrai. C initial, Gregory, seated, wearing triangular papal tiara, holding book, blessing a kneeling nun wearing a brown habit and black veil (f. 2v°).

The Hague, Köninklijke Bibliotheek, ms 74. H.31, Cistercian Diurnal, ca 1280 ? Cambrai. Nun in blue-grey habit and black veil, kneeling before the Virgin and Child, full-page miniature (f. 17v°).

Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. S.n. 12771, St Bernard, Sermons, ca 1295 ? Cambrai. Bernard, seated, blessing a group of kneeling nuns, all wearing grey-blue habits (f. 1r°).

Douai

Valenciennes, BM, ms 838, Martyrology and Obi-tuary of Notre-Dame-des-Prés, Douai (O. Cist., Dioc. Arras), between 1270 and 1298 : a triple group of man, woman, and nun, depicted watching the Presentation (f. 63v°), and in the border below the Baptism (f. 92); a kneeling nun by herself facing the Visitation (f. 73r°), and again as an isolated witness to Mary and the martyrs at an altar (ff. 13v°, 83r°). See G. Cordier's article in this volume.

Metz

Brussels, BR, ms 6435(VdG 625), Dominican Gradual, ca 1290, Metz : First Sunday in Advent, A initial, Crucifixion with sun and moon, Mary, her heart pierced by a sword, and John, head on hand, holding a book ; at the feet of Christ is a kneeling Dominican nun, praying (f. 4r°).

Périgueux

London, BL, Egerton 945, Franciscan noted Devotional Miscellany in Latin, French, and Occitan ; Périgueux, ca 1319. *Ave Maria* in French verse : *Ave dame ie vos salu/Je chetiva qui en la plu...*(Sonet 104): A initial, Franciscan nun kneels before the Virgin and Child, wearing grey habit, white wimple, black veil, white knotted belt (f. 43r°); Office for Corpus Christi, in Latin (ff. 214r°-224r°): D initial, two clerics in white offer host in gold monstrance above chalice to nun in bed, a second nun *has her arm round the one in bed* ; border : archer aiming at large green parrot (f. 214r°); Hours of Passion : kneeling nun be-

fore Christ revealing wound in side ; border : jousting knights, one with shield argent (tarnished, a red motif ?), the other or and gules – originally gules 3 lions or, for the Talleyrand-Périgord family ? (f. 237v°).

Reims

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 98, Hours of Reims use, see unidentified lay woman, above.

Tournai ?

Cambrai, BM, ms 99, Breviary of Marquette (O. Cist., Dioc. Tournai), ca 1280 ? nun wearing brown habit, white wimple, black veil, kneeling before Christ on the cross between the Virgin and St John (f. 5v°).

Portraits of Men in Books Made in France, ca 1260-1320

Clerics

Bérenger Frédol, Bishop of Béziers (1294-1305): Guillelmus de Mandagoto, *Super electionibus*, dedicated to Bérenger before 1295 : depicted in Paris, BNF, Lat. 8926, f. 201r°.

Enguerrand de Créquy, Bishop of Cambrai (1273/1274-1285): Toledo, Archivo Capitular 59. 17, Pontifical of Cambrai : inscribing the alphabet on the cathedral floor at the consecration (f. 100r°); presiding over Synod of Cambrai (f. 176r°) and performing episcopal acts *passim*.

Étienne Becquart de Panoul, Archbishop of Sens (1292-1309): Auxerre, Trésor de la Cathédrale, ms 8, Noted festal missal ; Sens, BM 5, Epistolary and Evangeliary ; Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 12.v.1995, lot 1, Breviary, Paris, ca 1300 : depicted as priest at *Per omnia*, *passim* ; initials with bishop's head, *passim* ; shields of Bequart and Sens in Auxerre 8, f. 38r°.

Étienne de Mornay, Abbot of St-Martin, Tours (ca 1315-1329): Tours, BM, ms 1023 : Sulpicius Severus, Life of St Martin in Latin (ff. 1r°-40v°): Prefatory letter : *Severus desuderui fratri karissimi salutem...*S. seated saint at desk, admonishing youth who holds book and turns back, waving farewell ; below, Martin on horseback divides vair-lined cloak with beggar ; bottom border : abbot kneeling, robed in white surplis, red chasuble and gold morse, hol-

ding mace (not crozier); shield *argent a 5-branched tree with fruit* painted red white and blue (f. 1r°); Nine lessons for the Translation of St Martin's head in 1323 : Rubric : *De translatione capitis beati Martini .i.* (cf. Tours, BM, ms 1021, ff. 183v°-188v°): *Salvator noster...* S init. top : translation of St. Martin's skull from gold house-shaped shrine into gold head reliquary : bishop holds skull, another cleric lifts mitre off head reliquary so that the head can be inserted ; below : King Philippe V le Long (r1315-1322), Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois and their daughter Jeanne (1308-1347), kneel before an altar with gold chalice and corporal on it ; behind them stands a man wearing a short tunic and holding a staff with an oval silver finial on the top. Bottom border : shield *argent a four-(not five)-branched tree with red and white fruit*, cf. f. 1r°; dragon (f.101r°).

Guillaume le Maire, Bishop of Angers (1291-1314): *Livre de Guillaume le Maire*, Angers, AD, G. 7 : an account of his reign, with portraits, from the death of his predecessor to his departure for Rome in 1307 : his consecration as bishop (f. 17r°); his procession to Saint-Aubin on the Sunday after Ascension Day (f. 17v°).

Guillaume de Thiéville, Bishop of Coutances (1315-1347): Pontifical, Paris, BNF, Lat. 973 : shown as priest celebrating mass, shields on borders, passim.

Johannes de Marchello, Abbot of Saint-Jean, OPraem., Amiens : The Hague, KB, ms 78 D 40, 1323. Colophon and dedication miniatures : F, Johannes de Marchello seated wearing black almuce, holding crozier ; miniature : Johannes de Marchello wearing almuce, holding crozier, receives book from Pierre de Raimbaucourt, kneeling ; decorative panel : archer shoots stag, 3 dogs (f. 177r°) ; the patron, Jean, is also depicted as abbot celebrating mass, accompanied by an acolyte holding his crozier, on ff. 50r°, 64r°, 69r° 103v°; and he is shown blessing clerics in the border on f. 109r°, and kneeling in a white habit at the feet of Christ in the Majesty page (f. 63r°).

John XXII, Pope (1316-1334): shown receiving books : Paris, BNF, Lat. 365, Commentary on Genesis, composed for him by Dominique Grima (Grenier) in 1319, dedicatory frontispiece (f. 1r°); Henricus de Carreto OFM, *Liber visionis Ezekiel* : Paris,

BNF Lat. 503, author presenting book to pope (f. 1r°); Bernard Gui, OP, *Speculum spiritualis*, part IV, Paris, BNF, Lat. 5406, written in 1329 : author hands book to pope (f. 1r°).

Nicholas Alberti, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and Velletri (1303-1.iv.1321): Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 355, Seneca, *Tragedies* with Commentary by Nicholas Trivet : T, author handing book to Alberti (f. 5r°).

Renaud de Bar, Canon of Verdun (1302-1303), Bishop of Metz (1302-1316): Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Fitz. 298/Prague, Statni Knihovna XXIII C 120, Pontifical ; London, BL, YT 8/Verdun, BM, ms 107, Breviary ; Verdun, BM, ms 98, Missal ; Metz, BM, ms 43, Ritual (destroyed 31.viii.1944): shown performing liturgical acts, passim ; portraits in initials ; heraldry.

Robert de Béthune, Abbot of Clairmarais, O. Cist., Dioc. Thérouanne (1257-1266): Saint-Omer, BM, ms 174, shown wearing a black habit, holding his crozier, kneeling, within a Gothic arch, before the standing Virgin and Child, to whom he offers a bound volume (f. 2v°).

Rodolphe de Torrette, Archbishop of Lyon (1284-1288): probable owner of Carpentras BU 96, Pontifical of Lyon : shown performing archiepiscopal acts, passim.

W. de Curtracho, scribe/compiler, owner ? Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 753, Bernardine and Augustinian *Florilegium* : prefatory miniature shows him as cleric wearing a black habit, sitting in bed with his boots beside him, writing on a bifolium or wax tables from models ; his name is inscribed on a table below the bed.

Unidentified Monks and clerics

Cambrai

Paris, BNF, Fr. 1553, Literary miscellany, after 1285, made in Cambrai for a canon of Cambrai Cathedral, shown tonsured and wearing blue, kneeling at the Crucifixion (frontispiece).

Dol ?

Paris, BNF, Lat. 5350, Baudri de Bourgueil, *Vita Samsonis*, ca 1300, Normandy ? Samson, Bishop of

Dol ? or a contemporary bishop of Dol ? receiving the book on f. 1r° 'from' Baudri de Bourgueil.

Metz

Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, ms 16, Bible, Genesis-Psalms, for a Dominican shown kneeling in the margin at the end of the Prologue next to the Crucifixion with Mary, John, and the Evangelist Symbols ; the Genesis initial is in the adjacent column (f. 4r°).

Narbonne

Frankfurt, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Lintel Collection, ms L.M.20, Picture-Book with captions in Occitan, and Psalter, Canticles, Hymns, in Latin, 1265, Narbonne : Hymns : Primo dierum : P, cleric kneeling at an altar, Hand of God in cloud ; border : bishop/abbot terminal blessing (f. 185r°).

Paris, illuminated by the Méliacin Master

Private Collection, Psalter-Hours (Burdett Psalter-Hours), ca 1280-1290, Paris : a Hospitaller patron of debatable French or English identify, shown kneeling before St John the Baptist (f. 7v°).

Troyes, BM, ms 1160, Breviary of Clairvaux : monk kneeling before the Virgin and Child (f. 9r°).

Toulouse

Carcassonne, Evêché (no shelf number), ca. 1320 ? Missal of Moussoulens : unidentified Dominican kneeling in the bottom margins of the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty pages.

Laymen

Gaucher V de Châtillon, Seigneur de Crécy, Comte de Porcéan from 1302-1329 ; his arms appear in Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton 171/3/Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 118 ; see also Isabelle de Kievraing and Joffroy d'Aspremont, and Guillaume de Dampierre et de Saint-Dizier ; depicted wearing heraldic dress on f. 1r° in the *Roman de Méliacin*, Paris, BNF, Fr. 1633 and Fr. 1589, see also Raoul de Nesle, Blanche de France, Jeanne de Navarre, Marie de Brabant.

Guilbert de Sainte-Aldegonde, gave his *Psalter* of Tournai use, Saint-Omer, BM, ms 270, to the Charreuse de Longuenesse in 1323, having added a dedicatory portrait and inscription (f. 1r°).

Guillaume de Dampierre et de Saint-Dizier (d. 1320), married at an uncertain date to Marie d'Aspremont-Kievraing, depicted as a knight jousting with a knight bearing the arms of Bar, Melbourne, NGV, Felton 171, Hours of Metz (f. 29r°). See also Isabelle de Kievraing and Joffroy d'Aspremont, and Gaucher V de Châtillon.

Guillaume de Termonde ? New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, ms 229, *Agravain, Queste, Mort Artu* : with horse (housing *or a lion sa, a bend gu on front and hindquarters*), a knight (surcoat *or, ailette rubbed*, but possibly *or a lion sable* ?) kneels before a lady : possibly a reference to Guillaume de Termonde, son of Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders, who bore these arms (f. 1r°).

Joffroi d'Aspremont : see Isabelle de Kievraing.

Louis X le Hutin, King of France (r1314-1316): likely recipient of the presentation copy of the *Liber de Dimna et Kalila*, Paris, BNF, Lat. 8504 (translated from Spanish to Latin by Raymond de Béziers for his mother Jeanne de Navarre, d. 1305), preceded by a dedication miniature and scenes of his knighting on the feast of Pentecost, 1313, but see also Philippe le Bel.

Philippe III le Hardi, King of France (r1270-1285): Paris, Bibliothèque-Sainte-Geneviève, ms 782, *Grandes chroniques de France*, probably the copy dedicated to him by Matthieu de Vendôme, abbot of Saint-Denis, after 1274 : king receives book in dedication miniature (f. 326v°).

Philippe IV le Bel, King of France (1285-1314): possible owner of a *Roman de Méliacin*, either Paris, BNF, Fr. 1633 or 1589, in both of which he is represented as part of the family miniature on f. 1r° (see Queens ; and Raoul de Nesle, and Gaucher de Châtillon-Porcéan); possible owner of *Liber de Dimna et Kalila*, Paris, BNF Lat. 8504, shown on f. 1r° at the centre of a family group (Ill. 1) (but see also Louix X); Gilles de Rome wrote *De regimine principum* while tutor to the young Philippe ; copies of the French translation say they were commissioned by Philippe as king and contain dedication scenes, for instance, New York, PML, M 122, f. 1r°; Ramon Llull dedicated his *Liber natalis pueri parvuli Christi Jesu* to him in 1310 : Paris, BNF, Lat. 3323, opens with a dedication miniature of the king receiving the book from its author (f. 2r°); his *Acta*, Paris, AN, JJ5, and the copy

of the papal bulls issued for the kings of France between 1200 and 1312, Paris, BNF, Lat. 12726, produced between 1307 and 1324, during Pierre d'Étampes' direction of the Garde du Trésor des Chartres and both illustrated by the Fauvel Master.

Philippe V le Long, King of France (r1318-1322): two copies of the *Vie de saint Denis*, Paris, BNF Fr. 2090-2092 (fol. 4v°) and Paris, BNF Lat. 5286 (fol. 1r°) show Abbot Gilles presenting the book to the king.

Raoul de Clermont-Nesle, Connétable de France (d. 1302): likely owner of Girart d'Amiens, *Roman de Meliacin*, Paris, BNF, Fr. 1633 or 1589, both of which include his portrait in heraldic dress (see also Gaucher de Châtillon, comte de Porcéan, Queens, and Philippe le Bel); possible owner (or another member of his family) of the hours, Avignon, BM, ms 121, which include a jousting knight wearing the arms of Clermont-Nesle.

Robert II d'Artois (r1250-1302), nephew of Louis IX: Adenet le Roi addressed the epilogue of *Cléomadès* to him: in Arsenal, ms 3142 f. 72r° and BNF, Fr. 24404, f. 168r°, miniature of author presenting book to Robert as knight holding shield of Artois (*France differenced with a label gules, of 3 points* not the usual 5), but wearing ailettes of Brabant: *sable a lion or*. For the opening miniature, see Queens above.

Unidentified layman alone

Princeton, Princeton University, The Art Museum, inv. no. 44-18, Book of Hours, indeterminate use, Théroouanne? Penitential Psalms: Christ blessing; kneeling man in right margin (f. 165r°).

1 A. A. HENTSCH, *De la littérature didactique du Moyen Âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Dissertation inaugurale présentée à la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université Frédéricienne de Halle-Wittenberg), Halle an der Saale, 1903; S. GROAG BELL, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of lay piety and ambassadors of culture', *Signs*, 7, 1982, p. 742-68, reprinted in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, J. M. BENNETT et al. eds., Chicago and London, Chicago Univ. Press, 1989, p. 135-61; G. HASENOHR, 'La vie quotidienne de la femme vue par l'église: l'enseignement des 'journées chrétiennes' de la fin du Moyen Âge', *Frau und Spätmittelalterlicher Alltag. Internationaler Kongress* (Krems an der Donau 2-5 Oktober 1984), Vienna, 1986, p. 19-101.

2 Particularly important monographic studies are A. BENNETT, 'A Thirteenth-Century French Book of Hours for Marie', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54, 1996, p. 21-50, figs. 1-21; *Id.*, 'A Woman's Power of Prayer versus the Devil in a Book of Hours ca. 1300', *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, C. HOURIHANE ed., Princeton, 1999, p. 89-108.

3 The most recent survey of texts and manuscripts in French verse is K. BUSBY, *Codex and Context*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2002.

4 Paris, BNF, Fr. 15106, *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils*, *Manuscrits*, F. AVRIL ed., Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1998, no. 201; Thomas de Cantimpré, *Eine Altfranzösische Moralisierende Bearbeitung des 'Liber de monstruosis hominibus orientis' aus Thomas de Cantimpré 'De naturis rerum', nach der Einzigen Handschrift [Paris BNF. Fr. 15106] Herausgegeben*, A. HILKA ed., Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1933. As Flutre has remarked, the text is full of errors, suggesting it is removed at some degree from an original (L.-F. FLUTRE, 'A propos de l'édition Hilka du poème des Monstres des Hommes', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 71, 1955, p. 422-48). Several ladies associated with Enghien may be suggested as patrons, see A. STONES, *Manuscripts Illuminated in France: Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Turnhout (forthcoming).

5 References from 1836 are summarized in *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4) p. 269, no. 176, by F. AVRIL, since which see W. AZZAM and O. COLLET, 'Le manuscrit 3142 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Mise en recueil et conscience littéraire au XIII^e siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e-XII^e siècles*, 44, 2001, p. 207-45; and K. BUSBY, *Codex and Context*, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 212, 214-15, 404, 474-76, 525-27, 640.

6 Reproduced, without comment on the heraldry, in R. H. ROUSE and M. A. ROUSE, *Manuscripts and their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500: Illuminati et uxorati*, 2 vols, Turnhout, Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2000, fig. 55.

7 *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), 266-67, no. 174.

8 On Philippe's left is his oldest son Louis, King of Navarre since the death of Queen Jeanne de Navarre in 1305, the future Louis X (r1314-16), bearing the arms of Navarre; on the queen's right are two men wearing the arms of France with a bordure, shown at cuffs and hems: one bordure is of *gules*, identified by Beaune and Titterton as Charles de Valois (d. 1325), brother of Philippe IV; and by Tesnière as Philippe, the future Philippe V (r1316-22); Titterton notes the absence of the label borne, in addition to the bordure, by Charles de Valois in 1296, offering the alternative suggestion that this might be Charles' son, the future Philippe VI (r1328-50), who used a bordure engrailed (but see also Charles de Valois bearing a label alone in 1301, Pinoteau p. 16). The man next on the right wears the other robe of France with a bordure, this time *compony argent and gules*, for Charles, comte de la Marche, 3rd son of Philippe IV, the future Charles IV (r1322-28) (Douet d'Arcq, no. 851, in 1317). The last figure, on the left of Louis de Navarre, wears a robe of France a label *compony gules and argent*, according to Titterton for Philippe, second son of Philippe IV, the future Philippe V (r1316-22), count of Poitiers and also count of Burgundy through his marriage in 1307 to Jeanne, daughter of Mahaut d'Artois and Othon, count of Burgundy;

Tesnière says this is Charles de Valois; F. AVRIL in *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4) says the bearer of the label is not a direct member of the Artois family but is probably the half-brother of Philippe IV, Louis d'Evreux (d. 1319), married in 1301 to Marguerite d'Artois (d. 1311); but according to Pinoteau he bore a *bend compony gules and argent*, not a label (see also ES II, Taf. 12, 13, and 22; and Pinoteau, p. 9, 16). References are to C. BEAUNE, *L'Art de l'Enluminure au Moyen Âge. Le Miroir du pouvoir*, Paris, Hervas, 1989, p. 116; L. DOUET D'ARCO, *Collection de sceaux*, Paris, Plon, 1863; H. PINOTEAU, *Héraldique Capétienne*, Paris, Cahiers nobles, 1954, repr. Paris, P. de La Perrière, 1979, M.-H. TESNIÈRE, *Creating French Culture*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, 1995, p. 73-74, no. 22 (colour); J. Titterton, private communications.

9 Reproduced in colour in *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 304, no. 205. The inclusion of heraldic shields on the corners of a full-page miniature is repeated in a missal fragment illuminated by the same or a closely similar artist, the Christ in Majesty page now Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, ms 298. The arms on the corners are those of the Munchensy family of Norfolk (*or three escutcheons vair*), for Denise de Munchensy or her granddaughter, also named Denise. Both ladies continued to use the Munchensy arms after remarriage, in the case of the older Denise, or marriage for the first time, in the case of the younger Denise. Denise the younger's heir was Aymer de Valence, son of William de Valence and Joan de Munchensy, daughter of Warin II de Munchensy by his first wife, Joan, daughter of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke (Complete Peerage, IX, 421-24); Aymer's wife is depicted in Thomas le Myésier's *Breviculum*. See below and A. STONES, *Manuscripts...*, *op. cit.* (note 4).

10 The literature is extensive, beginning with G. VON VITZTHUM, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des heiligen Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa*, Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1907, p. 97-99, pl. XXI (f. 71^o); selectively, see S. HUOT, *From Song to Book*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell Univ. Press, 1987, p. 174-93, fig. 15 (f. 2v); V. GUILLAUME, 'Le manuscrit illustré du roman de la Poire, XIII^e siècle', *Histoire de l'art*, 1993, p. 3-14; for a date some time after 1270, see H.-E. KELLER, 'La structure du Roman de la Poire', *Conjunctions: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*, K. BUSBY and N.J. LACY eds., Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1994, p. 205-17, at 213; F. AVRIL, *Lenluminure à l'époque gothique*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'image, 1995, p. 20-21 (f. 3^{vo}); M. CAMILLE, *The Medieval Art of Love*, New York, Abrams, 1998, 29, fig. 19 (f. 41^{vo} cited with wrong shelf number); 39, fig. 28 (f. 1^{vo}); K. BUSBY, *Codex and Context*, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 42, 168-70, (figs III, 17-18 174-75 (fig. III, 28), 181, 436, 588-89, 593 (fig. VI, 22).

11 Facsimile edition ed. G. STAMM et al., *Raimundus Lullus-Thomas Le Myésier, Electorium parvum sive Breviculum*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1988.

12 Joan de Munchensy, mother of Aymer, was the only other female member of the Valence family likely to have borne the Valence arms; but she died in 1307, so despite the wimple, the portrait most likely does represent the newly-married Marie de Saint-Pol. For Marie, see H. JENKINSON, 'Mary de Santo Paulo, foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge', *Archaeologia* 66, 1915, p. 401-66. An illuminated breviary adapted for her (the heraldry is added) is Cambridge, Univ. Lib., ms Dd. V. 5. She also founded a college for Bretons in Paris (her maternal grandfather's heritage). See particularly J. N. HILLGARTH, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1971, p. 172-85, 463; and <http://orbita.bib.ub.es/llull/ms.asp>

13 Ed. A. BOS, *La chirurgie de maître Henri de Mondeville; traduction contemporaine de l'auteur, publiée d'après le ms. unique de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2 vols, Paris, Société des anciens textes français, 1897-98; K. SUDHOFF, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, Barth, 1908, repr. Hildesheim, Ohms, 1964, p. 82-89, pl. XXIII

verso, 1-13; *La médecine médiévale à travers les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, M.-J. IMBAULT-HUARD ed., Paris, BN, 1982, p. 57-58, no. 37.

14 R. HASLER, 'Die Miniaturen des Breviculum' in *Electorium parvum sive Breviculum*, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 33-59, 34 and fig. 4.

15 Its unrelated illustrations are by the 'Maître au menton fuyant' and can be attributed to Arras or Tournai c. 1323-25. It was bequeathed by Le Myésier to the Sorbonne at this death in 1336. J. N. HILLGARTH, *Ramon Lull...*, *op. cit.* (note 12), p. 172-85; detailed analysis of this manuscript 199-268; detailed list of contents and editions Appendix III, 348-97; edition of ff. 91r°-98v°, Appendix V, 408-31; edition of ff. 448r°-448v°, Appendix VI, 432-38; edition of ff. 452r°-453v°, Appendix VII, 439-45; pl. XVI (f. 90v); A. BONNER, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, 2 vols, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1985, I, p. 100-03, II, p. 61, note 10, 1261, no. II. A. 4; *Tous les Savoirs du monde*, R. SCHAEER ed., Paris, BNF, 1996, p. 76, no. 36, colour pl. 54-55 (ff. 475v°-476r°); A. STONES, « A Note on the Maître au menton fuyant », in *Huldeboek Maurits Smeyers*, Leuven, Peeters, 2002, p. 1129-42, at 1137, ill. 14.

16 Hasler's stylistic comparisons, ('Die Miniaturen...', *op. cit.* note 14), while broadly situating the book in Arras or Théroutanne, do not produce another work by the same hand.

17 Correspondance in the British Library's file by Elisabeth Declercq identifies Augier's shield, party per saltire argent and gules a bordure gobony of the same, which appears in borders passim.

18 E. J. BEER, 'Das Scriptorium des Johannes Philomena und seine Illuminatoren. Zur Buchmalerei in der Region Arras-Cambrai 1250 bis 1274', *Scriptorium*, 23, 1969, p. 24-38.

19 *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 292-93, no. 197.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 270-71, no. 178.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 317-18, no. 216.

22 *Fastes du gothique, le siècle de Charles V*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1981, p. 303-04, no. 251, by F. AVRIL.

23 See most recently Praal, *ernst et emotie, de wereld van het franse middeleeuwse handschrift*, A. S. KORTEWEG ed., The Hague: Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, 2002, p. 48-49, 204, no. 17, pl. 31 (f. 177r°), 30 (ff. 25v°-26r°).

24 *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 325, no. 224.

25 The royal visit actually took place in 1321, two years before the translation, so the two parts of the initial refer in fact to two occasions not one. R. JACOB, 'Peindre le droit ou l'imaginaire du juriste,' in *Le Moyen Âge en lumière: Manuscrits enluminés des bibliothèques de France*, J. DALARUN ed., Paris, Fayard, 2002, p. 207-65, fig. 36.

26 *Écriture et enluminure en Lorraine au Moyen Âge*, Nancy, Société Thierry Alix, 1984, no. 73, notice by J.-L. FRAY; *Metz enluminée*, Metz, Serpenoise, 1989, p. 17, 18, fig. 1, 51, 91.

27 L.M.C. RANDALL, 'The Fragmentation of a Double Antiphonal from Beaupré,' *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, L.L. BROWN RIGG and M.M. SMITH eds., np [Alta Vista], Anderson-Lovelace, 2000, p. 211-29, fig. 21.

28 First reproduced in V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols, Mâcon, Protat, 1940-41, II, p. 203-05, no. 411, pl. CXI.

29 Adelaide Bennett kindly drew this manuscript to my attention.

30 E. SIMMONS, *Les heures de Nuremberg*, Paris, BNF and Cerf, 1994, pl. XXXIX.

31 She is most likely either Blanche de Bretagne, widow of Philippe d'Artois (d. 1298), or Blanche de Bourgogne-Artois, wife of Philippe VI. For further discussion see forthcoming catalogue entries and studies by A. BENNETT, E.A.R. BROWN, L. SANDLER, and A. STONES.

32 A. BENNETT, 'A Thirteenth-Century French Book...', *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 21-50, figs. 1-21.

33 *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 314-15, no. 214.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 281-83, no. 188.

35 A. BENNETT, 'A Woman's Power of Prayer...', *op. cit.* (note 2).

36 G. HASENOHR, 'Un Donat de dévotion en langue d'oc du XIII^e siècle: le *Liber divini amoris*,' *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 35 (Église et culture en France méridionale XII^e-XIV^e s.), 2000, p. 219-43.

37 *L'Art au temps...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 308, no. 209.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 284, no. 189. Because of the wimple, Avril suggests that Marie de Brabant, widow of Philippe III le Hardi (d. 1285), is the most likely person; but Marguerite de Provence would be another widowed candidate of the right date; and the wimple may be of ambiguous significance, as noted above in relation to the question of Isabelle vs. Margaret in Lat. 8504. Another manuscript made for a queen shown wearing a wimple is BNF, Fr. 24429 (S. HUOT, 'A Book Made for a Queen: The Shaping of a Late Medieval Anthology Manuscript (BNF, Fr. 24429),' in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, S. NICHOLS and S. WENZEL eds., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1996, p. 123-43). Given the unusual choices made in the iconography, several of which also occur in the Breviary of Philippe le Bel, BNF, Lat. 1023, it would be reasonable to suppose that this was made as a twin manuscript destined for his wife Jeanne de Navarre. In further support of this idea, E. A. R. Brown comments that Marie de Brabant would have been most unlikely to have included the obit of Philippe IV's first wife, Isabelle d'Aragon, in a book made for herself.

39 Hohler's notes, written before 1966, are in the file on this manuscript at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art; the set of photographs lacks the dedication page.

40 V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols, Macon, Protat, 1934, II, p. 428-29, no. 454.

41 *Ibid.*, II, p. 377-79, no. 424.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

43 V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Psautiers...* *op. cit.* (note 28) II, p. 244-46, no. 449.

44 References are to *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa...*, D. SAMMARTHANI ed., Paris, 16 vols, 1715-85, repr. Westmead, England, 1970 (GC); P. P. B. GAMS, *Series episcoporum, ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum MCXCVII*, Regensburg, 1873, rev. Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1982 (Gams); P. ANSELME DE SAINTE-MARIE, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France*, 3rd. ed., 9 vols, Paris, 1726-1733, repr. Paris and New York, 1967.

45 A chronology for this feature in French manuscripts has yet to be established, cf. N. R. KER, 'From "above top line" to "below top line": a change in scribal practice,' *Celtica*, 5, 1960, p. 13-16. A somewhat related manuscript that shares the feature is the Latin Bestiary, Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, ms 100; it is perhaps stylistically closer to the Missal of Saint-Nicaise, Reims, BM, ms 230, however, and may be Rémois rather than Parisian. See A. STONES, 'Some Secular Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections,' in *The Cambridge Illuminations*, S. PANAYATOVA ed., Turnhout, Brepols (forthcoming).

46 Aspects of this are discussed in GAUTIER DE COINCY, *Miracles de la vierge, Manuscripts and Text*, K. KRAUSE and A. STONES eds., Turnhout, Brepols (forthcoming).

47 ANSELME, *Histoire généalogique...*, *op. cit.* (note 44), VI, p. 716, and so noted in the Morgan file on the manuscript, but lacking in K. K. GOULD, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Speculum Anniversary Monographs 4), Cambridge, MA, 1978. See A. STONES, 'The Full-Page Miniatures of the Psalter-Hours New York, Morgan Library, M. 729: Programme and Patron,' in *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter, Kolloquium 1999*, F. O. BÜTTNER ed., Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, 281-307; *id.*, 'Heraldry in the Psalter-Hours, New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 729,' *The Coat of Arms* (forthcoming). See also A. SAND, *Picturing Devotion Anew in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, Ph.D. Disser-

tation, University of California, Berkeley, 1999, and ID., 'Vision, Devotion, and Difficulty in the Psalter-Hours "of Yolande of Soissons"', *Art Bulletin*, 2005, 87, p. 6-23.

48 Lille, AD du Nord, B 1534/1705, see G. DEMAY, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre*, 2 vols, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1873, repr. Munich, Kraus, 1980, no. 306. Her name, 'Comtesse de la Table, dame de Coeuvres' is on the seal and in the document dated 1270 which is a land transfer, in which Comtesse renounced her rights to her dowry, the woods of Sec-Aunoy, which were sold to the abbey of Notre-Dame and Saint-Jeandes-Vignes at Soissons to raise money for Raoul de Soissons to join Louis IX in his crusade of 1270 as he had done in 1248. Curiously, the Coeuvres arms are also found on the housing of the seal of Raoul's older brother Jean II de Soissons, in 1269 (DEMAY, no. 304, Lille, AD du Nord, 28 H 6/188), a land transfer in favour of Vaucelles. Jean also died in 1270 on the crusade. The implications of this are not altogether clear: might he at this time have been claiming rights, as the elder Soissons brother, to the seigneurie of Coeuvres for himself? If so, his scheme did not succeed as Raoul's daughter Yolande (whose own shield is undocumented), step-daughter of Comtesse de la Table, eventually inherited, as Comtesse died without issue. It was Yolande who transmitted the seigneurie of Coeuvres to her descendants, and her grandson Rogues also inherited the Soissons title, abandoning his paternal grandfather's and father's name Moreuil in its favour, according to ANSELME, *Histoire généalogique...*, *op. cit.* (note 44), VI, p. 171. But no other surviving seal or any other artefact bears witness to the Coeuvres arms being used again.

49 *Cheky or and azure a bordure gules, a canton ermine*, the canton being the arms of Brittany, for Alix's father; and also borne by Alix and Pierre's daughter, Yolande, in the window.

50 The lady is either Eleanor Ferrers, married between 1252 and 1264 to Roger de Quincy and remarried in 1267; or Margaret de Quincy, married in 1238 to William Ferrers (d. 1254) and not remarried (she d. 1281): N.J. MORGAN, *The Lambeth Apocalypse, Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library*, 2 vols, London, Harvey Miller, 1990, p. 73-82.

51 L. F. SANDLER, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385 (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles)*, 2 vols, London, Harvey Miller, 1986, p. 118-21, no. 107, ills. 272-78, 280, 282; J. BACKHOUSE, *The Luttrell Psalter*, London, British Library, 1989.

52 G. DEMAY, *Inventaire...*, *op. cit.* (note 48), no. 741. A. DUCHESNE, *Histoire de la maison de Chastillon sur Marne*, Paris, Cramoisy, 1621, p. 632. I thank Pierre Bony for his kind assistance.

53 P. ADAM-EVEN and L. JÉQUIER, 'Un armorial français du XII^e siècle: L'armorial Wijnerghen,' *Archives héraldiques suisses*, 65, 1951, p. 49-62, 101-08; 66, 1952, p. 28-36, 64-68, 103-11; 68, 1954, p. 55-80. Henri de Louvain is WN 1190 (Gaesbecq).

54 C. DORMAY, *Histoire de la ville de Soissons et de ses rois, ducs, comtes et gouverneurs*, 2 vols, Soissons, Asseline, 1663-64, p. 242, gives the location of the seigneurie de Coeuvres as a rectangle starting just outside the

walls of Soissons, on the south and west sides, from the Porte Saint-Rémy to La Croix de Busancy, la Croix de Fourches and Chaudun, and on the other side from the Porte Saint-Christophe, following the Compiègne road to Vic-sur-Aisne, then along the road to Chelles as far as La Haye de l'Abbesse. In the middle of this area a place called Coeuvres exists to this day preserving a Renaissance château; and the Cistercian abbey of Longpont, burial place of the family, is just south of this territory.

55 E. BARTHÉLEMY, 'Les comtes et le comté de Soissons,' *Extrait des Travaux de la Société Académique de Saint-Quentin*, 3^e série, 14, 1877, p. 5-146, at 47, no sources cited.

56 The family history is complicated and not altogether clear. This lesser branch of the Soissons family was not fully featured in the major study by W.M. NEWMAN, *Les Seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII^e-XIII^e siècle), leurs chartes et leur histoire; étude sur la noblesse régionale et laïque*, 2 vols, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society and Paris, Picard, 1971. Nor is this branch of the family adequately represented in *Europäische Stammtafeln*, D. SCHWENNICKE ed., 21 vols, Marburg, Stargardt, 1978- (see VII, Taf. 16) (hereafter referred to as ES); there is more information in ANSELME, *Histoire généalogique...*, *op. cit.* (note 44), VI, 716, but gaps and confusions remain.

57 See A. STONES, 'The Full-Page miniatures...', *op. cit.* (note 47).

58 A. STONES, 'Madame Marie's Picture-Book: a precursor of Flemish Painting around 1400,' in *Flanders in a European Perspective*, M. SMEYERS ed., Leuven, Peeters, 1995, p. 429-43; ID., *Le livre d'images de Madame Marie (Paris, BNF, ms n.a.fr. 16251)*, Paris: BNF and Cerf, 1997; A. BRÄM, *Das Andachtsbuch der Marie de Gavre: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251: Buchmalerei in der Diözese Cambrai im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1997; A. STONES, 'Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads and Skin: Devotional Images for Madame Marie,' in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, C. HOURIHANE ed., Princeton: Index of Christian Art and Princeton Univ. Press, 1999, p. 48-64; ID., 'Un courant monumental dans la miniature française autour de 1300,' in *1300...L'Art au temps de Philippe le Bel (Actes du colloque international, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 24 et 25 juin 1998)*, D. GABORIT-CHOPIN and F. AVRIL eds., Paris, 2001, 103-17. For superb high quality images, see <http://www.bnf.fr/mandragore> and access the pages by 'nouvelle acquisition française 16251'.

59 *Ibid.*, access the pages by 'latin 10525'. A study by the late H. Stahl is forthcoming.

60 I think the black veil was added at the time the other portraits were overpainted, as it cuts clumsily across the fingers of the supplicant's hands: see A. STONES, 'Madame Marie's...', *op. cit.* (note 58); A. BRÄM, *Das Andachtsbuch...*, *op. cit.* (note 58) thinks the book was made for a nun from the beginning. Why then would the portraits have been overpainted?